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# SOCIOLOG

BY

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# EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Social change seems to be the most invariable experience of contemporary society. No other period has felt such impacts of complex social forces. Meanwhile social research has been at work and new facts and interpretations have been added to our store of social knowledge. There is recurring need, never more insistent than at present, to integrate the new findings with the knowledge that existed before. A genetic approach is essential that we may not lose perspective. Cross-sectional analysis is important if we are to have insight into social relations and social structure. Study of the processes of social change is urgent if we are to learn how to guide and control the trends of the times. Inquiring minds raise questions concerning all these problems.

This book places in the hands of students and teachers a thoughtful and clarifying re-organization of basic knowledge on these and other sociological topics. In it the pertinent results of sociological research and comparative data are summed up with a consistency of method hitherto for the most part lacking in introductory texts. In his emphasis upon the mutual conditioning of the elements in the social structure and its counterpart in individual conduct, Professor Hiller has contributed much to the prevailing tendency to conceive of human society in terms of interdependent, evolving institutions. Although as yet there can be no final answers to the problems of social relations, this book nevertheless offers a valuable body of knowledge and an integration of understanding that should promote intelligent efforts to find answers to these questions in terms of the social resources that it identifies.

<div align="right">F. STUART CHAPIN</div>

# PREFACE

In the present development of sociology the most fruitful method of approach to its subject matter is proving to be the analysis of societal forms and their bearing on individual behavior. Attempts to describe social phenomena in terms of stimulus and response, interaction, sensory impressions, or physiological equivalents are methodologically inadequate. The recognition of this fact underlies the present emphasis upon the institutional, structural, functional, and cultural aspects of society. The idea of interaction—originally a philosophical and psychological concept—has most utility in the discussion of personality, although even here its value to sociology is limited. In the main, sociology must deal with institutionalized and collectively produced forms and meanings, individual behavior being a correlative aspect of such phenomena.

This approach to the data of general sociology is also the main viewpoint underlying the present volume. The subject matter and the form of presentation are adapted to beginning classes; merely conceptual statements have been rejected in favor of teachable and learnable data and generalizations which, it is believed, will challenge the attention and encourage the critical thought of students, and which, at the same time, it is hoped, will not lack interest to teachers, inasmuch as the subjects reviewed deal with permanent issues. While emphasis is herein placed on a theoretical analysis and interpretation of our present type of society and the factors involved in producing changes therein, such a treatment is not lacking in practical applications. In fact, practical advantages are, in the long run, best served by giving the student a comprehensive insight into the societal systems whence the different types of "social problems" arise. From the selected bibliographies instructors can, according to preference, elaborate either the theoretical or the practical aspects of the subjects presented.

Among those to whom expressions of gratitude are due for assistance in the preparation of this book, I am indebted most of all to my wife, Eunice G. Hiller, for continued cooperation in assembling data, in the preparation of the manuscript, and in proofreading.

Especial thanks are also tendered Professors S. C. Ratcliffe and
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ideas and discoveries have gone into the shaping of this volume is in-
dicated, as far as feasible, in footnotes, bibliographies, and direct
citations.

E. T. HILLER

April 3, 1933.

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CHAPTER I

## Individuals and Their Groupings

Sociology, like other sciences, has its own independent field of investigation. In simplest terms, this may be said to be a study of the relations between individuals—their conduct with reference to one another and the standards by which they regulate their association. The social, in the broadest sense of the term, constitutes the subject matter of all the social sciences and humanities—the literary, artistic, political, economic, ethical, sociological, and other specialized phases. That is, everything which is affected by association between human beings or by their behavior, labor, thinking, or presence, may be called social. The beliefs, systems of thought, practical arts, manner of living, customs, traditions, and all socially regularized ways of acting are also called culture. So defined, culture includes all the activities which develop in the association between persons or which are learned from a social group, but excludes those specific forms of behavior which are predetermined by inherited nature. Culture is always an affair of groups, though individuals acquire it in varying degrees.

The culture of even the simplest peoples is very complex. It may be analyzed into units or traits such as language, art, mythology, scientific systems, religious and ceremonial observances, and various other types of social practices.[1] Thus because all phases of social life cannot be fitted into a single logical body of thought, there may be as many systems of classification and interpretation as there are

[1] According to a wider definition, the term "culture" includes material objects which are used, esteemed, or disesteemed by human groups. Such an extension of the term is not in contradiction to the definition here given. An object, whether an artifact or a natural product, is not the culture itself, but only an occasion for it. The sentiments and activities built around the thing and the uses it serves constitute culture. The term refers to the totality or to any one phase of a people's customary activities and beliefs, but carries no connotation as to a high or low, advanced or retarded, flowering or decadent, social life. The term "civilization," however, implies not only the totality of culture traits but also the degree of advancement of a people's life.

points of view from which the data can be observed. In the study of society each of these phases constitutes a special field of investigation, just as in the study of the different aspects of matter the several physical sciences are fields of specialization which jointly depict the nature of the world and of mankind.

All the social sciences take note of some aspect of social life, but sociology is concerned especially with the characteristics and significance of groups and with that part of culture which prescribes forms of association and regulates human relations: the institutions, customs, and rules of conduct which direct how each shall deport himself, associate or avoid association, seek personal aggrandizement, control others or defer to them, wage war, or enter into cooperation. In addition to the more stable forms of groups and institutions, sociology is also interested in such data as spontaneous aggregations (crowds, gangs, and temporary groups promoting some momentary interests), violation of rules (as found in crime or delinquency), and even in the unintended results of conduct, in so far as they involve other persons, such as occurs in the case of business competition which brings poverty to some and riches to others.

More systematically stated, sociology investigates particularly social groups and their organization; the means (such as communication) whereby individuals are able to deal with one another; the bonds of interest and mutual dependence through which groups are held together; the rivalries and conflicts whereby individuals are assigned to a place in their group; the connection between personality and the culture and organization of a given society; the source, nature, and consequences of social change; and, finally, social control, or the enforcement of rules and the maintenance of social order. Sociology also deals with various other systems of facts and problems which are omitted from the present treatise because they require more detailed consideration than is feasible in the scope of a single volume.

These several aspects are summed up in the definitions of sociology given by different writers. In general these authors regard it as the study of human relations or social groups, as indicated in the previous paragraphs. Auguste Comte, the first to use the term sociology, regarded it as the science of human association. A well-known English sociologist says, "Essentially the subject matter of

sociology is the interaction of human minds."[2] Others have applied different labels to the same ideas by defining sociology as the study of collective or pluralistic behavior,[3] groups,[4] or social structures.[5] Park and Burgess say: "Sociology, so far as it can be regarded as a fundamental science and not mere congeries of social welfare programs and practices, may be described as the science of collective behavior."[6] According to Ellwood, ". . . sociology may be defined as the study of human relations. . . . But inasmuch as these relations are the outcome of group life we may accept as a working definition for sociology that it is the science of the origin, development, structure, and functions of social groups."[7]

In other words, sociology is concerned with two types of facts: (1) the dependence of the individual upon social organization and culture, and (2) the dependence of social organization and culture upon the individual.[8] This will be apparent throughout our discussion. In this and the following four chapters we shall lay the foundation for later topics. In the present chapter we shall note, first, the dependence of the individual upon his group, and, second, the extent to which the type of society is determined by the quality of its members.

THE PERSON: A PRODUCT OF ASSOCIATION

Man is a "political animal" in the sense that he is gregarious and will rarely choose to live alone. From his birth he is associated with others whose ways he tends to adopt as naturally as he learns to satisfy hunger. Not only the things which meet his physical needs but also the content of his thought are largely supplied by society.

Birth or adoption into a group such as a family or nation usually

[2] Hobhouse, L. T., *Social Development*, Henry Holt & Company, Inc., New York, 1924, p. 11.

[3] Giddings, F. H., *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922, pp. 249 ff.

[4] Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology*, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1924, p. 10.

[5] Ross, E. A., *Social Psychology*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913, p. 2.

[6] Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921, p. 42.

[7] Ellwood, Charles, *The Psychology of Human Society*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1925, p. 14.

[8] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927, vol. i, p. 20.

implies that the individual will acquire its language, ideals, and goals of endeavor; he will be guided by the established customs, incentives, restraints, and institutions; will fit into the occupations, and assume a personal rôle which, in the main, is suited to the position he occupies in his group. From the same source he will derive his ideas and standards of right and wrong, his techniques and arts, his food preferences and his habits. Through the directing influence of this social environment his capacities are developed, his impulses guided, and his personality formed. So much is the individual known to our experience a part and product of social life that his personality reflects his contact with others, and even the form of his thinking is largely that of dialogue or conversation.

The individual devoid of the results of association is an abstraction and does not exist except in those rare cases where a person lost in childhood is able to survive in complete and extended isolation from all human contacts. But association does not rest entirely on choice, for an individual is trained to be gregarious even before he has the power to decide between living with others or remaining in isolation. Although in adult life he is more self-determining than in infancy, even then he is dependent upon others for most of his equipment and success. In thus conforming to his group and in acquiring its ways he relinquishes no rights, privileges, or attainments which he might possess as a solitary individual. On the contrary, his liberties and achievements, and the range of his free choices are vastly greater as a member of society than they would be if he lived in solitude. "The individual's normal growth lands him in essential solidarity with his fellows, while, on the other hand, the exercise of his social duties and privileges advances his highest and purest individuality. . . . He does not have two lives, two sets of interests, two selves—one personal and the other social. He has but one self, which is personal and social in one, by right of the essential and normal movement of his growth."[9] Even when he prides himself on his insulation and self-sufficiency, he deceives himself; for no matter how selfishly he pursues his aims, they are usually accomplished by means of the equipment and the protection supplied by society.

Obviously everyone responds to his physical, as well as to his

[9] Baldwin, James M., *The Individual and Society*, Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1911, pp. 16, 28.

social, environment on the basis of his abilities and his past experience which are, in a measure, distinctive for each individual. But with equal certainty, each has many traits in common with other members of his group. In fact, the individual can be fully understood only as a member of a society. For example, if we know the economic class to which he belongs we can predict his points of view on various questions. If we are familiar with his group traditions, we know what a Dakota Indian will do when face to face with an enemy, how the primitive Formosan will behave in the presence of a brunette stranger, how a Pole acknowledges an introduction, what an American of a given social class will eat for breakfast, and how he will greet an acquaintance. Such customs pervade every department of life—æsthetics, practical arts, family relations, government, etc. In explaining these similarities, individual qualities are relatively unimportant as compared to the uniformities of the group.[10] In this respect "the presumption is in favor of an interpretation in social terms directly—in terms, that is, of masses of men,"[11] their rules of behavior, customs, and social organization.

### INDIVIDUAL QUALITIES AFFECT SOCIETY

In asserting that sociology places emphasis upon the group, we do not mean to imply that it ignores individuals. Precisely the contrary is true, as we shall see repeatedly; for without individuals, society (the relations and the supporting customs, beliefs, and sentiments) would not exist. Moreover, it is axiomatic that, because individuals are the agents concerned in social relations, there are always physiological and psychological accompaniments to social, as to all other, behavior. For the present we shall note that inborn and acquired physical and mental traits are involved in social life as (1) preconditions and (2) participating agents or influences.

(1) PRECONDITIONS.—The capacities of individuals put limitations upon the kind and quality of the relations which may exist,

[10] Wallis, W. D., "The Independence of Social Psychology," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 1925-1926, vol. xx, p. 150; Lowie, Robert H., *Culture and Ethnology,* D. C. McMurtrie, New York, 1917, pp. 15 ff.; Melvin, Bruce, "The Individual and the Group," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* 1925-1926, vol. x, pp. 517-526; Bogardus, E. S., "The Principle of 'Group Priority,'" *Journal of Applied Sociology,* 1922-1923, vol. vii, pp. 84-87.

[11] Bentley, Arthur F., *The Process of Government,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1908, p. 251.

that is, upon the type of societies which they form. If man's inherited equipment were radically different, human society would also be different. "If, instead of eyes, we had receptors for electromagnetic waves, and if our effectors or muscles, when stimulated, flashed forth electromagnetic disturbances instead of contracting, our observations, our literature, our sciences, our philosophy . . . would be of a different order than they now are."[12] If man had only the limited capacity belonging to bees or sheep, he could not develop the artistic techniques, tools, beliefs, languages, customs, and institutions which are found among all peoples. In order that these complicated practices may be developed and handed on from one generation to the next, a high level of hereditary equipment is essential. But the given capacities may be used in different ways and developed to varying degrees. The existence of a given culture always proves the requisite capacity, but the absence of an achievement does not prove the lack of the necessary capacity.

In comparing man with lower species we may say, by way of contrast, that his organic nature is the explanation of all achievement and progress in civilization and, in this sense, is determinative. But we cannot say that his organic equipment compels him to develop one set of customs, social relations, or arts rather than another, for he often chooses between alternate ways. While his capacities place limitations upon the kind of society he may help to establish and upon the type of acts which he may perform successfully, these capacities do not of themselves compel the development of one form of institution and custom rather than another; for example, they do not explain why slavery or serfdom rather than peonage or contract labor exists at a given time and place; why some people greet by tipping the hat rather than by bowing; why some show respect or reverence by removing their shoes while others uncover their heads; why some people use a digging stick rather than a hoe, or a jinrikisha instead of an automobile; or why the vogue of wearing shoes with French heels, rather than that of footbinding, persists. The specific use made of various inborn capacities is not predetermined; it depends upon the circumstances surrounding the individual, especially those supplied by the culture and the influence of his group.

[12] Weiss, A. P., *A Theoretical Basis of Human Behavior*, R. G. Adams Company, Columbus, Ohio, 1925, p. 150.

The reverse assumption, that inherited nature determines the precise form of culture, rests upon the false premise that a necessary condition is also a cause; and this assumption is everywhere contradicted by observation. The fallacy is obvious when we consider that the same precondition is associated with opposite facts and that it was present before the occurrence of the event in question. The standing of a tree is a necessary precondition for its falling, but we cannot say that the standing itself is the cause of its falling. Similarly, an organic condition necessary for the performance of specific acts is not to be considered a sufficient cause for these acts, providing, of course, that alternates are possible.

A given social fact does not always appear when the required preconditions are present. For example, a respiratory system and a tongue are necessary for speaking. But these organs have other uses; the individual merely learns to use them in new ways for producing speech. The possession of this essential equipment does not guarantee that he will speak, for he does not talk unless he is reared in a society made up of speaking persons. Furthermore, with this inherited equipment he may speak any language or none, or form any one of many possible verbal combinations; for the use that will be made of these organs depends upon the situation in which he is placed by birth or accident.

An alimentary system is a necessary precondition for eating, but the possession of these organs does not explain the food customs of different peoples. Food habits are limited by man's nature. "Some materials cannot be digested; other digestible materials are poisonous. But within the limits set by organic conditions there is a wide range of choice. Thus customs and arts cannot be explained merely in terms of the materials found in the environment," nor merely in terms of biochemistry.[13] Alimentation explains the existence of food-getting activities but not the particular form of economic institutions existing at a given time or place. "Man, abstract man, the *homo geographicus* who should and could feed on everything without distinction does not exist," says Febvre. "The theorist generously offers him beasts and birds, but hundreds of thousands of men refuse these presents and eat only cereals or fish. He offers milk, and butter and cheese obtained from it, but hundreds of thousands of men neglect them, although they are herds-

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[13] Bentley, Arthur F., *op. cit.*, p. 247.

men. . . . Whenever man and natural products are concerned, 'the idea' intervenes."[14]

Asiatics, including Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, have a dislike for milk, and other people place taboos on the use of certain animals or vegetables as food. Concerning one group we are told that "vegetable diet was forbidden, for milk has to be kept apart in the stomach from vegetable matter. . . . Other foods often eaten by the agricultural class, such as fish, eggs, or fowls, were regarded with disgust."[15] In view of this and many other comparable facts the occidental addiction to the use of dairy products, for instance, cannot be considered inevitable, although by force of customs we may have assumed it to be so. The food taboos relative to meat are equally variable.

Although eating is necessary for survival, customs often prescribe methods of taking food which are at variance with physical welfare. The relish with which some people consume tainted milk, fish, or cheese cannot be supposed to be hereditarily determined. "We do not eat the smell," some primitive people say philosophically.[16] Yielding to hunger is not inevitable, for rules of conduct may prescribe abstinence in the presence of food, as in ceremonial fasting and hunger strikes. One observer notes that the Yakuts would rather starve than slaughter some treasured animal from their herd.[17] Of another tribe it is recounted that cattle are regarded as family heirlooms; they indicate the position of the family and are a record of its past. A "savage" who asked for relief explained: "Every day I look at my cattle and I say, 'These I inherited from my father, those are their increase, those were paid for by my brother who was killed, and these I got for my daughter; but if I slaughter or sell them who shall remind me of all this.' "[18] On the other hand, ceremonial eating is no indication of hunger, for customs making for conviviality lead to excesses. Says one epicurean: "Ate and drank swinishly; nature wants less: I feasted pretty

[14] Febvre, L. P. A., *A Geographical Introduction to History*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1925, p. 167.

[15] Roscoe, John, *Immigrants and Their Influence in the Lake Region of Central Africa*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1924, p. 15.

[16] Mitchell, Arthur, *The Past in the Present*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1881, pp. 63-64.

[17] Sumner, W. G., "The Yakuts," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1901, vol. xxxi, p. 67.

[18] Dundas, Charles, "History of Kitui," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1913, vol. xliii, p. 501.

moderately: but with this notable difference in solitary and social eating, that in the last I eat more like a swine."[19]

The conclusions to be drawn from the examples selected will apply also, in essentials, to other customs, such as those pertaining to the rearing of the young, the form of government, the methods of gaining a livelihood, etc. The limits to the range of customs are set by inborn nature, but the number of possible variations is indeterminate. For this reason, the culture existing at a given time and place must be ascribed to the cumulation of ideas and practices in the group itself. No individual would live in isolation in the same way that he does in association with his fellows. While it is clear that man's inherited nature supplies the basis for a few major institutions, this fact throws no light upon the source of dissimilar customs or of the changes which have occurred in these customs during the course of time.

(2) PARTICIPATING FACTORS.—The characteristics of the individual are participating as well as limiting factors in social life. In the first place, they may affect the quality of performance and the outcome of social actions. For example, tall stature is a factor in one's efficiency in playing tennis. Consequently, the possession of this trait by an individual helps to determine the result of his competition with an opponent; the outcome of the game may underlie other social facts, such as his further pursuit of this or other sports and, in fact, his timidity or aggressiveness toward other people. Furthermore, tall stature may be a handicap in some other form of personal contest. In like manner other organic and mental traits (strength, endurance, speed, complexity of reasoning) affect social relations.

But tall stature does not explain the origin of tennis playing, nor does a slender body-build account for the use of the steam shovel instead of the spade. Neither does physical strength or mental acumen predetermine whether persons will be pugnacious or cooperative, for the same abilities may be used in different ways. However, the degree of maturation, senile decline, loss or restoration of sensory faculties, impairments due to disease and fatigue, as well as variations in mental qualities, do become involved in specific ways in the social organization. Dissimilar capacities (that is, inborn potentialities) may underlie differences in ability (the

[19] Ponsonby, Arthur A. W. R., *English Diaries*, Methuen and Company, London, 1923, p. 217.

level of attainment) and thereby serve as participating factors in determining the place individuals occupy in society. On the average, those of low ability are crowded out of the more difficult occupations more frequently than are those of high ability. In the same way, if any predilection for a given kind of activity or manner of self-assertion actually does exist in one race, this tends to be a factor in the acceptance or rejection of customs.

Secondly, individual traits are significant because, and to the extent that, they are made objects of attention and of favorable or unfavorable estimation. Since esteem or disesteem is attached to bodily traits (such as stature, pigmentation, mutilations, or deformities) and to mental qualities, these are involved in the various details of social life, such as in the choice of associates and the assignment of social rank. Among the Tahitians, for example, a person with a long nose is held in disesteem. During the early part of the nineteenth century the people of Cochin, China, regarded the wife of the English ambassador with contempt because she had white teeth "like a dog and rosy color like that of potato flowers."[20] Some dark peoples who consider flattened noses, large lips, and a black, shiny skin as marks of beauty, imagine the Devil as being white. If skin color differs for several social classes, that distinguishing the subordinate classes will be held in disesteem.

Similar reasoning applies to many other "normal" and pathological traits which are made objects of pity or other sentiments, such as those referring to sickness, blindness, deformities and other handicaps. Diseases are of themselves individual affairs. For example, an abscess of the ear is an abscess of John Doe's ear, and its causes and cures are matters which physiology and the medical sciences can determine. John Doe's feelings, perception of pain, and the method of registering the experience in memory are questions with which conventional psychology deals. The neighbors' reactions to John Doe in consequence of his malady, the facilities provided for his benefit, his response to his benefactors, and the limitations put upon his participation in social life are sociological data.

Although the qualities of the individuals concerned are involved in social life in the ways reviewed above, this does not mean that social facts are to be explained by describing the nervous system

[20] Waitz, Theodor, *Anthropology,* Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, London, 1863, vol. i, p. 305.

or that our study can be based on heredity, growth, nutrition, or even instincts; for such data may be taken for granted in much of our survey. A further example will make this clear: "The family have just sat down at the dinner table. The doorbell rings. Behavior of the entire family changes: mother jerks off her apron, father puts on his coat, sister wipes brother's mouth, brother kicks the cat. New situation; only one new stimulus, doorbell."[21]

This behavior cannot be said to be equivalent to the inorganic facts concerned (the electric current, the vibration of the bell, or the air waves), or to the auditory stimulations and other physiological equivalents; for in this case the sound of the doorbell is a symbol of a changed social situation—the presence of a caller. Physics can explain the mechanics of doorbells, but not the social behavior occasioned by them; psychology and physiology describe the various mental and organic processes, but they do not tell us why the described rearrangements take place in the household when the auditory nerve is stimulated. To attempt to study the rules of decorum and "good form" in terms of electrons, stimuli, and sensations is patently insufficient. To be sure, each person may be viewed as an organization of energies but such a study belongs to physiology, not to the interpretation of a social situation.

In stating that physical structure and function may be taken for granted in much of our study, we imply that when peculiarity of conduct seems to be ascribable to unusual physiological or psychological conditions in any of the reviewed ways, these conditions must be taken into consideration for the cases at hand. But the actual conduct is the result of all the factors present, including the customs, ideas, aims, social organization, and other items which vary with time and place. Such a functional treatment of social life Cooley calls "the organic view" because the different phases of society mutually condition one another, and because the social group, with all its equipment of individual qualities and its cumulation of ideas and purposes, is the means through which conduct is in reality determined. This point of view also implies that social facts must be described in terms suited to their nature, that is, in terms of institutions, standards of conduct, and the meaning which things have to the members of an existing society. "Just as, on the higher levels of individual life, physical and physiological causes

[21] Dorsey, George, *Why We Behave Like Human Beings,* Harper & Brothers. New York, 1925, p. 389.

retreat in favor of psychic causes, so on the [social] levels . . .
destiny is shaped more by such bodies of organized experiences as
language, religion, morals, law, the arts, and the sciences."[22] Al-
though society is a complex unity, it must first be analyzed into its
various phases in order that it may eventually be seen as a com-
posite of the laws and processes determining and being determined
by the type of associates.

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Social Groups as Social Relations:
Some Preliminary Definitions

We have seen that many peculiarities of conduct are determined by the group in which people are associated, and that persons choose their conduct largely with reference to one another. They feel gratitude, are sympathetic or jealous toward one another, ask favors, adorn themselves, or perform any one of many acts for, with, or against one another. But they do not carry on such reciprocities or cooperate and communicate equally with everyone, nor make and concede like claims to all individuals within a given distance. By this we mean that the social relations differ from person to person, for both overt dealings and attitudes follow more or less discernible lines. These lines mark the boundaries of social groups.

#### GROUP, SOCIETY, AND COMMUNITY

Any number of people, however large or small, between whom some distinctive relation is found, or who have some part of their lives or some interest in common, or of whom we may say that in some significant sense they belong together or that they are marked off from others, constitutes a *social group*. A group thus implies communication and some degree of distinctive acting together. Individuals who have some similar characteristic such as age, physical defects, etc., or even those who meet by chance on a street corner or move in the same direction, such as people going to the business section of town or pedestrians pausing to view a parade, are a statistical, but not a social, group. However, if they begin to discuss some subject of mutual interest or concentrate their attention upon some object of common effort and proceed to act unitedly, they would be said to constitute a social group. Thus the term group may be applied to the transitory formations made in the pursuit of some temporary objective, as well as to the more permanent relationships, such as those of the family, club, religious sect, or nation. It is a general label and does not describe or classify the aggregation

to which it is applied as to whether this is large or small, temporary
or permanent, casual or deliberately organized. While the term
group may be used synonymously with *society* and *community*, the
latter two terms require further elaboration.[1]

SOCIETY has two main characteristics: first, some degree of under-
standing, agreement, or *consensus* among individuals; and, second,
an *interdependency* between them, in consequence of the need of
cooperation in defense and in gaining a livelihood.

The mental bonds described as *consensus* are both a product and
a condition of collective living. Examples of consensus are customs,
public opinion, fads, language, and rules of conduct, all of which
imply the existence of such a mental attitude as will bring indi-
viduals into ready cooperation or collective action. Other forms of
consensus, such as crazes, panics, and rumors, carry people along as
on a current, providing these individuals are sufficiently like-
minded in reference to the given topic to be highly suggestible.[2]
Where and when consensus is found, one main characteristic of
society obtains; for persons, however numerous, do not constitute
a society if they are unaware of one another's existence or unin-
fluenced thereby, or if they do not communicate with one another,
or otherwise maintain and express agreement. Such reciprocities im-
ply that the individuals concerned have certain forms of conduct in
common, and impose and concede rights and duties—in short, a dis-
cipline and a moral order, mutually determined and accepted. These
are essential characteristics of human society.[3]

*Interdependency* exists not only during the period of infancy but
throughout the entire life span of every individual, for it is only
in association that a person can satisfy his wants and the race sur-
vive. The struggle for subsistence and security against foes and fate
has always been carried on by people who acted in groups, the size
of which has varied with the means of subsistence available in a
local area and the type of dangers or other crises to be met by
united defense.[4] Thus the unit in the life of the race is not an indi-

[1] Cf. Eubank, E. E., "The Concept of 'The Group,'" *Sociology and Social Re-
search,* 1927-1928, vol. xii, pp. 421-430.

[2] Ross, E. A., *op. cit.,* p. 80.

[3] Hobhouse, L. T., *op. cit.,* p. 41; Park, R. E., "Sociology" in *Researches in the
Social Sciences,* edited by Wilson Gee, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929,
p. 6; Tarde, Gabriel, *The Laws of Imitation,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc.,
New York, 1903, p. 61.

[4] Chapin, F. S., *An Introduction to Social Evolution,* The Century Company,
New York, 1926, pp. 104-106.

vidual but a group of individuals who show in common their gregarious or social nature in their struggles and cooperation and who perish or survive together. Those who cooperate most efficiently increase their well-being and are the most likely to survive and people the earth with their descendants.

Such interdependency arises not only from the need of uniting efforts in coping with a hostile or meager environment but also from the fact that specialization and division of labor make it necessary for each to rely upon others. The skill of each becomes essential or at least advantageous to all. According to Espinas, a reciprocity between the activities of individuals is the characteristic trait of all social life,[5] but in human society interdependency and consensus are usually found together.

Collective living is at first carried on without the design of those who are associated, for individuals are born into a group. Accordingly, it is as futile to ask why they live in society as it is to inquire why they have a period of helpless infancy which requires association with others as a condition of survival. They know of no other means of existence; their increasing participation with others is both a means and a product of their development, and their conduct is part of the society they form. For instance, children of even nursery school age are more aggressive when in their little coterie than when alone.[6] In other respects also, performance rises to higher levels in the presence of kindred spirits in the club, gang, sect, and troop. Even the mere presence of others may afford a favorable environment (protection, or an appreciative audience) which encourages efforts. In this living together individuals are socialized; they acquire habits and techniques for getting along with others, deferring to some, dominating some, and joining efforts with others.

Our problem, therefore, is not why people associate, but what kind of societies they form under given conditions; for while it may be said that persons belong to society because it is their nature to do so, this does not mean that they belong to this or that type of group, club, or association because of some inborn necessity. Membership in special groups depends upon the customs of one's society and upon various circumstances, such as a like culture, the need of mutual aid or defense, and many other specific factors.

[5] Allee, W. C., *Animal Aggregations,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, p. 6.
[6] Murphy, Gardner, and Murphy, Lois Barclay, *Experimental Social Psychology,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1931, pp. 292 ff.

COMMUNITY is the designation applied to a society or group considered with reference to the geographic distribution of its people. Accordingly, the distinction between the terms community and society is only partial. Every human community is necessarily a society, but all societies in a narrower sense (clubs, churches, labor unions, etc.), do not have compact, or at least continuous, settlement in space, as does a community. Inasmuch as *community* implies a sharing of interests and the regulation of conduct by rules and sentiments, it is identical with the term *society*; but by general usage, the term also includes the fact that people live within definable geographic limits and are engaged in securing a livelihood and promoting other major interests.

A community adviser defines a community as "a group or company of people living fairly close together in a more or less compact, contiguous territory, who act together in the chief concerns of life."[7] In like vein, another writer says: "The average man would define the community as the place where we live."[8] This definition contains every essential element implied in the term community— personal relations due to proximity of residence and collective efforts in meeting common necessities. "A true community," says Butterfield, "is a social group that is more or less self-sufficing. It is big enough to have its own trading and social centers, its own church, school, library, or whatever else is held necessary in a given time and place."[9] In general, therefore, we may say that a community is any society which occupies a continuous territory and which through the exchange of services or goods may be regarded as cooperating to carry on a common life. So defined, a community may vary in size from a hamlet, village, or city (each with its surrounding trade zone) to the greater national or international society.[10]

A neighborhood, which is a smaller division within a community, is a group of families living sufficiently near one another to permit comparatively ready interchange. It comprises approximately con-

[7] Hieronymus, R. E., *Balancing Country Life,* Association Press, New York, 1917, p. 60.

[8] Wilson, Warren H., *The Evolution of the Country Community,* Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1912, p. 92.

[9] Butterfield, K. L., "Mobilizing the Community," *Extension Bulletin, No. 23,* Massachusetts Agricultural College, 1918, introduction, p. 9.

[10] Queen, S. A., "What Is a Community?" *Journal of Social Forces,* May, 1923, vol. i, pp. 375-382; Gillette, J. M., "Community Concepts," *Journal of Social Forces,* 1925-1926, vol. iv, pp. 677-689.

tinuous territory settled by people who have common standards of conduct and who are bound together by "neighborly" sentiments and interests. It is a miniature society occupying a definable area in space; but it may be bound together only by consensus and not by the interdependency resulting from the needs of mutual aid and cooperation, as in the case of a community.

Although a community, like a society, presupposes consensus and cooperation, it does not follow that these always cease when conflict arises. While war is a relatively complete repudiation of the moral order, minor conflicts, especially rivalry and competition, imply some agreement, if only in the way these contests should be conducted; and they also help to determine the form cooperation shall take in the community, regardless of whether the latter is local, national, or international.

### SOCIAL RELATIONS CLASSIFIED

It has been seen from the foregoing that there are two general types of social relations in society. We shall now consider further phases and combinations of these under the following subheadings: primary and secondary, in-group and out-group, comparative rank, functional connections, and relative spatial position.

(1) PRIMARY AND SECONDARY are terms used to distinguish types of relations according to the degree of consensus and unanimity; and the persons so concerned may therefore be said to constitute, respectively, primary and secondary groups.

*Primary groups,* such as the family, the circle of boon companions, the play group, and the closely knit neighborhood, involve individuals in varied and intimate reciprocities, sympathies, and mutual understandings. "A primary group," according to Hobhouse, "is either a kindred or a set of neighbors in habitual personal intercourse, without class differentiation, intermarriageable, and comparable to a kindred in number; the term is applicable whether the group is locally separate or intermixed with others."[11] Such groups are primary in several senses: from them the individual acquires his earliest and most complete experience of social unity; they involve relatively permanent relations; they are the cradle of those personal attributes which we think of as human nature, that is, of the traits which man has in greater degree than animals and

[11] Hobhouse, L. T., *op. cit.,* p. 247.

which he does not have at birth. Among these are loyalty, ambition, sympathy, love, and resentment.[12]

It is in a primary group that the child attains its first awareness of other persons and subsequently acquires self-consciousness. Here the sense of belonging and of having a place and a rôle, which is the essence of personality, is first derived; and here, also, the child learns to talk and acquires its habits of obedience and self-assertion, or their opposites, as well as its moral judgments. It is in the family, the play group, the neighborhood, and other close relations, that the standards and traditions of the larger society, as well as those typical of primary groups, are impressed most effectively.

Primary groups are also characterized by a relatively high degree of unanimity and usually by a sentimental adherence among their members. This is true not only of the family, play group, gang, etc., but also of other close associations such as a ship's crew in a time of crisis, or a labor union during a strike; even a jury or a mob may momentarily have a high degree of unanimity. But we shall apply the term, primary group, only to the more permanent relationships which, in addition to *rapport* or unanimity, have such attributes as those enumerated above—a sense of duty, approved customs, an established place or position for each member, and mutual understandings based on prolonged association. Of all these characteristics, the mob has only *rapport* and probably a slight distinction between leader and followers.

*Secondary groups,* as contrasted with primary groups, are marked by less sentimental attitudes and less permanent and direct relations. Usually they fulfill fewer interests than a primary group does, and their bonds are more contractual and less sympathetic. These differences are seen by comparing trade transactions among strangers with the intimacy and *rapport* which characterize members of the family, play group, and neighborhood.

However, the distinction between primary and secondary relations is only approximate, one type merging gradually into the other. Some of the primary groups to which we belong are at the same time connected with larger social systems with which we have no direct dealings and toward which we have few, if any, of the primary-group sentiments. For instance, our primary-group relations with our local church associates are only partly extended to the re-

[12] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1922, p. 27.

ligious denomination at large, and the same may be said of other extensive associations, such as our relations with the local committee of our political party, the local labor union, etc., as compared with the wider associations of which these are a part. The relations between stock- and bond-holders of the same corporation, or between these individuals and the wage earner in the concern, or between parties in commercial transactions in an impersonal market are typical secondary relations, little affected by personal sentiments. Viewed historically, the small kinship and village community preceded the larger impersonal territorial group; and likewise, in each person's life also, secondary relations are a later development. For both these reasons they may also be called "derivative."

As society becomes more complex, an individual usually participates in an increasing number of organizations, through each of which he satisfies one or several needs or interests, and in each of which he plays a different part. He may be a leader in an athletic club, although he holds a subordinate position in his business organization.[13] But in general, he does not identify himself as completely with the secondary as with the primary group.

Sometimes the obligations toward different groups supplement or reinforce one another, at other times they are opposed. For instance, membership in several associations, such as a family, a trade union, and a state, usually involves no clash of obligations; however, the claims of one social system to which a person is linked by sentiments or interdependency may sometimes require the temporary neglect of the claims of another, as when in heeding the call for military service one ignores or temporarily neglects the claims of his family or his church and its teachings. Boys of a certain age may be indifferent to the wishes of their family but highly responsive to the regulations of their gang. The more numerous the social systems to which individuals belong, the greater is the likelihood of tensions arising from such contradictory loyalties.

(2) IN-GROUP AND OUT-GROUP are terms applied to the relations within and outside of a given circle. The fact that a person has a place in one family, church, or nation ordinarily precludes the possibility of his duplicating these relations in another similar group; likewise, consensus in one group usually stands in the way of similar understandings in another. The loyalty, fidelity, and

[13] See part viii.

*rapport* toward members of the in-group turn into hostility, trickery, and distrust toward outsiders, depending upon the general level of civilization and the degree of strangeness and traditional hostility. The out-group is thus a competing or contrasting group with which one compares his own family, economic association, sect, nation, etc., and the two types of relations are correlatives.

The relations within the group are indicated by such terms as patriotism, loyalty, morale, *esprit de corps,* and ethnocentrism, the last-named referring especially to the contrast in the conduct toward outsiders and insiders. Usually the out-group is considered inferior, for every group tends to make itself the center of all its esteem, loyalties, and preferences. For example, to the Greeks, all others were barbarians. Various primitive peoples call themselves by names meaning men, others being ranked as belonging to a lower order of beings. The appellation "Illinois" applied by one Amerind tribe to itself meant "men," other tribes by implication being lower in the scale. The Hottentots label themselves "men of men." Even a primitive Veddah, as also a modern chauvinist, is convinced of the superiority of his race over all others. To the Russian peasants the mir is always just and reasonable, and truth may be found nowhere but in its unanimous opinion. Such attitudes as these enable a group to act unitedly in its struggle for status and subsistence.

This solidarity is also aided, and in part symbolized, by "collective representations," such as flags, colors, pins, passwords, uniforms and other labels which enhance the contrasts between those within and those outside. The Old Order Amish made a symbol of their use of hooks and eyes in opposition to the worldly-minded, who used buttons as adornments, rather than as utilities. Among other groups an unshaved beard is a sign of membership in the elect. Numerous other *isolation devices,* as we shall call them, serve to increase contrasts and self-consciousness and to make defection from within, as well as admission from outside, more difficult.

A solidary group has both *corporate* and *personal* relations. The first of these is illustrated by the sentiments for the group symbols, its historic memories, and its aims. In the relations of compatriots and co-religionists the thought of the territory, achievements, common dangers and sufferings, heroes, ideals, and ambitions associated with the group comes first, and in this sense the

relation of the members is to the group as such, and is a collective or corporate relation.

In the second type of relations the bonds are direct ties between persons who are webbed together by threads of sympathy. These personal bonds differ among the members; usually they are especially binding toward the leader. This attachment, however, is due not only to his personal sympathy but also—and primarily—to the fact that he is a collective representation. He symbolizes the group and stands for what the members want; he solidifies them around himself or around some interest which they think worth striving for. In this way fidelity to the leader, and, in a lesser degree, to the other fellow members, assumes a symbolic character. The personnel changes at least once in a lifetime; but the corporate relations may persist indefinitely, providing that there are enough old members at any one time to imbue the neophytes or the young with the corporate and personal loyalties necessary to guarantee collective action.

However, the relations between members are not always amiable. Opposition, resistance, and rivalry are normal occurrences, although they are usually subordinated to the interests and sentiments of the associates. In a solidary group the participants feel that they belong together; there is, in the words of Giddings, a "consciousness of kind" which permits and even requires a degree of individuality in direct proportion to the complexity of the group.[14]

(3) RANKING, FUNCTIONAL, AND SPATIAL POSITIONS refer to the diversities which exist within a group, society, or community considered as a unit. These relations may vary independently of the primary and secondary or the in-group and out-group relations reviewed above.

By *rank* or status we mean the comparative rights, privileges, or honors which individuals hold because of their differences in achievement, their unlike physical appearance, the reputation of their ancestors, their place of abode, their function or vocation, and wealth, or any one of many other items which are considered worthy of favorable or unfavorable notice. We usually feel that everything we do reflects upon our status or place in society because of the judgments which others pass upon our acts. This is, indeed, so far true that society may be said to consist of individuals who have so-

[14] Giddings, F. H., *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1906, pp. 275 ff.

cial position or status. In a sense, everyone has a unique position in his own group. There are variations in personal ascendency in even the smallest groups (the dyads, triads, etc.), as well as in those composed of greater numbers. Each person also acquires status because of his membership in a given group, for he shares in the reputation of the clique or social class to which he belongs.

The *functional* relations pertain to the connections existing between the various economic, administrative, directive, or other tasks performed by different individuals or by subgroups in a community. These assigned functions may pertain to the gaining of a livelihood or to any allotment of duties in conducting the affairs of the group. Such a relation between functions was implied in our discussion of interdependency as one of the two main characteristics of every relatively permanent society. There are many ways in which efforts may be joined; and from the intricacy and the interruptions of these functional relations there arise such weighty present-day problems as industrial conflicts, unfair competition, and unemployment.[15]

The *spatial* relations result from competitive cooperation whereby races, classes, and sectarian or other groups are segregated in separate quarters or districts. Because of this segregation social relations may be expressed in terms of the place which people, groups, and institutions occupy with reference to one another.[16]

Each of these types of relations may involve the other two. Thus rank may be determined, as is generally true in our civilization, by the duties performed in a group or the occupation followed in securing a livelihood, for some offices and functions carry more public favor or prestige-value than others. Conversely, prestige is an asset in winning a livelihood or securing remunerative work. So, too, one place of abode may carry more esteem than another and reflect upon the residents, while the wealth a person can command largely determines where he may reside.

The above-mentioned types of relations among the individuals in a group, that is, the attitudes uniting individuals, and their comparative functional, ranking, and spatial positions (considered separately or together), may be called social structure or social organization. This meaning of social structure is summed up by W. G. Sumner as follows: "The relations of men to each other when they are carrying on the struggle for existence near each other, consist

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[15] See chaps. xiii and xiv.
[16] See chaps. xv and xvi.

in mutual relations (antagonisms, rivalries, alliances, coercions, and cooperations) from which result . . . more or less fixed positions of individuals and subgroups towards each other and more or less established modes of interaction between them by which the interests of all members of the group are served . . . every act of each man fixes an atom in a structure, both fulfilling a duty from what preceded and conditioning what is to come afterwards by the authority of traditional custom. The structure thus built up is not physical but societal or institutional, that is to say, it belongs to a category which must be defined and studied by itself."[17]

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# CHAPTER III

## Social Differentiation and Social Structure

Because a group represents various common characteristics, it may to this extent be regarded as a unit. But when viewed from within, this unit is found to be made up not only of individuals who are performing different functions and occupying unlike ranks, but also of various subgroups, each of which may likewise have a more or less distinct locality, function, and rank. Such distinctions between persons or between subgroups are known as *social differentiation*. By this is meant a diversification within a unit and not merely the dissimilarities among wholly unconnected individuals and groups; it implies that although people have varying status and functions or belong to different classes, they are nevertheless bound together either by consensus or by dependency, their differences being subordinated to the need or desire to cooperate.

### VERTICAL DIFFERENTIATION

Aside from the division of larger communities into smaller ones, as noted in the preceding chapter,[1] two other general types of social differentiation are found in every community. These may be designated as vertical and horizontal. The first has reference to the group distinctions which rest upon residence within defined territorial boundaries (for example, districts, or other quarters), or upon similarity of political and religious beliefs, or upon a common ancestry, rather than upon ranking, as is true of the horizontal divisions. In other words, vertical groups are composed of all ranks, classes, and economic strata. Two types of vertical groups will be considered: (1) genetic groups, and (2) associations.

(1) GENETIC GROUPS are those which have sprung from the same lineage, thereby constituting one of the most obvious forms of differentiation in a community. They are found in their simplest form in the relationship between parent and child, which is the fundamental group within a society. Other forms of genetic groups are the greater

[1] See also chaps. xv and xvi.

or compound family (comprising a married pair,[2] their children, in-laws, and grandchildren), the clan, phratry, and tribe. Because language is acquired first of all in the family and because speech supplies a ready symbol of unity, people who speak a common language or who belong to the same nation (from *nascor*, allied to our word *birth*) often regard themselves as of common ancestry. Although a belief in a common origin does not necessarily prove actual blood kinship, it nevertheless supplies a bond of union, as is illustrated by the Hebrew organization based upon the legendary descent from Abraham, the story of Romulus and Remus (the mythical ancestors of the Romans) and the tales concerning the descent of the British people from Brutus, the grandson of Æneas.

Genetic groups persist not only because of their mutual relation to the reputed ancestors but also because of other factors which tend to be linked with the idea of kinship; namely, economic advantages, and common sentiments and traditions. To these may be added propinquity, for in relatively non-mobile societies people residing in a given locality are likely, in the long run, to be kinsmen because proximity encourages intermarriage. The reverse is also true in that a territorial group may accept the idea of a putative ancestor as a symbol of solidarity; for example, immigrants soon come to speak of "*our* Pilgrim forefathers."

Just as a society is differentiated into families, so the actual and the putative kin group itself may include smaller cliques which are either prescribed in the culture or based on spontaneous preferences. A tribe is differentiated into minor groups such as phratries or moieties, and these in turn may be divided into clans or smaller familial organizations. Each of these grades or subdivisions assumes some one or several distinct functions in the life of the group as a whole, and performs various political duties, renders mutual aid, and (especially in the case of the moieties) regulates marriage by permitting unions only between persons from different moieties.[3] Within our own culture, the kin group is likewise differentiated into minor cliquings, as is shown by the difference in the solidarity of the parent-child or the sibling relation as

[2] The married couple itself is not a genetic group, but a *connubium*, and is based on contract, agreement, or other similar principles of organization; the genetic group is based upon descent with the resulting physical and cultural inheritance.

[3] Goldenweiser, A. A., *Early Civilization*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926, p. 55.

compared to that of cousins and avunculates. In many preliterate societies, territorial and kinship groups exist side by side for purposes of differentiation and allotment of various duties and privileges. But the contest between these two methods of division has, at least in western societies, been increasingly unfavorable to the genetic group, which has retained only a few of its former functions, surrendering some to the territorial (that is, to the political) organizations, and others to various private associations or special interest groups.

(2) INTEREST GROUPS AND ASSOCIATIONS.—When individuals recognize their like interests and begin to act unitedly in promoting them, they constitute an interest group or association. These associations are distinguishable, both in their origin and in their methods of operation, from genetic groups as well as from informal crowds or other temporary or spontaneous aggregations lacking durable sentiments or interests. Although the genetic group also has common interests, it is constructed on other principles, except in the case of the married pair. However, the bonds of a common aim and interest may be added to the ties already existing in a genetic group, as, for instance, when the members of a family start a business or defend their land or their status against rivals. In the association, the like or common interests precede the formation of the group.

The most inclusive of all associations is the state, an agency designed to perform specified functions, such as safeguarding property, guaranteeing personal security, and promoting other interests specified in civil laws. The interests or functions not expressly assumed by the state are left to other types of associations which are formed with its consent. These "voluntary" associations may overlap several national areas, but a state as an association of persons is always restricted to definite geographical boundaries—the national territory. The organizations operating with the explicit or implicit consent of the state may be said to be superterritorial or superspatial because—or to the extent that—their members do not occupy an exclusive terrain but are scattered over an area in which members of various associations reside; they occupy the territory without dividing it.

Differentiations of this type exist in varying degree in all but the simplest communities. In his study of primitive secret societies, Webster says that the Negro in Africa, like the Chinaman, gets up

a club for any little project he undertakes.[4] Such organizations are a means of social participation or sociability as well as of promoting many other objectives; and wherever customs and other conditions permit, such associations will be formed spontaneously. Although the following description by de Tocqueville, written a century ago, portrays a tendency toward social differentiation, it likewise illustrates the American principle of granting free and complete participation to everyone, not only in governmental affairs but also in the general life of the community.

> Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions, constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds—religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build universities, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; they found, in this manner, hospitals, prisons and schools; if it be purposed to inculcate some truths or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society. Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association.[5]

Theoretically, the number of such subgroups in a community is limited only by the total possible combinations that may be made of two or more inhabitants around an indefinitely varied list of aims. Although this potential limit is not actually attained, the variety of cliquings seems to exceed the number which is desirable from the standpoint of economy of time and resources. In every small city there are coteries representing different cultural (nationality or immigrant) groups, recreational clubs of various kinds, and competing churches, in addition to hospitals, welfare agencies, schools, business clubs, and professional organizations.[6] Apparently there is nothing, so far as an observer can see, that anyone may wish to do, think, or work for, that does not have an association ready

[4] Webster, Hutton, *Secret Societies,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1908, p. 126.
[5] Tocqueville, Alexis de, *Democracy in America* (edition of 1898), vol. ii, chap. v, p. 129.
[6] Steiner, J. F., *Community Organization,* The Century Company, New York, 1925, p. 52.

for him to enter. One small city with a population of approximately forty thousand has one association for every eighty people. The following description suggests a superfluity of these units of community organization.

> But there are not just two worlds in Middletown: there are a multitude. Small worlds of all sorts are forever forming, shifting, and dissolving. People maintain membership, intimate or remote, formal or tacit, in groups of people who get a living together—factory, department of factory, group within department under the "group system" of production, factory welfare association, trade union, board of directors, Chamber of Commerce, Merchant's Association, Advertising Club, and so on; through one's home activities one belongs to a group of relatives, a neighborhood, a body of customers of certain shops, patrons of a bank, of a building and loan association; a student may belong to the high school, the sophomore class, the class-pin committee, the managing board of the school paper, the Daubers' Club, History B class—and so on, indefinitely, through all the activities of the city. Some of these groupings are temporary—a table at bridge, a grand jury, a dinner committee; others are permanent—the white race, the Presbyterian Church, relatives of John Murray. Some are local—depositors in the Merchant's Bank, the Bide-a-Wee Club, friends of Ed Jones, residents of the South Side; others are as wide as the country, the state, the nation, or the world.[7]

A similar differentiation of a community into associations may be seen in villages and rural areas. A survey of 140 American agricultural villages with a population ranging from 250 to 2,500 showed that, on the average, each had 5.6 churches, 6.8 lodges, 3.2 civic organizations, and 2.7 sociability coteries.[8] Ten villages in Michigan were found to have a total of 390 such organizations,[9] while the rural areas in five Wisconsin counties recorded 351 special interest groups among the farm dwellers alone.[10]

Associations themselves may be differentiated on the basis of their

[7] Lynd, Robert, and Lynd, Helen, *Middletown,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929, pp. 478-479.

[8] Brunner, Edmund deS., *et el., American Agricultural Villages,* Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York, 1927, pp. 191, 207.

[9] Hoffer, C. R., and Cawood, Margaret, "Services of Institutions and Organizations in Town-Country Communities," *Bulletin No. 208,* Agricultural Experiment Station, East Lansing, Michigan, 1931, pp. 32-33.

[10] Kolb, J. H., and Wileden, A. F., "Special Interest Groups in Rural Society," *Bulletin No. 84,* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, December, 1927.

objectives or interests and the type of membership they attract. The interests served by an association may be roughly classified as political, economic, educational, æsthetic, scientific, hedonistic, recreational, sociability, philanthropic, etc. Although an organization ostensibly is built around some such objective, it does not follow that all its members have identical motives in pursuing the activity or promoting the aim for which the association stands; on the contrary, each member may seek to accomplish some quite individual end through his participation in the organization. Nevertheless, the type of interests does act more or less as a selective factor in determining the character of the membership because people are attracted unequally to different objectives or to one another.

For these reasons there is usually some differentiation in a community along the lines of age, sex, mental qualities, moral standards, culture, physical type, and race. Such groupings are due to a variety of circumstances, including personal preferences and customs. For example, the cliquing of children is due partly to natural congeniality and partly to the fact that such divisions are unintentionally fostered by the exclusion of the young from ready participation in the work and leisure activities of adults. Several studies indicate that children select their associates to some extent on the basis of propinquity, common experience, and like interests and, to a lesser degree, according to the grade of intelligence, for those standing high in the scale often clique with those having a low rating, and *vice versa*.[11] Again, division on the basis of age may be due to customs which prescribe especially organized activities for different "age-grades." For example, in our own civilization such cliquings are provided for all ages from the nursery school and kindergarten age upward. Among some preliterate peoples who generally do not keep account of their age by years, persons born in the same year or in a two-year or even longer period customarily constitute an age-grade, the members of which are bound together by mutual duties and rights prescribed by the mores. In most societies the separate interests and occupations of men and women lead to voluntary associations which are exclusively for one or the other sex, as the existence of many men's and women's organizations shows.

This segregation of the population along age and sex lines illus-

[11] Almack, John C., "Efficiency in Socialization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1926, vol. xxxi, p. 244.

trates the principle stated in Chapter I, that physical traits become objects of attitudes and help to emphasize diversity in the unity of the inclusive group. But the segregation is only partial. One study of groups of children between three and eight years of age showed that one-third of them contained both sexes, the tendency toward segregation being greater in the groups above six years of age. A study of rural associations disclosed the fact that in the majority of them the membership comprised both sexes and that men and women held offices in nearly equal ratios.[12]

Social differentiation increases with the growth of population and especially with specialization and division of labor. But the craving for sociability requires small and intimate associations, for only in primary relations are the desires for congeniality, loyalty, and *rapport* fully realized.

### HORIZONTAL DIFFERENTIATION

Any genetic, interest, or territorial group may be, and usually is, further differentiated because the members in each group perform unlike tasks and occupy unequal rank or status and have dissimilar degrees of personal superordination and subordination. However, we are here concerned not with distinctions pertaining to the personal rôle in a group but rather with the differentiations into social classes or "strata," as implied in such terms as the élite, the "middle" and "upper" classes or other labels designating assumed superiority and inferiority.

(1) SOCIAL CLASS DEFINED.—A "horizontal" group comprising one "layer" or "level" must be distinguished from a so-called "vertical" group (such as a church, nation, local community, etc.) which is composed of members of all social classes or ranks. A social class, in the sense indicated, must also be distinguished from mere statistical aggregates, such as the blind, theater-goers, newspaper readers, immigrants, brunettes, the aged, etc. Since the term class refers to whole sections of the population containing all ages and both sexes, the distinctions in rank between different age groups and between the sexes do not constitute social classes.[13] Briefly stated, a social class is any comparatively permanent division in society which is differentiated by relatively persistent dissimilarities in rank and

[12] Kolb, J. H., and Wileden, A. F., *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[13] See North, C. C., *Social Differentiation*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1926, p. 25.

separated from other strata by social distance. When a class system is well established it has tue following characteristics: an assumption of superiority and the appropriation of certain rights by a portion of a population; the acceptance of inferiority by another portion; standards of conduct recognizing the place or status of each class, and rationalizations to explain and justify the existing arrangements.[14]

So defined, classes may or may not have in addition the characteristics of a genetic group or an association organized around some common interest. They resemble a genetic group in so far as their membership is determined by birth, as was once true of Indian castes and other "closed" class systems. Also they resemble an association when they are formally organized to promote a similar or common aim. But they may lack planned organization, the solidarity between the members of each class being based not on united efforts to promote their joint interests, but on the attempt to maintain status, as, for example, by keeping members of other classes "in their place." On the other hand, the dominant class is likely to be organized in order to retain its position; and every class whose members are allowed to communicate and given political freedom will develop "class consciousness" and an organization for the purpose of safeguarding and improving its condition.

(2) CRITERIA OF CLASSES.—Anything which is regarded as a label of status, success, or failure may serve to mark off one class from another. The most usual criteria of classes are ancestry, race, occupation, wealth, and political privileges or inequalities.

Ancestry is a recognizable factor in the determination of rank even in a democracy, but it is especially important in societies composed of distinct hierarchies. When rank is transferred by heredity from generation to generation, castes or "closed classes" exist, but when ascent or descent in the social scale rests primarily on competition, classes are said to be "open." Castes are distinguished not only by their relative inflexibility in the rank to which individuals are assigned but also by the requirements of marriage within the same caste. Usually, also, occupations are prescribed and handed on from father to son; and rules of untouchability and non-dining reinforce the other obstacles to free communication. However, neither the hereditary nor the competitive factor is absolute as a class

[14] See Miller, H. A., "Race and Class Parallelism," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1928, vol. cxl, pp. 1-5.

determiner, for the two principles overlap and vary in relative importance. Indeed, no class is completely closed, for it is replenished by births within it; furthermore, transition between classes is not unknown even in such rigid and stable systems as that of India.[15] On the other hand, in democratic societies there is usually a tendency for parents to pass on their honors and wealth to their children, and for marriages to be contracted within the same social strata. To the extent that this is so, rank depends not on individual ability but on inherited advantages.

Race differences have so frequently provided a basis for class distinctions that the terms race and class are often, but erroneously, considered synonymous. In some areas the dominant classes are obviously the descendants of the conquering races who superimposed themselves upon the native inhabitants. Thus, the basis of the Indian caste system is thought to have been a succession of racial and cultural inundations,[16] and some evidence for this belief is found in the fact that the Sanscrit word *varna*, meaning *caste*, also means color, and that there is a perceptible shading in color from the high-caste Brahmans to the dark-skinned Sudras, the lowest caste. The nobility among the ancient Mexicans and the Polynesians were distinctly fairer than the masses.[17] In one section of east Africa the "Hamitic" herders who are in the ascendancy are tall and somewhat resemble Europeans in physiognomy, while the peasantry are of moderate stature, stocky build, and generally of the negroid type.[18] Similar evidence of the significance of racial distinctions as criteria of status can be drawn from Europe and America. However, the comparative ranking of persons who are colored differs greatly in various countries. For example, in the United States, Negroes constitute a caste in several of the above meanings of the term; in some South American countries, on the other hand, color is relatively insignificant as a symbol of rank and does not prevent accessibility to any office in the country. Three different ranks, depending on differences in pigmentation, are found in the

[15] Sorokin, P. A., *Social Mobility,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1927, pp. 139-140.

[16] Viswanatha, S. V., *Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture,* E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., New York, 1928, pp. 50 ff.

[17] Weatherly, Ulysses G., "Race and Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1910, vol. xv, p. 436.

[18] Lowie, R. H., *The Origin of the State,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1927, p. 27.

West Indies. Where race prejudice is strong, this social distance between comparable economic and functional classes is usually greater than the class distinctions within the same race.

Occupation has likewise been an important factor in social stratification, as may be seen by the vocations ascribed to the four main castes of India: the Brahmans as priests and singers, the Kshattriyas as rulers and warriors, the Vaisyas as merchants and tillers of the soil, and the Sudras as servile laborers.[19] In other societies, likewise, different occupations bestow different degrees of prestige. In an industrialized society, for example, four class divisions may be identified: (1) capitalists and large employers, (2) smaller merchants and employers, and the professional group, (3) the wage-earning class, and (4) the agricultural class.[20] However, these divisions are only approximate, and there is undoubtedly room for wide disagreement as to the order of ranking. Moreover, in every society, occupations are only one of various supplementary factors producing stratification.

Although it may be supposed that at times the esteem attaching to occupations corresponds to their importance for survival and the degree of intelligence necessary for their successful performance, it is clear that the reverse is as often true, especially in a society which is secure against famines and outside foes. In one preliterate group canoe-making was restricted to persons of the highest rank, while the cooking was done only by those of the lowest class. The occupation of smith is a mark of low rank in some groups and of high rank in others. Ability to live without a remunerative occupation is frequently taken as a sign of rank because it distinguishes an individual from the majority who must exert themselves to win the necessities of life. Free Celts, according to Cicero, felt it a disgrace to till their fields with their own hands. Australian natives, on being asked to work, have been known to reply: "White fellow works, not black fellow; black fellow gentleman."[21] The position of the Samurai class in Japan was comparable: "The people of the other classes dealt with visible things while the Samurai dealt with

[19] Rivers, W. H. R., *Social Organization,* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1924, p. 155.

[20] North, C. C., *op. cit.,* p. 30. Cf. Phelps, Harold A., "Significance of the Economic Classes in Rhode Island," *Social Forces,* 1925-1926, vol. iv, pp. 620-625.

[21] Westermarck, E., *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* The Macmillan Company, London, 1908, vol. ii, p. 171.

colorless and unsubstantial things, such as honor, justice, and cere-
mony. Pecuniary matters were left to their womenfolk, and their
sons were not allowed to be taught even such a practical matter as
arithmetic."[22] Thus, in feudal society, as in the commercial aris-
tocracies of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Antwerp, leisure or the
appearance thereof was an important item in class distinctions; and
similar ideas are prevalent in western countries today, although
manual labor is more highly esteemed in America than in Euro-
pean countries.

The attitudes toward different occupations also vary from time
to time in the same civilization. In the earlier periods of Greek
history, for example, even kings' sons might be seen at work as
artisans, but later the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, and other free
citizens gave up manual work.[23] Although conspicuous consumption
is now a basis of invidious comparisons, the opposite qualities were
formerly esteemed. One writer, reporting on conditions in an Amer-
ican village during the middle of the nineteenth century, says:

> Not wealth, but wealth-producing qualities of character were
> the measure of one's stature as a man before the community, as
> well as of one's own self-respect. . . . It was laziness and not
> poverty that relegated an individual to the lower social class. . . .
> A man might occasionally need help, but, provided he was indus-
> trious, this was excused on the ground that he "tried hard enough."
> . . . In the later period public sentiment ran in an opposite direc-
> tion. The higher social class was composed not of workers but of
> speculators and men-at-leisure. The worker was now an object
> of contempt—"the dirty laborer with his dinner pail." Hence,
> individuals became "too proud to work" and seized opportunities
> to display the fact that they were "above work." Thus, a house-
> holder who could not "afford" to do so, often hired certain work
> done about the house and stood idly by to "boss the job." This
> display of leisure is one of the many forms of the general display
> of wealth which became the basis of social cleavage.[24]

Because wealth is an object of emulation in most groups, the
functions which are most remunerative are likely to be esteemed.
But wealth may even bestow prestige regardless of the manner in

[22] Beard, Miriam, *Realism in Romantic Japan,* The Macmillan Company, New
York, 1930, p. 391.

[23] Sorokin, P. A., *op. cit.,* p. 125.

[24] Williams, James M., *An American Town,* James Kempster Printing Company,
New York, 1906, pp. 35-37.

which it is acquired. The Industrial Revolution increased the significance of wealth as a determinant of class, and the balance of power in political, as well as in economic affairs, passed more and more into the hands of those who controlled industrial and commercial interests. Consequently the former class hierarchies in European countries were upset. The same changes are occurring in oriental countries at the present time because of the industrial revolution taking place there. Hindus are now saying, "Money is caste." In great cities everywhere, hereditary and traditional social positions are being superseded by cliques based upon wealth and display.[25]

Unequal political disabilities, special prerogatives, and rules of social distance are further criteria of class, as well as a means of enforcing social distinctions. This is clear from the wide variations in the privileges granted to members of the different "estates" or classes in various countries, such as the property qualifications required for the right of the franchise, the privilege of changing the abode and carrying arms, the legal restriction on certain occupations, the degree of protection before the courts, the type or the severity of the punishment inflicted, the comparative "value" attaching to the life of persons in the several strata, etc. In early Japan the life of an Eta was valued at one-seventh that of a commoner,[26] and a similar unequal value of human life was also found among the ancient Babylonians, the Teutons, and numerous other people.

Social distance—the aloofness and unapproachability of persons especially those of different social strata—is both a symbol of class standing and a means of maintaining the existing distinctions in rank. Those physically near each other in geometric space (for example, a king and his servant, a master and his slave) are often separated by great social distance, and, conversely, those who are very far from each other in space may be very near each other socially.

However, space may also be made a symbol of social distance; for the degree of approachability may be a sign of class differences, as has been true of the Indian caste system since the third century A. D. Ideas of pollution by actual or implied contact are common

[25] Zorbaugh, Harvey, *The Gold Coast and the Slum,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928, pp. 47-49.

[26] Kawamura, Tadoa, *Class Conflicts in Japan* (unpublished doctor's dissertation), University of Chicago, 1928, p. 29.

in south India, the nearer to each other the members of different castes approach, the greater being the pollution. Some of the castes near the top of the scale are supposed to cause pollution only by touching—the artisan class pollutes others at a distance of six feet; the Izhava (the professional toddy-tapper), at one hundred feet; the cow-killing Pariah, at two hundred feet; while the lowest in the scale must stand furlongs away.[27] These rules of unapproachability and untouchability formerly extended even to objects, and applied not only to the lower castes but also to anyone outside the individual's own particular caste. This is illustrated by the alleged story that one Hindu, when imprisoned in America, fasted ten days rather than eat food prepared by someone outside of his particular caste, and the prison authorities accordingly found it necessary to provide him with a stove so that he could cook his own food.[28] In ancient Rome, likewise, a certain amount of avoidance was a mark of class distinction. Thus, a free Roman could not invite to his house or eat with anyone not born free, even though the latter might be richer than he; but, on the other hand, a freeman, even though a pauper, was welcome as a guest.

Social distance may also be expressed by the segregation of the disesteemed classes in separate streets or areas, a fact which is familiar to us in the separation of races within our own cities. A more extreme example is found in the case of the Etas of Japan who, although they could enter a town to buy or sell, were not allowed to enter a shop, nor could their professional singers enter a home of the upper classes. Similarly, the members of the higher classes would not enter the Eta settlement except in an official capacity, and not even a child would cross the boundary line.[29]

In other instances, devices such as servants' uniforms, obeisances, and honorific titles help to emphasize the position of the super- ordinated classes. In Japan the criterion of rank was formerly the wearing of a sword; the higher orders wore two, the next in rank one, while members of the lower order were prohibited from wearing any.[30] Sumptuary laws prescribing the type of dress or dwelling

[27] Viswanatha, S. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 204 ff.; Rivers, W. H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[28] Haskin, T. J., *The Immigrant*, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1913, p. 207.

[29] Hearn, Lafcadio, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913, pp. 272-273.

[30] Spencer, J., *Principles of Sociology*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1893, vol. ii, pp. 174-175.

have similar significance. In old Japan, according to Hearn, every class was under such regulation, various details (the size, form, and cost of the dwelling, the amount and quality of food, the kind of clothing, floor-mats, etc.) being minutely prescribed so that the privileges allowed marked the position of each class in the social scale.[31]

In various European countries sumptuary legislation was enacted as soon as the diffusion of wealth made it possible for the lower orders to imitate their superiors. Thus, a Nürnberg ordinance of 1693 designated the apparel, ornaments, and equipage permitted to different ranks,[32] and an English decree of 1362 stipulated that grooms and servants should not eat meat oftener than once a day,[33] while an early New Haven law required that "whoever wore clothes trimmed with gold, silver, or bone lace above two shillings by the yard, should be presented by the grand jurors to the selectmen and fined."[34] However, with the disappearance of sumptuary laws, fashion has come to be a means of removing class distinctions and of attracting notice by self-display, especially in the case of persons who lack more constructive methods of self-expression.

Class and caste systems are undermined by changing methods of gaining a livelihood or wealth, increased freedom of competition, improved means of travel and communication, and the spread of enlightenment. They are strengthened by educational, cultural, and racial differences, a low state of enlightenment, and static conditions of society which permit the principle of heredity to prevail over that of competition.[35]

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[31] Hearn, Lafcadio, *op. cit.,* pp. 182, 184, 186.

[32] Greenfield, K. R., *Sumptuary Law in Nürnberg,* Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1918, p. 126.

[33] Baldwin, Frances E., *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulations in England,* Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1926, p. 47.

[34] Prince, W. F., "An Examination of Peter's 'Blue Laws,'" *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1898, pp. 95-138.

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# CHAPTER IV

## Customs and Institutions

Whenever people live in prolonged association, they develop consensus and usages which supply standardized ways of conduct toward fellow group-members, as well as techniques for extracting a livelihood from the environment. By means of such regulative principles as customs and institutions, the social structure is given definiteness and permanence. While, on the one hand, these regulative factors merely reflect working relations as they evolve from necessity or convenience, on the other hand, they support the social structure because they furnish a mode of procedure and create an expectation of conformity.

These introductory statements will become clear as we proceed with a more detailed analysis under the captions, Folkways and Mores and Institutions.

### FOLKWAYS AND MORES

(1) FOLKWAYS AND CUSTOMS.—"The life of society," says Sumner, "consists of making folkways and applying them."[1] Folkways are relatively durable, standardized usages prevailing in a group. For example, the way of building houses, the worship of ancestors, the procedure in initiating members into a secret society, the wearing of clerical vestments, and the mannerisms of speech and gesture vary from one tribe, nation, or sect to another—they are ways of a folk. Though apparently designed to fulfill a given need, folkways usually arise without prior intention, in the process of living. They are the results of "frequent repetitions of petty acts, often by great numbers acting in the same way when face to face with the same needs."[2] They are not intuitive but historical and empirical—they arise from experience. While the term folkways refers to all uniform and standardized procedures, we are primarily interested in those usages which determine relations between persons.

[1] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, p. 34.
[2] See *ibid.*, p. 3.

The term *custom* is applied to the folkways in which the element of permanence is pronounced, as contrasted with *fashions*, which are more temporary uniformities. Custom may be defined as a "way of acting common to the members of a country or social group, or at least widely enough diffused among them over a long enough period of time to have become in some degree taken for granted and acted upon in normal circumstances without any conscious exercise of deliberation."[3]

The usages of good form or courtesies (implied "good intentions" between persons) are known as *etiquette*. Although these particular folkways are a small part of the custom-prescribed personal relations, they are very significant, as is proved by their presence in all groups and by the contempt heaped on the individual who ignores them. But like other folkways, they differ with time, place, and circumstances.[4] For example, the etiquette between master and slaves differs from that between equals, and the etiquette in the family differs from that between casual acquaintances; the requirements of good form in the drawing room differ widely from those on the public highway or athletic field.

The rules of etiquette also vary greatly from one culture to another. Some eastern peoples cover their faces in public as a matter of courtesy; others, described by an early traveler,[5] expose their faces without reserve, but are scrupulous about covering their necks; and to Orientals the low-cut evening dress of European women is the height of indecency. Hebrews and Gentiles have very different ideas concerning the propriety of wearing a hat in a place of public worship; among some Malays, decorum requires that at worship the head be covered, the back turned, and the eyes cast down. In Sumatra it is a breach of etiquette to mention one's own name.[6] In some country districts of China, etiquette forbids husband and wife to be seen talking together. Thus "a young man and his wife meet in an empty land and, supposing themselves unobserved, he asks her for the key of the garden gate. She throws it on the ground

[3] Cole, G. H. D., *Social Theory*, Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1920, p. 45.

[4] For instructive examples of the differences between the Chinese and American requirements concerning good form, see Lin, Chiang, "Contrasts Between Chinese and American Social Codes," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1925-1926, vol. x, pp. 41-45.

[5] Alcock, Sir Rutherford, *The Capital of the Tycoon*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1868, vol. i, p. 169.

[6] Waitz, Theodor, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

without looking at him and, once indoors, berates him soundly for looking at her in public. 'Suppose,' she says, 'someone had seen us.' "[7] Other folkways prescribe distinctive forms of conduct toward persons of specified degrees of kinship, or toward those of the same association and community.

It will readily be seen that usages are not equally obligatory. At one end of the scale are those which are more or less optional and which may be omitted at the discretion of the individual—the order of serving a menu, the manner of sending Christmas greetings or passing the time of day, the mode of wearing a hat or using a tool. But these optional variations shade off gradually into others which because of their unfamiliarity produce a surprise or shock. Unfamiliar customs such as the wearing of "un-American" shoes or shawls by immigrants may arouse derision or contempt, and non-observance of the grammatically "correct" mode of speech is a source of merriment to the fastidious. On the other hand, the shock resulting from a breach of customs is often due to moral disapproval. This is illustrated both by those practices which have implications of immorality and of lack of personal standards, and by the violation of the rules of fair play or the disregard of the rights and welfare of other persons.

(2) MORES.—The folkways which are most obligatory are known as mores (the plural of the Latin word *mos,* meaning custom). The mores are the ways of conduct which are held to be conducive to societal welfare but are not enacted or coordinated by an authority such as the state or an ecclesiastical body.[8] They imply a judgment as to the rightness or wrongness of the actions of the group members and, in a lesser degree, of outsiders. Indeed, the mores apply first of all to a group: they reenforce its structure and regulate the relations between its members. The formulation of such principles—the creation of a "moral order"—is a chief characteristic of human society.

Because the mores depend upon culture and circumstances, the same act may be regarded as good or bad by different groups or at different times in the same group. For example, the drowning of witches was once a part of the accepted code in America, just as the burning of widows was in India a century ago, and as in-

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[7] Ross, E. A., *The Changing Chinese,* The Century Company, New York, 1911, p. 183.

[8] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways,* p. iii.

fanticide was in ancient Greece and in many savage tribes of recent times. The primitive Greeks ascribed a low place to veracity, as is illustrated by the deeds of some of the greatest Homeric heroes who, as the ancient bard took great care to relate, excelled all men of their time in thieving and false swearing. Various sects have regarded all complimentary speech as vainglorious.[9] Practices which are now considered "fair" in business dealings are very different from those recognized as legitimate a generation ago. The standards of the medical profession are not the same as those of merchants or artisans; the norms for children's conduct often differ from those for adults, and the codes for members of a religious organization are unlike those of non-members. Even in the same nation the mores of various cities and communities, as well as those of social classes, are often widely divergent.

Although some codes vary widely in different groups and for given relations, others have a discernible similarity the world over. This is especially true in primary group relations within which honesty, obedience, unselfishness, industry, courage, and honor (as these precepts are understood at a given time and place) are almost universal.[10] But even in these relations the practices differ, and one abstractly stated rule, such as "Honor thy father and thy mother." is construed in many ways. So, also, the meaning of keeping a promise is not the same everywhere. For example, the head-hunters of Formosa are unable to understand the laxity of Americans in holding to a promise made by free choice, as in the case of breaking a marriage engagement.[11] Moreover, the codes vary with the situation, as, for instance, within and outside the group. Many primitive people who are scrupulously honest and faithful in their dealings with one another consider it meritorious to deceive or cheat an outsider, and more advanced peoples show the same tendency in modified forms.[12] Veracity, sharpness in bargaining, the size of fee, and the inclination to render assistance vary with personal relations, partly because of custom and approved usages, and partly because of differences in sentiments for different persons.

[9] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.,* vol. ii, p. 103.

[10] Thomas, W. I., "The Persistence of Primary Group Norms in Present-Day Society," *Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1917, p. 168.

[11] McGovern, Janet B., *Among the Head-Hunters of Formosa,* Small, Maynard and Company, Boston, 1922, p. 157.

[12] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.,* vol. ii, pp. 87 ff.

A code may be merely latent and mutually understood, rather than verbally described; or it may be definitely formulated, as in precepts, proverbs, and laws. Common law is based on custom; it merely declares what the accepted practices are, whereas enacted laws also attempt to formulate standards. In addition to the censure, possible ostracism, and retaliation supporting the mores, the laws—the formally enacted decrees of a state—impose predetermined penalties. Such laws may or may not reflect the mores of a people, but unless they correspond to the prevailing mores, their efficacy is usually slight.[13] This is illustrated by the career of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the Fourteenth Amendment, and most anti-strike laws.

From this it will be seen that mores, whether or not they are embodied in laws, are closely associated with public opinion. They have no need of justification, for they exist in their own right. Neither are they subject to criticism as long as they retain their quality as mores. However, as soon as justification is sought for them, they become questions of opinion. This implies—as is actually the case—that mores may be changed into questions of opinion and that public opinion may gradually be crystallized into accepted codes or mores. It is precisely those questions which are not covered by the mores and in which personal choices have frequently differed, over which public opinion arises. Public opinion is not the sum of individual opinions, nor does it imply unanimity in all matters; rather, it is the point at which, by discussion, individuals reach sufficient agreement to act concertedly. The opinions expressed by each individual are modified or reinforced by the similar ideas expressed by other persons, and the judgments usually tend toward some dominant drift which is the group's opinion on the case. The people concerned constitute an "opinion public," providing the agreement is widely held and they realize that it is the common opinion and that they are acting together.

However widely these standards derived from folkways, mores, and opinions may differ with place and circumstances, they help to produce regularity and to prevent chaos. When once established, such usages not only suggest a way of procedure but by their prevalence also imply an obligation of compliance. They "define the situation" for individuals and create a "reasonable expectation" of

[13] Cf. Baber, R. E., "Factors in Law Enforcement," *Social Forces*, 1928-1929, vol. viii, pp. 198-208.

conformity. It is said that in one period of Japanese history, a rude fellow was defined as an "other-than-expected person," and a Samurai might kill a member of an inferior class who was guilty of rudeness (that is, of unexpected behavior).[14] Other regulations minutely prescribed the conduct under various circumstances—not to smile when reproved nor to smile too broadly when addressing a superior, for to expose the molars under these circumstances was a punishable offence.[15]

But while such rigorous enforcement is so rare as to be anecdotal, the acknowledged reasonable expectations do nevertheless normally make at least an implied claim on us, and when we fail to live up to them we have a sense of maladjustment; our conscience troubles us, although our personal ideals may be either higher or lower than the codes of the group. The customs requiring a regularized procedure, carry a sense of necessity and rightness and we feel any deviation therefrom as disturbance. Custom, said the ancients, is "the king of all men,"[16] the implication being that even autocratic rulers, like their subjects, are custom-bound. Shakespeare speaks of the "tyrant custom," while Bacon calls custom "the principal magistrate of man's life."[17] "Man," says Tarde, "escapes, and then but partly, from the yoke of custom, only to fall under it again,"[18] for, in order to escape from the effects of the chaos of rudderless "freedom," he makes new regulations. Thus, under orderly collective existence, consensus is as indispensable as it is inevitable.

In addition to the feeling that existing codes establish a claim upon us, we are also moved by the observed approvals and disapprovals of associates. Indeed, responsiveness to the opinion of other persons is one of the chief monitors of our acts; comparatively few phases of personal relations are regulated by law, the rest being left to folkways and public opinion. Acts so regulated assume the quality of conduct. By conduct we mean behavior with the realization that other persons will pass judgment upon it or, at least, on its omission; for to associates, such omission seems uncouth, "vulgar," or immoral, depending upon the social situation and the rules involved.

[14] Park, R. E., "Behind Our Masks," *Survey,* 1926, vol. l, p. 137.

[15] Thomas, W. I., "The Persistence of Primary Group Norms in Present-Day Society," p. 171.

[16] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.,* vol. i, p. 164.

[17] Cf. Ross, E. A., *Social Control,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1904, p. 189.

[18] Tarde, Gabriel, *op. cit.,* p. 248.

Since rules of conduct vary more or less according to the relations between the individuals concerned they indicate (and in part constitute) the social organization. The manner in which folkways, mores, and laws support the social structure is recognized at once when we recall the variations which exist in obligations and loyalty toward different persons and groups such as friends versus strangers, kin versus non-kin, and, in general, the we-group versus the you-group, as well as the distinctions observed in dealing with members of different social classes.

Accordingly conduct falls into ready-made channels: Mrs. A calls upon Mrs. B, not necessarily because of any personal attraction, but because of the expectation that those in a given social circle observe certain courtesies. Mr. C tips his hat to Miss N because she belongs to the feminine portion of his class, set, or race; he refrains from saluting Sarah, the colored cook, in this way because she is in a different category. Honor and deference are shown to royalty, not necessarily because their personal qualities are such as to inspire these attitudes, but because birth has placed them in a class toward which respect is due. The simple bestowal even of recognition varies with the esteem or prejudice in which the subject is held. A casual gift from a parent is accepted as a matter of course, whereas a similar offering from a total stranger would arouse suspicion. More meticulous conduct is required toward a casual acquaintance than toward a member of the play-group or family. Discrimination is exercised according to age differences, for in some respects children are shown more leniency, even under the law, than adults are. In fact, every dealing between persons involves questions of good form, obligations, or public opinion which coincide with the social structure.

### INSTITUTIONS

Conduct so channelized through folkways and mores constitutes institutions, in which the current usages pertaining to a specific form of activity are embodied and coordinated.[19] Institutions, therefore, are not to be regarded as things "but as modes of habitual activity among men,"[20] for they indicate how people should act under given circumstances.

[19] Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927, vol. i, pp. 88-89.

[20] Giddings, F. H., "A Theory of Social Causation," *Publications of the American Economic Association,* 1904, vol. v, p. 146.

(1) INSTITUTIONS VERSUS ASSOCIATIONS.—Since the term institution is sometimes used in the sense in which we have used the term association, it is desirable to make clear the distinction between them. An association, as we have seen, is a number of persons organized for the pursuit of some common aim, interest, or function. An institution, on the other hand, is the approved or even the prescribed and relatively permanent usages governing an activity. The association consists of persons acting unitedly; the institution refers to their customary ways of acting and getting along together. For instance, the state is an association, but monarchy, law, representative government, etc., are institutions. A religious organization is an association, but the specific type of services, the systems of beliefs, and the methods of admitting new members are institutions; the marital partners constitute an association, but the manner of reckoning kinship is an institution.

"An institution," says G. H. D. Cole, "is an idea which is manifested concretely in some aspect of social conduct and which forms a part of the underlying assumptions of communal life."[21] It may be reflected either in individual conduct or in the united and organized actions of a group, such as memorial observances, church services, public ceremonials requiring collective marching, saluting, etc. The institution is always the method of doing followed by a social group or an entire society or community. In brief, as Sumner phrased it, an institution consists of a concept (idea, notion, doctrine, interest) and a structure, the structure being the working relation between people, or even, perhaps, only a number of functionaries who work in cooperation in prescribed ways under certain circumstances or at certain times.[22]

An organization—a school, for example—may be thought of as comprising first, the personnel (student body, officials, teachers, and other functionaries delegated to perform the varied tasks necessary to maintain the activities for which the school stands); second, the rules of conduct, the courses of study, the established and expected relations between the persons involved both directly (between teacher and student and between students) and indirectly (between the students and the taxpayers, etc.); and, third, the material equipment, tools, devices, paraphernalia, and the symbols and emblems used to portray these complex ideas and sentiments. The first

[21] Cole, G. H. D., *op. cit.,* p. 196.
[22] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways,* p. 53.

of these items is the association (persons participating in a function and having a common objective) ; the second and third constitute what may be called the institution—the rules of personal relations, prearranged plans of conduct, and methods for executing the intentions of the individuals entering the association.[23]

(2) PHASES OF INSTITUTIONS.—In general, the various types of institutions may be classified as economic, familial, recreational, educational, governmental, and religious.[24] All of these have some characteristics in common, which have been analyzed by Chapin into four elements, phases, or "type parts," as indicated in chart 1.

From this chart it will be seen that a material cultural object, a rule of conduct, etc., may serve somewhat similar purposes in different associations, and several purposes within the same association. For example, a piece of furniture may be a utilitarian object and an heirloom at the same time ; a ring may be a token or symbol as well as an object having commercial value. Although only a few illustrations are given in the table, similar analyses may be made for other types of institutions. For the sake of clarity we shall now consider the familial institutions in greater detail; and, although we shall not adhere strictly to the outline listed under the type parts, these will be readily identified.

In all civilizations the association between marital partners, which has as one of its chief functions the rearing of the young and giving them a place in the social structure of the community, is also surrounded by many institutional phases. These include various utilitarian items (the means of obtaining a livelihood, a place of

[23] For an elaboration of this point of view, see Chapin, F. S., *Cultural Change,* The Century Company, New York, 1928, pp. 44-50; Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *op. cit.,* pp. 87 ff.; MacIver, R. M., *The Community,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928, p. 149; Hobhouse, L. T., *op. cit.,* p. 49; Ellwood, C. A., *op. cit.,* pp. 90-91; Bernard, L. L., *Introduction to Social Psychology,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1926, p. 565.

Judd, Charles H. (*Psychology of Social Institutions,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926), uses the term *institution* to describe not merely the separate forms of culture, such as money, tools, religion, etc., but the cumulation of all culture.

[24] Sumner and Keller (*op. cit.,* pp. 89-90) give the following classification of institutions:

    1. Institutions of societal self-maintenance, industrial organization, war for plunder, and regulative organization.

    2. Those of societal self-perpetuation, marriage and the family.

    3. Societal self-qualification, social etiquette, war for glory, games, fine arts.

    4. Religion.

Chart 1

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS[25]

| Type Parts of the Structure of Institutions | Illustrations from Selected Social Organizations | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Family | State | Religion | Industry |
| I. Attitudes and Behavior Patterns | Love<br>Affection<br>Devotion<br>Loyalty<br>Parental respect | Devotion<br>Loyalty<br>Respect<br>Domination<br>Subordination<br>Fear | Reverence<br>Awe<br>Fear<br>Loyalty<br>Devotion<br>Subordination | Fair play<br>Loyalty<br>Cooperation<br>Conflict<br>Workmanship<br>Thrift |
| II. Symbolic Culture Traits | Marriage-ring<br>Crest<br>Coat-of-arms<br>Heirloom | Flag<br>Seal<br>Emblem<br>National anthem<br>Army-Navy | Cross<br>Ikon<br>Idol<br>Shrine<br>Hymn<br>Altar | Trade mark<br>Patent sign<br>Advertising emblem |
| III. Utilitarian Culture Traits | Home equipment<br>Personal property | Public buildings<br>Public works<br>Warlike equipment | Church buildings<br>Cathedral<br>Temple<br>Sanctuary<br>Altar | Stores<br>Factories<br>Ships<br>Railroads<br>Machinery |
| IV. Oral or Written Specifications | Will<br>Marriage license<br>Genealogy<br>Mores | Treaties<br>Constitution<br>Charter<br>Laws<br>Ordinances<br>Mores | Creed<br>Doctrine<br>Hymn<br>Bible<br>Sacred book<br>Mores | Franchise<br>Licenses<br>Contracts<br>Partnership papers<br>Articles of incorporation |

[25] Chapin, F. Stuart, *Cultural Change*, p. 49 (slightly adapted).

abode or shelter), tokens of sentiments, obligations concerning the division of work, and well defined relations between the members. The subsequent discussion is intended to illustrate the more important phases of these domestic institutions.

Attitudes of personal sympathy, helpfulness, loyalty, and companionability, are characteristic of the familial organization, but they vary widely according to the culture of the larger society and the form of the family. In western civilization during the past century, romantic love has come to be increasingly regarded as a necessary precondition for the formation of a family—or, more strictly, a marriage group. But such attitudes are not universal. For exam-

ple, when marriage is a means of improving status (marriages of *convenance*) or when bridal purchase is the rule, as is the case among various primitive peoples, respect or obedience rather than congeniality is expected.[26]

The marriage forms known as polygyny (the marriage of one man to several women) or polyandry (the marriage of one woman to several men, usually brothers—as among the inhabitants of Tibet) illustrate attitudes and personal relations unlike those found in monogamy. Likewise, in the case of the patriarchate (father-right) or the matriarchate (mother-right) there are significant differences in the established relations (such as the degree of authority exercised by various members of the family) which are not observed in the "equalitarian" or democratic family. The patriarchal type of organization (which prevailed among the ancient Hebrews, Japanese, Chinese, and various European peoples, including the Greeks and the English as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some Slavic groups in recent decades)[27] represents still other forms of personal relations, attitudes, and behavior ways. Among the ancient Romans the authority of the father (*patria potestas*) extended even to the right of selling his children, banishing them, or putting them to death. In the matriarchate the mother is sometimes the head of the household, as among the Iroquois and Huron tribes; again, the central place in the social structure may be delegated to the mother's brother.[28] Concerning one group, it is said that a child may readily refuse to obey its father, but will respond to the slightest wish of its maternal uncle.[29]

Mores may prescribe certain attitudes of respect, avoidance, or familiarity among persons who are in a given conventional and blood relationship. In-law taboos, which are especially frequent, are found in a variety of forms among preliterates of several continents.[30] For example, in some societies, all in-laws are forbidden to look upon one another's face or to mention one another's name. Among the

[26] Cf. MacLeod, William Christie, "Marriage, Divorce, and Illegitimacy in a Primitive Pecuniary Culture," *Social Forces*, 1926-1927, vol. v, pp. 109-117.

[27] Goodsell, Willystine, *A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1915, pp. 48, 112-153, 296.

[28] Rivers, W. H. R., *op. cit.,* pp. 88-89.

[29] *Ibid.,* p. 93.

[30] Tylor, E. B., "On the Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions Applied to Laws of Marriage and Descent," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1888-1889, vol. xviii, pp. 245-259.

Indians of British Columbia, no young man may speak to his father-in-law until he himself has killed an enemy with gray hair. Among the Zulus the husband never pronounces the names of his wife's parents for fear of being ridiculed, and the wife never addresses her father-in-law;[31] and among some Amerinds etiquette requires that a woman converse with her father-in-law only through the medium of a third person. Some Chinese do not permit married aunts, sisters, or daughters to sit on the same mat or eat from the same dish as the males of the family.[32] The sister-in-law and brother-in-law do not inquire about each other, whereas in western civilization, the same attitude may be indicated by queries concerning each other's well-being.

Taboos may be prescribed even for close blood relatives. Thus, in some tribes the boys who have been initiated into the men's group are required to avoid their mothers; and, again, even brothers and sisters may be prohibited from conversing or joking together.[33] A Crow Indian once said: "You Whites show no respect to your sisters. You talk to them." In Queensland a boy never mentions the name of a grown-up sister; among the Veddas parents never speak to their adult daughters,[34] and elsewhere, cousins may be forbidden to speak to each other. Various subsidiary practices are associated with these rules, such as bashful demeanor and circumlocutions (speaking of the son-in-law as the husband of a daughter, or as the father of so-and-so).

Even the household arrangements and the architecture of the dwellings are affected by these regulations, for several exits must be provided to prevent tabooed persons from meeting at the door. On the other hand, familiarity is permitted in some relationships. For example, among the Blackfoot and Crow Indians, a brother-in-law and sister-in-law may joke, taunt, and play tricks on each other; and elsewhere such liberties are permitted toward cross-cousins and also toward the children of fathers in the same sib division of the tribe or toward the husband of one's father's sister.

Other distinctions in relations between kinsmen include such items as tracing descent, reckoning kinship, and transmitting prop-

[31] Crawley, Ernest, *The Mystic Rose*, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1902, p. 400.

[32] Parsons, E. C., "Avoidance," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1914, vol. xix, p. 482.

[33] Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920, p. 97.

[34] Parsons, E. C., *Fear and Conventionality*, p. 162.

erty. The bilateral form of descent (in which kinship is traced through both parents), however natural and logical it seems, is not universal. The unilateral principle which we follow in the transmission of the family name is applied also to property and kinship by many people. A brief reference to these contrasting forms will help to emphasize the essentially institutional character of the domestic relations with which we are already familiar.

Among preliterate peoples the method of tracing descent tends to be influenced by the form of marriage, patrilineal descent (traced through the father) being associated with patrilocal marriage (the wife going to her husband's people), and matrilineal descent (traced through the mother) being associated with matrilocal marriage (the husband going to his wife's people). Where matrilocal marriage prevails, a child is usually, although not invariably, regarded as belonging to its mother's people—it receives its name from the mother, inherits property from her, and owes loyalty and duties to her people—whereas under patrilocal marriage the child usually belongs to its father's group. However, some societies trace kinship through the maternal line and transmit property through the paternal line.[35]

Some systems of classification of the personal relations comprise categories other than those covered by our method of reckoning kinship. For instance, in some tribes a certain title of relationship is applied not only to a blood kinsman but also to all others in approximately the same age group. Thus a child applies the term "father" not only to its paternal parent but also to all the other men in the clan who are of the same general age. Similarly "mother" is used to designate all the women of about the same age, the sons and daughters of all those classed as fathers and mothers being called brothers or sisters.

Institutional rules also designate the persons between whom marriage may be contracted—for example, the Chinese prohibit marriage between people with the same surname. The principles of *endogamy* (marriage within a given circle) and *exogamy* (marriage outside a given circle—a moiety, for instance) prevail among many primitive peoples. There are often specific requirements for marriage only with those of a prescribed degree of kinship. For example, among preliterate peoples in parts of India, Australia, Melanesia and some North American Indians a man is expected to marry

[35] Rivers, W. H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 91.

one of his father's sister's daughters or one of his mother's brother's daughters (cross-cousin marriage) but on no account may he marry his mother's sister's daughter.[36] Other groups have more complicated regulations providing that a man may marry his mother's brother's daughter's daughter or his mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter.[37]

Some institutional provisions are obligatory, while others are more or less optional. For example, monogamy is required in our mores, but the single- or the double-ring marriage ceremony, or the wearing of a wedding veil, is optional. Similarly, although various codes and rules underlie an educational organization, the details of architectural style, the ceremony followed for graduation, or the method of selecting students rests on preferences and varies widely. In the same way, some compulsory and some optional usages are found in every association of persons conducting themselves in institutional ways in the joint pursuit of interests.

This analysis of the family is meant to be merely illustrative, not exhaustive, and to enable the student to analyze similarly other institutions which pertain to the various social relations in other sections of society (economic, educational, religious, recreational, military, etc.). The various institutional aspects of conduct will receive further attention from time to time, but for the present the examples already offered are sufficient to indicate the general characteristics of these social facts.

(3) INSTITUTIONS AS SOCIAL STRUCTURE.—Although we have discussed examples of institutions as if they were separate entities existing side by side in a society, these complexes of mores and folkways are in reality interlocked. For example, the marriage system is connected with other institutions, such as laws, the ceremonies and beliefs of the church, and the system of property rights; and every other institution is likewise bound up with the rest of the culture in which it is found.

However, it must be noted that there is no definite correlation between the cultural advancement of a people and the specific forms of its institutions. For instance, while polygamy, according to the studies of Hobhouse and others, is found among people whose civilization is less advanced than the Euro-American, this form of

[36] Hobhouse, L. T., *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[37] Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, p. 52.

marriage does not always prevail among people in a low stage of culture. The same statement applies also to other institutions, such as slavery, war, the adoption of war captives, a hereditary nobility, the communal ownership of property, and the like; for only seldom is an institution confined to one specific stage of civilization.[38]

The forces which shape institutions are as varied as the interests and motives underlying human behavior. In all stages of civilization institutions appear full-grown as if they had been bestowed ready-made at the beginning of time; but in fact they evolve, as do folkways, in the business of living and of promoting or safeguarding interests. They are, for the most part, "crescive," to use Sumner's terminology, for they develop gradually in response to felt needs, and embody the successful experiences in the trial and error attempts to regulate personal relations. They grow or decline, changing in this or that way, according to the general circumstances, the type of the existing culture, and the conditions imposed by the environment. This is obviously the origin of many of the institutions which are built around religious, educational, and governmental activities.

Other institutions are *enacted*. This is .true, for instance, of old age insurance, the Federal Reserve System, compulsory education, the League of Nations, and many others. But even the formally enacted institutions have been compounded from existing cultural elements, with but a few new items added by the invented combination. Whether or not the institutions which exist in a given society are the best attainable, they nevertheless define personal relations, as is indicated in the examples discussed. In addition, they afford predictability and enable individuals to plan their own conduct in view of the probable reactions of others under given circumstances. Without this mutual understanding and the confidence that certain lines will be followed, no complex voluntary social structure would be possible. Institutions, like the mores underlying them, supply coherence and regulate the social position and the functional interconnection of individuals. The way in which the institutionalized facts are reflected in individual habits and attitudes will be discussed in the next chapter.

[38] Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1915, p. 33; Hobhouse, L. T., Wheeler, G. C., and Ginsberg, M., *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, Chapman & Hall, London, 1915, *passim*.

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# CHAPTER V

## Social Attitudes and the Social Structure

In the two preceding chapters we considered some examples of social groups and institutions, and we shall now see how they influence personal inclinations and attitudes. Although life in a group regulates conduct in minute ways, in some respects considerable latitude is granted to personal preferences. Human behavior is governed not only by rules, etiquette, and public opinion, but also by rational and reflective choices; furthermore, it is dominated to some extent by impulses, the source of which is not recognized. But for the most part, behavior is directed by consensus and by the personal relations in which individuals are placed. These factors impose claims and obligations in ways with which we are now familiar; in addition, they supply models for habits and attitudes, and permeate preferences even when they do not control all our conduct.

### HABITS AND CULTURE

The uniformity of conduct required by customs and institutions may rest in part on habit and in part on the individual's responsiveness to public opinion. If by habit is meant the neural patterns established by a previous performance of an act, it is clear that the conduct which conforms to customs often arises from sources other than habit, for at least some customary acts take place without learning by repetition and depend for their inducement on the expectations and opinions of the person's associates.

The manner in which custom, as compared with habit, directs behavior may be illustrated in various ways. For example, the mode of greeting or of holding celebrations, or the part one plays in collective (group) games, etc., depends on many social circumstances. An individual's contribution to a team or a factory crew is due to his position in the organization no less than to his habits. He goes to high school or college, and selects a career and a marriage partner in keeping with the customs of his civilization, even

though he cannot be said to have the habit of so doing. As he grows up, he assumes new responsibilities which depend not merely on his age or habits, but also on the demands which new situations place on him. His conduct may change promptly when the social situation is modified, which is often the case when he settles among strangers. When the composition of the family undergoes a change (as by birth or adoption or by the death of a member), the subsequent conduct of the other members is adjusted to the new family structure. It must be apparent that such variations in conduct do not imply a prior habit.

The folkways of some societies demand that individuals take their own lives when their leader dies or is killed in battle. English seamen's customs once required that the ship's captain go down with his vessel. Although individuals conform to their group's suicidal requirements, they do not have the habit of so doing; and, in the same way, other customary behavior conforms to the general expectations of one's fellows without any previous performance of the act in question. Conduct is directed and channelized by the force of example and the expectations of associates, and these influences often prevail over contrary individual inclinations. Accordingly, we must conclude that there is some connection between the collective and the individual aspect of a social fact other than that formed through habit-produced uniformities.

Although it is granted that various customs do produce individual habit (as, for example, the usages regarding food, speech mannerisms, the use of narcotics, etc.), even these acts acquire a significance which they would not possess as mere personal mannerisms. It is also true that if a habit is acquired by many individuals, it becomes a custom more readily than it otherwise would, and, further, that some usages are stamped as habits on the rising generation, shaping, directing, and focusing its energies and capacities. Notwithstanding these facts there are important distinctions between habit and custom—indeed, a confusion of ideas underlies the familiar saying that custom is "group" habit. All habits are individual affairs, no matter how they come into existence; but, as the above examples indicate, some customs do not depend at all on habit.

### ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Because conformity to the usages and opinions of one's associates cannot be attributed merely to habit, and because individuals do

not respond in precisely the same manner to the various social situations, we shall use the term attitude to indicate the implied subjective bias, set, or tendency underlying these differences in reaction. By attitude is meant a predisposition which is less specific than is conveyed by the term habit. Although attitudes vary from one person to another, they have a certain uniformity within a given group, culture, and social situation, and they agree more or less with the established social relations. That is, attitudes reflect the group's culture and social structure, no less than individual experience. In fact, the social structure as a system of relations endures because the attitudes and interests of individuals or groups persist, and a change in it is due either to the will of individuals or to changed circumstances. It is for these reasons that, as we saw in Chapter I, the individual reflects the culture of his group. The connection between attitudes, culture, and social relations will be discussed after we have defined attitudes more fully and have seen their dependence on "values."

(1) ATTITUDES AND VALUES.—Various meanings (implicit or explicit) are given to the word attitude, among which are the following: a great organic drive, muscular set, a generalized tendency toward a given kind of conduct, neural set or readiness to make adjustments, emotion and feeling concomitant to action, and the conscious desires, valuations, and ideals in their more developed forms.[1] One typical definition reads: "An attitude is a condition of preparedness of the organism which in the last analysis reduces to preparedness for action. Action, however, is suspended, otherwise the process would be action instead of attitude."[2] In other words, attitudes are a set tendency to respond in a more or less consistent way to a person, object, or situation because of the ideas one holds or the meaning the situation has for him, or because of previous

[1] Dewey, John, *Human Nature and Conduct*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1922, p. 41; Znaniecki, F., *Laws of Social Psychology*, Gebethner and Wolff, Warsaw, 1925, pp. 69-79; Faris, Ellsworth, "The Concept of Social Attitudes," *Social Attitudes, edited by Kimball Young,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1931, pp. 3-15; Symonds, P. M., "What is an Attitude," *Psychological Bulletin,* 1927, vol. xxiv, pp. 200-201; Bernard, L. L., *An Introduction to Social Psychology,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1926, pp. 246 ff.; Young, Kimball (editor), *Social Attitudes,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1931.

[2] Bernard, L. L., *Instinct,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1927, p. 497.

conditioning.[3] Therefore, this mental state at a given moment is determined not merely by present stimuli but also by the traces left from previous experiences and from the imitation of others. The motivations thus formed may be vague impulses upon which the individual may or may not reflect. If he does reflect, his explanations are usually rationalizations, that is, plausible "reasons" invented to make clear to himself or others the motives which prompted the act. Rationalizations, as Kimball Young has said, are most likely to occur where a person's opinions or acts run counter to group expectations.[4]

Most objects, ideas, people, acts, literary or artistic creations, beliefs, etc., with which a person has had experience have conditioned an attitude or tendency and may be called "values." Attitudes and values are correlative terms, the existence of each implying the other. "At the party Romeo meets Juliet and very shortly the girl becomes to him a beloved object, a value. We can speak of the attitude of Romeo towards the object Juliet. . . . It should not be difficult to distinguish my hatred [attitude] from my enemy who is the object of the hatred [value]. Until men become hopelessly unable to distinguish hunger from beefsteak there should be no difficulty in telling the difference between a value or object and an attitude."[5] Thus, attitudes are possessed by an individual and they do not exist apart from either first-hand experience or the example of other people, especially that of the group culture which prompts a person to view an object in a certain way. Because attitudes always belong to a given situation they are more or less permanent; but either the attitudes or the situation may change thus producing variations in conduct.

Although we have attitudes toward all artifacts and even toward objects of nature,[6] we are here concerned with only those attitudes which pertain to other persons and groups. But these classes of

[3] In stating that behavior is conditioned, we imply merely that the reaction is acquired as a result of "perceiving of objects in their relationships."—Wheeler, Raymond H., *The Science of Psychology,* Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1929, p. 236.

[4] Young, Kimball, *Social Psychology,* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1930, p. 142.

[5] Faris, Ellsworth, "Attitudes and Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1928, vol. xxxiv, p. 278.

For a useful treatment of this subject, see Kreuger, E. T., and Reclus, W. C., *Social Psychology,* Longmans, Green & Company, New York, 1931, pp. 237-320.

[6] Of course the ideas held toward these natural objects are cultural, but not necessarily sociological, data.

attitudes cover a wide range and involve myriad types of social responses. Any physical, mental, or cultural trait may become a positive or negative value, thus implying a corresponding attitude. We have already seen that when attitudes attach to bodily traits such as skin color, types of physiognomy, etc., these physical characteristics become phases of a social situation and may be an element in the social organization itself,[7] as in cases where social classes are based upon racial differences. In the same way every act, attainment, or possession of other persons may be a value—an object of an attitude. The values pertaining to the group's past, its present status, and its future career are especially significant in determining attitudes.

The complexity of social attitudes is suggested by the rich array of words describing the inclinations which people experience toward one another. These words are usually abstract terms or concepts applying to classes of behavior, and not merely to a particular act, such as affection, dislike, envy, rivalry, tenderness, sympathy, ambition, deceit, domination, and cooperativeness. Such recognized attitudes may be classified even more briefly under the following captions: *superiority* (arrogance, superciliousness, pride, disdain, contempt, condescension), *aversion* (disgust, abhorrence), *hostility* (hate, malice, cruelty), and their opposites, *subordination* (submissiveness, bashfulness, subservience), *tolerance* (compatibility, forbearance), and *friendliness*, with its many variations.

Some of the attitudes enumerated are *dissociative*, and tend to prevent association between the social subjects (individuals or groups). This is true of all the attitudes which involve fear, hate, envy, disgust, dislike, deceit, injustice, haughtiness, the exploitation of other persons, intolerance, etc. Other attitudes, such as pity, love, gratitude, trustfulness, sympathy, loyalty, cooperation, helpfulness, fair-play, democracy, etc., are *associative* and tend to draw or hold the subjects together. The dissociative tendencies may also be spoken of as *negative* and the associative as *positive*; they represent opposite directions in the sense of attraction and repulsion, domination and submission, or approach and withdrawal with reference to the persons concerned.[8]

(2) INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE ATTITUDES.—On the basis of their source, social attitudes fall into one of three classes. In the first

[7] See chap. i.
[8] See Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *op. cit.*, p. 441.

place, they may be derived from other persons, in so far as one imitates the models set before him or conforms in his conduct to the expectations of others. These are called "collective" attitudes by Bernard:[9] They are the main source from which the young acquire their positive and negative inclinations toward vocations, social classes, nationalities, institutions, and values in general. This is necessarily true because society, with its culture and values, takes precedence over any one individual. In the second place, a person may acquire attitudes from direct experience with the value. Lastly, one individual may project his attitude toward another person upon everyone in the group or class to which the latter belongs, without himself having any direct experience with these other members of the group. This explains the ready extension of prejudice to include all the members of a race or nationality, although experience has actually been had with only one member of the group; and, conversely, when a group is already in disfavor, this attitude is attached to anyone who is considered to belong to the group in question. This may be called the *categorizing tendency*, because a person is placed in a category or class to which favorable or unfavorable qualities are assigned in advance, or because the attitude toward an individual is applied to his entire group. We have mental *stereotypes*, and when a person is placed in a category, our stereotype supplies our appraisal of him. In this way some individuals receive merits and others demerits beyond their deserts.

As a random example of this categorizing process with the related attitudes, we may cite the effect of the early contacts between Chinese and Occidentals. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Chinese acquired a definite prejudice for the Occidentals in their midst—an antipathy which has not yet been wholly dispelled, for experiences with drunken sailors, dishonest merchants, smugglers, and overzealous emissaries induced in the Orientals a dislike for all representatives of western races and their culture. The lack of *finesse* in occidental manners and the strangeness of the clothing, food, and folkways in general, gave rise to the feeling that the Westerners were crude and barbarous. Even in such a subtle thing as personal odor, Occidentals are likely to be offensive to Orientals, and a Chinese student returning from abroad today is

[9] Bernard, L. L., "Social Attitudes," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930, vol. i, p. 305.

frequently told by his friends that he has acquired the offensive odor of foreigners,[10] in consequence of a milk and meat diet.

These three sources of attitudes reinforce one another. The sudden growth of race or class prejudice, such as that which appears when a person moves from one locality or country to another, is likely to occur only where such attitudes already prevail as models to be copied. For example, immigrants to this country readily acquire the native prejudice against Negroes, and in the same way, people migrating from one part of the United States to another, quickly assume the prejudices prevailing there. Although a person might dislike a tanner or a trader, such an attitude would not be as intense or as widespread in the present-day western civilization as it was in ancient Greece or in mediæval Europe and Japan, where all members of these occupational groups were despised.[11] Nevertheless, we do have our characteristic predilections and prejudices.

(3) ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.—"What distinguishes societies and individuals," say Park and Miller, "is the predominance of certain attitudes over others, and this predominance depends . . . on the type of organization which the group has developed to regulate the expression of the wishes of its members."[12] In other words, attitudes correspond in the main to the established social structure. The lines of cleavage between groups, whether of superordination and subordination or of amity, hostility, etc., are marked by distinctive attitudes; and this is true also of the rela-

[10] Danton, George H., *The Culture Contacts of the United States and China,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1931, p. 5.

For more extended examples of this categorizing tendency, see Albig, J. W., "Opinions Concerning Unskilled Mexican Immigrants," *Sociology and Social Research,* September-October, 1930, vol. xv, pp. 62-72; Bogardus, E. S., "American Attitudes Towards Filipinos," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1929-1930, vol. xiv, pp. 59-69; Park, R. E., "The Concept of Social Distance as Applied to the Study of Racial Attitudes and Racial Relations," *Applied Sociology,* 1923-1924, vol. viii, pp. 339-344; Seymour, John S., "Rural Social Distance of Normal School Students," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1929-1930, vol. xiv, pp. 238-248; Shideler, E. H., "The Social Distance Margin," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1927-1928, vol. xii, pp. 243-252; Wilkinson, Forrest, "Social Distance Between Occupations," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1928-1929, vol. xiii, pp. 211-228; Woolston, Howard, "Step-brothers," *Social Forces,* March, 1928, pp. 368-375; Zeleny, L. D., "A Measure of Social Opinions of Students," *Applied Sociology,* 1926-1927, vol. xi, pp. 56-64.

[11] Myers, Philip Van Ness, *History as Past Ethics,* Ginn and Company, Boston, 1913, p. 89.

[12] Park, R. E., and Miller, Herbert A., *Old World Traits Transplanted,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1921, p. 25.

tions between the members within each group. A few examples will make this clear.

Subordination and domination are typical attitudes and modes of action between members of different classes. For instance, the "upper" class maintains attitudes of superiority toward those of a lower rank. Thus, the European nobility has usually regarded the individuals of non-noble birth as inferior, even though the latter are of superior personal attainment.[13] The reverse side of this relation, that of subordination, is reflected in the following excerpt written at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Devereux Jarrat who, incidentally, regretted the passing of the class distinctions which had to some degree prevailed throughout the preceding century in all parts of America. "We were," says Jarrat, "accustomed to look upon what were called gentle folk as beings of a superior order. For my part, I was quite shy of them and kept off at a humble distance. A periwig, in those days, was a distinguishing badge of gentle folk; and when I saw a man riding the road near our house, with a wig on, it would so alarm my fears, and give me such a disagreeable feeling, that I dare say, I would run off, as for my life. Such ideas of the difference between the gentle and simple were, I believe, universal among all of my rank and age."[14] Although these attitudes now seem foreign to our culture, they differ only in degree from our present tendencies to attach prestige to marks of distinction.

The personal relations within, as well as between, groups are reflected in appropriate attitudes. In genetic groups, the attitudes are formed as the child matures and takes on new duties and rôles. The close association and rich institutional content supply the family with affection, devotion, justice, altruism, sympathy and other similar attitudes; and some of these qualities are found also in congenial groups, such as the circle of cronies, the sociability cliques and, in a lesser degree, the neighborhood and other larger primary groups. The solidarity of the primary groups rests on emotional attachments to a greater extent than is true of secondary relations, but it rests also in part on intellectualized ideals of obligations and moral claims among the members. Associations,

[13] Hertz, Frederich, *Race and Civilization*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928, p. 67.

[14] Quoted by McLaughlin, A. A., *Steps in the Development of American Democracy*, The Abington Press, New York, 1920, pp. 55-56.

whether based on primary or on secondary relations, are partly the cause and partly the result of specific attitudes. The mere fact that individuals remain in a family, neighborhood, or church, implies that they unite on certain attitudes and beliefs, and it is these which explain their behavior as a group. Individuals are bound both to such common values and to one another by sentiments and interests of various kinds. To illustrate, the homestead is an object of common sentiment to family members; in addition, they have sentiments for one another. In general terms, the attitudes holding a group together attach to the ways of action, to symbolic and utilitarian objects, and to the persons included in the group, as has already been implied in our analysis of institutions.

This does not mean that groups—even the primary groups—are lacking in antagonisms, for the occurrence of family and neighborhood dissensions proves the reverse. Varying degrees of rivalry and opposition exist within most social structures. Indeed, opposition as well as cooperation is incidental to the development of individuality. However, the primary group subordinates the cruder pursuit of interests; and this is usually done so completely that members of a family or clan, in keeping with their prevailing codes, place the well-being of others on an equality with their own in many of the daily concerns of life.

The secondary relations also have their appropriate associative attitudes, such as patriotism, humanitarianism, class (or caste) spirit, and constructive and intellectualized attitudes of service, justice, and reform affecting fellow citizens or even those of other nations. The corresponding negative, dissociative attitudes are misanthropy, chauvinism, machiavellianism, megalomania, ethnocentrism, opposition to justice or reform on behalf of strangers and distant people.[15] There is usually no sharp break between the attitudes belonging respectively to the primary and the secondary relations, although their typical forms vary much; in the main the transition in attitudes occurs as strangeness and social distance increase. Indeed, because the primary groups are parts of a larger social structure, an attitude attaching to a primary group may easily extend to more distant and impersonal relations—for example, the sympathies and loyalties to the local church of which one is a member may be extended to the entire denomination.

The above statements have referred chiefly to the attitudes which

[15] For a table of such attitudes, see Bernard, L. L., *op. cit.*, p. 429.

arise from and reinforce the established social structure. We may now briefly discuss the fact that while attitudes and the structure largely coincide, it is also true that a person may develop associative and dissociative tendencies which vary from those generally obtaining within a group or between the persons in a given relation. For example, one may be intimate with individuals assigned to a subordinate class, who, according to usage, should be kept at a "respectful" distance; or a child may develop antipathy toward its parent. But the established relations may be retained in spite of such personal deviation, as when the child continues to conform outwardly. A man may hate his employer or his landlord, even though the mutual advantages or dependence of one or both parties prompts the maintenance of the relations of employer-employee or lessor-lessee.

The attitudes of two persons toward each other may be similar or opposite in varying degree. Some pairs of attitudes are complementary, such as scorn and subservience, or superordination and subordination. Other attitudes are supplementary and similar, by which we mean that, other factors being favorable, the expression of an attitude by one subject encourages a like attitude in the other subject. Trust, cooperativeness, antipathy, etc., are stimulated by a like, and discouraged by an opposite, inclination in the other person. This generalization is embodied in the adages concerning requiting evil with good, "heaping coals of fire" on one who shows malice, and adhering to a policy of non-retaliation. Some social relations are in a delicate balance between the tendencies of approaching and withdrawing, for individuals may be useful if they are conveniently near by, but objectionable, because of class distinction or personal dislike, if too near; other attitudes are a combination of associative and dissociative tendencies. This is true of prestige, veneration, pride, rivalry, etc., for they involve both an attraction and a sense of difference. For instance, we ascribe prestige to a person who is near enough in a social sense for us to feel identified with him, but in whom at the same time we perceive some unique quality. All attitudes of this type are a combination of these tendencies to approach (identification) and to withdraw (keeping at a distance because of the uniqueness). In these ways, the relations among people may be said to reside in the attitudes which they have toward one another.

## INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES AND THE SOCIAL SITUATION

Life in society so colors one's mental outlook that even his prefer-
ences reflect the existing culture and circumstances, and these direct
his conduct as paved highways determine the route along which the
traveler goes with the assurance of reaching his destination easily.
But this does not mean that consensus completely controls all
phases of behavior, for in every society, whether primitive or mod-
ern, some items are conceded to be private, rather than public,
questions, and a margin of free choice is usually permitted in
some parts of a custom.[16] In these respects individuals exercise dis-
crimination in their dealings with one another.

This means that conduct in society is at the same time institu-
tional, habitual, and rational, and varies with the "social situation."
Every social situation, according to Znaniecki, includes the social
object (the person or other value acted upon), the purposed results,
and the instruments or process (that is, the acts which are em-
ployed to gain the desired end).[17] So defined, a social situation may
or may not include the actual presence of the person or group with
reference to whom the subject's conduct is chosen;[18] but it always
includes his attitudes, the recognized codes, and public opinion. In
a more comprehensive sense, the social situation designates any
phase of society which invites attention and a reaction—a friendly or
hostile attitude of other persons, a treaty stipulation between na-
tions, laws, fads, traditions, institutions, unemployment, or any
other item or combination thereof which calls for an adjustment by
an individual or a group.[19]

Because every situation is more or less unique, even institutional
conduct involves discrimination and choice, for the subject's be-
havior is affected by the situation as he sees it; he is influenced by
the intention (actual or surmised) of other people, their position
in society, his relation to them, practical considerations (as, for
instance, his need of aid or cooperation), and the objectives which
he seeks. For example, a tax assessor's questions or a salesman's

[16] Cf. Malinowski, B., *Crime and Custom in Primitive Society,* Harcourt, Brace
and Company, New York, 1926, pp. 52-53.

[17] Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.,* p. 90.

[18] Sprowls, Jessie W., *Social Psychology Interpreted,* The Williams & Wilkins
Company, Baltimore, 1927, p. 42.

[19] Small, A. W., *General Sociology,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1905,
p. 500.

smile will be met with a response suited to the perceived situation. The contradictory claims of social relations call for the continual exercise of judgment. All attempts to form an association require the selection of means to an end. In fact, as much intelligence is required in guiding human relations as in controlling the physical environment; and the more complex the institutions and social relations, the greater the need for this "social intelligence"—a wise discrimination in meeting the demands of the situation.

Thus, while everyone is affected by the character of his group and its institutions, his inclinations limit and modify these influences. In a measure, this holds true for everyone; for each person, in however minute a way, affects the folkways of his time. His innovations may be imitated by others and thereby become crystallized into customs; and the speculations and ideals of a few may eventually produce reforms or decadence.[20] However, for the mass of people the established ways must be the only ways, and conformity must be the rule rather than the exception.[21]

Our discussion up to this point has hinged upon the fact that society may be regarded from two standpoints: first, from the way things are viewed by the person experiencing them or by their meaning to him; and, second, as detached from such meanings. In the latter case we study the outward structure of society, the significance of things to individuals being assumed rather than expressed— that is, we view human conduct impersonally and treat it descriptively and quantitatively. For example, we may study the impersonal influences exerted upon individuals as shown by such things as the rise or fall of prices and wages, the movement of people in quest of work, the expansion of a community, or the development of zones and "areas" within a city. Likewise, we may consider the impersonal aspects of social changes, as shown in the usages of words, the growth or decline of codes of conduct, etc. Rules of etiquette, words, and laws—to mention only a few examples—have careers which are outside the intent of any one of the individuals who share in them. But if the analysis of these and other similar impersonal facts is pushed back a step farther, we shall again be dealing with the meanings which these institutional and cultural data have for individuals.

Both the personal and impersonal points of view have been con-

[20] Baldwin, James M., *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[21] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, p. 28.

sidered in the preceding chapters. The first chapter emphasized, on the one hand, some of the influences which the group, through its culture, exerts upon its members and, on the other hand, the way the physical and mental characteristics of the individual are involved in the culture and the organization of society. Chapters II to IV carried these ideas a step farther by showing in particular how the institutions and prescribed relations regulate conduct and color the mental processes of the members of the group; and the present chapter has dealt with the personal phase of cultural facts. We shall attempt to maintain this composite point of view throughout, even though we do not specifically label our data as such.

In the remainder of this book we shall consider in turn, how social structures are formed and changed (Parts Two to Seven); the way in which personality depends upon the social organization and culture (Part Eight); and how conduct and progress may be controlled (Part Nine). In Part Two we shall see first that language is necessary for the development of the individual's capacities, that it is a product of association and a means of maintaining a social group; and that the social organization and personal conduct undergo changes when the methods of communication are modified.

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# SOCIETY AS COMMUNICATION

## CHAPTER VI

## The Self and the Others in Communication

In the preceding chapters we saw that the behavior of each individual is connected with that of others in many subtle ways. Thus considered, society is a web of conduct bound together by the various interchanges and reciprocal adjustments which individuals make to one another. Since language is the major device for such give-and-take between the members of a group or species, we may say that to this extent society inheres in, and its scope is measured by the range of, communication.[1] We shall use communication in the sense in which Cooley uses it, as "the mechanism through which human relations exist and develop—all the symbols of the mind, together with the means of conveying them through space and preserving them in time. It includes the expression of the face, attitude and gesture, the tones of the voice, words, writing, printing, railways, telegraphs, telephones, and whatever else may be the latest achievement in the conquest of space and time."[2] In so far as we are interested first of all in human relations—that is, in the way individuals respond to and affect one another—we shall consider communication from this point of view, noting the significance of the type of communication, not only in the socialization of the individual but also in the determination of the form of the social structure.

Interindividual behavior, for which communication is a general term, may be contrasted with those acts which have material, æsthetic, and economic things or values as objects. The construction of a watch is a technological fact, but its bestowal as a gift is social or societal because it involves personal relations. However, societal behavior may have utilitarian, æsthetic, technological, and other accompaniments, for people may influence one another by these and many other means. Furthermore, a technological object may

[1] Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1916, p. 5.
[2] Cooley, Charles H., *op. cit.,* p. 61.

assume a social aspect. For example, when I regard my watch as a cherished gift, it has a meaning other than its use as a tool in regulating my daily routine, for it includes also my friend and myself. So, also, the making of an object to be bestowed as a gift is an element in a societal fact. In the same sense, the violation of property rights is a societal fact because it involves individuals and disregards social rules. A running horse and the firing of a cannon are not social acts when each is regarded as a physiological and a technical occurrence, respectively. But if A's horse is running against B's, or if the battle is thought of as men fighting or as a contest of nations, these events are societal in every sense of the word, and, as such, they have content other than their techniques and materials, although these are also included in the social event; for example, the kind of weapon and the manner of its use are involved in the battle viewed as social behavior. The customs or rules regulating conduct are likewise social or societal in the above sense, and the events themselves are part of the traditional methods of deportment.

It thus appears that *a social act* is one "in which one individual serves in his action as a stimulus to a response from another"[3] individual "belonging to the same group of living forms."[4] Stated more precisely, a social act is one in which a person adjusts his behavior to another's presence or to the changed situation thus produced. Typical "social conduct," in the words of one writer, "assumes some sort of adjustment . . . on the part of the 'other' as well as the self, and so it differs from mere physical conduct in that the 'other' may be affected, and in some sense directed or controlled by it. Hence the peculiarity of the social act is this ability which it possesses to influence the activity of other selves."[5] The behavior of either subject can be understood only in reference to the presence and the actual or anticipated responses of the other, for it is a part of a system of relations which includes at least two agents.

Such reciprocities always consist of two phases: (1) the acts of one person, A, which serve as symbols to another, B, or which change the situation confronting B; and (2) the responses by B to these

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[3] Mead, George H., "Social Consciousness and the Consciousness of Meaning," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1910, vol. vii, p. 397; cf. Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[4] Mead, George H., "The Mechanism of Social Consciousness," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods*, 1912, vol. ix, p. 401.

[5] Cooke, A. N., *Sacraments and Society*, Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1924, pp. 214-216.

acts or to the altered situation. The two agents are alternately subject and object. Thus as subject, A acts on B; as object, he in turn is acted upon. Typical examples of such adjustments are supplied by conversation, argumentation, playing games, pugilism, the exchange of courtesies or gifts, competition, acts of military aggression, etc. The series of responses may be either intermittent or continuous, and they may persist for a long or a brief period, depending upon the choice or endurance of the subjects and their means of receiving and transmitting impressions under the given conditions of distance or other barriers. However, not all acts are controlled to the same degree by the thought of how they appear to other persons.

Communication may therefore be classified as either quasi-social, or symbolic and conventional (communication through gestures). After the first year of life either or both of these may be involved, but the second gains increasingly in importance and the first loses correspondingly.

### QUASI-SOCIALITY

A variety of reactions, whether original or learned and whether or not consciously directed at other individuals, are nevertheless important in social relations, providing they arouse a response. Although they imply no necessary awareness of the presence of others nor any intent to exert control over them or to experience their response, they utilize the same mechanisms which are involved in conscious, reciprocal communication. Two groups of these semi-social acts will be discussed: (1) emotional expressive signs, and (2) ideo-motor indicators.

(1) UNLEARNED EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIVE SIGNS.—The first cry of an infant is, in the words of John Dewey, an "organic overflow of energy," or a reaction to internal states rather than to stimuli emanating from another individual;[6] and the same thing is true of the spasmodic frowns, grimaces, and "smiles" which occur during the first few weeks of life. At first they may mean nothing in particular; they are merely reactions to internal states of satisfaction or discomfort. The infant cannot be supposed to be connecting its earliest babblings, gesticulations, and facial movements with ideas,

[6] Dewey, John, *Experience and Nature,* Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1925, p. 177.

for it cannot be said to have "ideas" at all.[7] Nor are its vocal and non-vocal acts employed in anticipation of responses by other individuals.[8] However, these early reactions are gradually modified as the child learns to perceive the consequences of its behavior and acquires the conventions of its group.

But even in early infancy elementary reactions are socially significant to the extent that another individual is already predisposed to respond—they represent an incipient kind of sociality. Thus from birth the infant is normally involved in a social scheme by which his behavior is gradually molded and through which he affects others either wittingly or unwittingly. He becomes a part of a social, as well as of a physical, world. "We have to say, therefore, that the child is born to be a member of society in the same sense, precisely, that he is born with eyes and ears to see and hear the movements and sounds of the world, and with touch to feel the things of space."[9] Maturation enables him to participate increasingly in the world of ideas and meanings.

In addition to the early organic overflow of energy, there are various motor and vocal acts, such as startling, trembling, crying, smiling or grimacing, which are commonly regarded as emotions, or signs of emotions—that is, as expressions of such states as fear, pleasure, surprise, or rage. Although some of these elementary movements, especially those known as fear and rage, indicate the preparation of the organism for a further release of energy,[10] they acquire significance primarily with reference to other persons. Dewey holds that emotions, even in adults, are not pure impulses, but "habits" formed by association with other persons who have like "habits" and show them in their responses. Thus they are essentially social reactions. "In the case of a tiger or eagle," he says, with some justification, "anger may be identified with a serviceable life-activity, with attack and defense. With a human being it is . . . meaningless

[7] Bühler, Charlotte, *Soziologische und Psychologische Studien über das erste Lebensjahr,* Gustav Fischer, Jena, 1927, pp. 34 ff.; Stinchfield, Sara M., *The Psychology of Speech,* Expression Company, Boston, 1928, p. 22.

[8] Sully, James, *Studies of Childhood,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1896, p. 136.

[9] Baldwin, James M., *Mental Development in the Child and the Race,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1906, pp. 144-145.

[10] The supposition "that these elaborate 'preparations' exist in the economy of the organism's life merely because of their utility fails to explain them. . . . The effort to bring emotive behavior under the general laws of least action and configuration is a preferable alternative." —Wheeler, R. H., *op cit.,* p. 218.

. . . apart from a direction given it by the presence of other persons, apart from the responses they make to it."[11]

(2) IDEO-MOTOR INDICATORS.—Like the foregoing, various idiosyncratic acts, including vocalizations, the posture of the head or body, muscle tensions, and other delicate movements may be significant because they indicate moods and intentions, even if they are not adjusted to any prospective responses or to the persence of another person. Such unintended self-disclosure is seen in everyday occurrences. For example, one ball player habitually indicates the intended placement of the ball by the way he swings his arms; some players show their intention by movements of the head, hand, or fingers, and others chew faster or slower when about to carry out a plan of action.[12] Not only inclinations, moods, and emotions, but also social status and facts concerning the culture of a person's group may be indicated in equally subtle ways. Human faces, it has been said, are "a kind of epitome of society," reflecting habits of thought, prejudices and affections.[13]

The reactions which are least subject to restraint are most likely to "betray" the individual; for most people learn—at least in some situations—to control their eyes, face, and voice. But as Karl Pearson observes: "We too often forget to control our hands, and the pocketless woman cannot hide her hands so conveniently as a man. Once while sitting in a court with a much older man, I heard a woman giving evidence. I said to him: 'That woman must be speaking the truth; listen to her voice, and look at her face and eyes.' His reply was brief and taught me a great lesson: 'Watch her hands.' In my youth I was honored by the friendship of a great Victorian woman. Her writing week by week was a most sensitive barometer to her emotional condition, and in less emphasized or better controlled individualities this is also true, if in a less marked degree."[14]

Social workers, diplomatists, lawyers, and others who deal with individuals in times of personal crisis learn to watch for these revealing signs. When postural tensions and the spoken word contradict each other, it is clear to an observer which should be given

[11] Dewey, John, *Human Nature and Conduct*, p. 90.
[12] Griffith, Coleman, *Psychology and Athletics,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928, p. 143.
[13] Cooley, C. H., *op. cit.*, p. 67.
[14] Pearson, Karl, *On the Relation of Health to the Psychical Characters in School Children,* University Press, Cambridge, England, 1923, p. 19.

credence.[15] "The lips, hands, and arms which are under our control are never the only witnesses to the drama which goes on inside," asserts Münsterberg; "if they keep silent others will speak."[16] "Mind readers" and "clairvoyants" rely upon such subtle hints, even those evidenced by a mere change in breathing, for the alleged "transfer" of thoughts. Concerning the game of muscle-reading, one writer says: "Most people, if they really carry out the conditions of the game and vividly picture to themselves the object to be found, will give signs that are unmistakable to one practiced in such things."[17] Communication takes place in a mob or psychological crowd less through language than through the suggestion of moods by the more subtle facial tensions and tonal qualities.[18]

The subtlety of such reciprocity is suggested by the acuity of sensory development in some persons, especially the blind-deaf. For example, James Mitchell, an English boy who had been blind and deaf since birth, was able to detect strangers by his sense of smell and by this means he formed "decided opinions" concerning them. If his impressions were favorable, he became friendly; if they were unfavorable, he withdrew and showed indifference or even disgust.[19] Helen Keller, under similar sensory handicaps, has learned to distinguish persons by means of the olfactory and tactile senses and to detect their moods and even their spoken words by feeling the motions of their hands, lips, faces, or throats.[20] Some tribes are able, through the sense of smell, to detect the approach of strangers or to identify the previous occupants of an abandoned camp site or shelter.[21] So far as is known, the receptors of most people would be

[15] White, W. A., *Foundations of Psychiatry,* Mental Disease Publishing Company, New York and Washington, 1921, p. 79; for an extended discussion and an illustration of the reliance of the blind-deaf on such indicators, see Wade, William, *The Blind-Deaf,* Edward J. Hacker, Indianapolis, 1908.

[16] Münsterberg, H., *On the Witness Stand,* Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., New York, 1915, p. 114.

[17] Stratton, G. M., "The Control of Another by Obscure Signs," *Psychological Review,* 1921, vol. xxvii, pp. 301-314.

[18] Park, R. E., "Human Nature, Attitudes and the Mores," in *Social Attitudes,* edited by Kimball Young, p. 32.

[19] Waldrop, James, "History of James Mitchell," *Pamphleteer, No. 12,* J. Murray, London, 1813, pp. 333-360.

[20] Keller, Helen, *The World I Live In,* The Century Company, New York, 1914.

[21] Bell, Napier, in his *Tangwera,* an autobiographical account of his early life with the Mosquito Indians in South America, relates that their songs of affection always mention the nice or pleasant smell of the skin. See Hudson, W. H., *A Hind in Richmond Park,* E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., New York, 1923, p. 82.

capable of similar development if conditions or customs demanded it.

Primitives and children are said to acquire skill in detecting moods by similar obscure signs. "The wary eye of the African," one traveller relates, "can easily fish views out of the two deep liquid pools of your eyeballs. So if your eyes say one thing and your tongue another, the African will plumb for the verdict of the eye."[22] Even small children say that "Mamma scolds in her eyes."[23]

Animals likewise react to these subtle signs in other animals or in persons. A well known example is Clever Hans, a horse whose trainer had "taught" him to "solve problems" in arithmetic and to stamp the number of times corresponding to the answer to the problem.[24] In this way the horse "gave the correct answer"; but it was finally discovered that if the one who knew the problem or the answer to it were not seen by the animal, he stamped on indefinitely, for he was without the unconscious signals disclosed in the eyes and facial tensions of observers.

In communication based on obscure signs, A may initiate a response in B without being aware of the symbols he is providing; and, similarly, A may respond to self-disclosures made by B, each being more or less aware of the other's reactions but not of his own. Such interchange constitutes a minor part of communication, but it is nevertheless significant, for although it may escape the censorship of reason, it helps to determine the subtle aspects of personal relations.

### THE CONVERSATION OF GESTURES

In contrast to the foregoing, the typical social action, as we have seen, is not only discriminative but reciprocally adaptive. This, as Mead and others have shown, is the *sine qua non* for the growth of self-consciousness, since the idea of the other is inseparable from the idea of the self. In connection with reciprocal social action we shall discuss the following phases: (1) sub-cultural discriminative responses, (2) symbolic responses, and (3) conventional conduct.

(1) SUB-CULTURAL DISCRIMINATIVE RESPONSES.—Conduct which is based but little, if at all, on things learned from a group may be

[22] Quoted by Bogardus, E. S., *History of Social Thought*, Jesse Ray Miller, Los Angeles, 1929, p. 26.

[23] Stern, William, *Psychology of Early Childhood*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1924, p. 160.

[24] Pfungst, Oskar, *Clever Hans*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1911.

said to be precultural or subcultural, even though in reality it is impossible to separate learned from unconditioned acts after any contact with culture has begun. However, various reactions, especially those of infants, are relatively uninfluenced by established usages; and discriminative conduct appears before it is certain that it has been learned from other persons.

In infancy discriminative responses are preceded by a brief period of *non-initiative* or *non-aggressive* social behavior. At first the child merely *reacts* to stimuli; it does not *initiate* perceptual contacts with other people, and it is apparently no more responsive to social than to non-social stimuli.[25] For a time it is as much "interested" in bright objects or lights as in people, the attraction being due primarily to the degree of visibility. But people—their smiles, frowns, and voices—are among the first stimuli and soon come to be of primary importance not merely because of their connection with ministrations but eventually also because of the pleasure in experiencing these acts, that is, because of the desire for companionship.[26] Reactions to human voices become noticeable as early as the third week of life. On the fifty-eighth day the child observed by Dearborn reacted with smiles to high-pitched talk and a smiling face,[27] and by the sixth month the child studied by Miss Shinn turned to look into the face of anyone speaking its name.[28] Smiling is at first quasi-social, even if it occurs in response to another's smile. Miss Bühler believes that the "true smile" is first elicited by a direct gaze into another's eyes, and later by non-personal stimuli.[29]

Active efforts to elicit responses from other persons are made during the first year.[30] "By the time a child is a year old," says Cooley, "the social feeling that at first is indistinguishable from sensuous pleasure has become much specialized upon persons, and from that time onward to call it forth by reciprocation is a chief

[25] Murphy, Gardner, and Murphy, Lois B., *op. cit.,* p. 248.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 258.

[27] Dearborn, George V., *Motor-Sensory Development,* Warwick and York, Baltimore, 1910, pp. 23-24.

[28] Shinn, Milicent, *Notes on the Development of a Child,* University of California Press, Berkeley, 1893-1899, vol. i, p. 24.

[29] Bühler, Charlotte, *op. cit.;* Jones, M. C., "The Development of Early Behavior Patterns in Young Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1926, vol. xxxii, pp. 537-585.

[30] Bühler, Charlotte, *op. cit.;* Jones, M. C., *op. cit.,* pp. 537-585.

aim of his life."[31] Darwin's son, when a year old, is said to have "studied" the expression of those about him as if to discover the effect of his own behavior.[32] Moreover, many observations indicate that children of nursery school age actively strive to attract attention. Pollitzer's studies show that children in a nursery work out their social relations on "primitive" levels, exploring others as part of their environment and showing interest in the responses they receive; furthermore, they definitely apply to others the forms of behavior that have been exercised toward themselves. Even during the later months of the first year, children engage in discriminative adjustments to the presence or responses of others.

The following example shows in some detail a conversation of gestures between two infants. From this account it appears that an act directed by one subject, A, upon a material object is social, if the second subject, B, modifies his own behavior in consequence of his perception of A's act, or if A modifies his own act because of the anticipated response by B. (Chart 2.)

While the observer is likely to inject some of his own insight or thought into the acts of infants, we may well believe that such cases as the one here cited do nevertheless indicate that the undifferentiated sociality is at this age beginning to be discriminative and other-regarding. It thus appears that in reciprocations of infants as well as of adults, the responses of one subject bring about changes in the situation, according to which the other subject modifies his own conduct. Each reacts to the beginning of a response, as in the grasping of a toy; he does not wait for the completion of the entire act. When such an incipient movement by A causes B to respond, and *vice versa*, each visualizing his own response and its effect on another person, we have what Mead has termed "a conversation of gestures."[33] These gestures are the early indications of tendencies such as aggression, resistance, evasion, aid, assent, etc. Thus the snarl of animals, the baring of the teeth, the crouching posture, or the clenched fist is the beginning of an act whose sequel is foreseen.

Although this alternation of responses is common enough in animal behavior, it is largely conditioned by simple stimuli. Dogs may

[31] Cooley, C. H., *Human Nature and the Social Order,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1922, p. 85.

[32] Darwin, Charles, "A Biographical Sketch of an Infant," *Mind,* 1877, p. 283.

[33] Mead, George H., "The Mechanism of Social Consciousness," *Journal of Philosophy,* 1912, vol. ix, p. 402.

Chart 2

RESPONSES BETWEEN TWO INFANTS [34]

(Aged 8 and 10 months, respectively)

| Subject A | Subject B |
|---|---|
| Has doll. | Reaches for doll first with left hand, then with right. |
| Draws back from B. | |
| | Utters "angry" sounds; tries again to reach the doll. |
| Holds doll high, looks at B. | |
| | Makes third attempt. |
| Pulls back to avoid B.   Manipulates doll. | |
| | Looks at doll and tries to grasp it. |
| Draws back, sits erect and looks at B. | |

Bell is held near both infants.

| | |
|---|---|
| Looks on. | Looks at the bell and grasps it. |
| Gives doll to B. | |
| Plays with B's foot. | |
| | Gives bell to A and lets doll drop. |
| Picks up doll and gives it to B.   Plays with the bell. | |
| | Attempts to take bell from A. |
| Holds back and looks "angrily" at B. | |
| | Plays with doll but attempts repeatedly to grasp the bell. |
| Is disturbed by B's aggressions. Observes B.   Drops the bell.   Grasps doll. | |
| | Gives the doll to A and takes the bell, shakes it, and looks "triumphantly" at A. |
| Observes B. | |

Rattle is shown both subjects.

| | |
|---|---|
| | Reaches for rattle while shaking the bell, offers bell to A. |
| Takes hold of B's shoe and observes B. | |
| | Makes "expressive" sounds at A.   Looks at A and shows the bell. |
| Looks at B. | |
| | Shows doll to A. |
| Attempts to stand, gives no more heed to B. | |
| | Shakes the bell. |

learn to associate the sound of a bell with their food, and fowls may come when they hear a clucking noise or scatter at a given signal; but they probably react to these stimuli directly, and not indirectly, as signs or symbols of something else—for instance, of food or threatened harm.

[34] Adapted from Bühler, Charlotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68.

Human conduct, on the other hand, is largely symbolic. A child who utters a sound or gesticulates or grimaces in some improvised or accidental way will eventually be aware not only of its own reactions, but also of the responses elicited from observers. When it cries and reaches out for objects beyond its grasp, these acts serve as gestures to induce adults to complete its efforts, and thus it comes to think of its own acts in terms of the responses elicited. At an early age it learns to be interested in the actions of another person not only as items in themselves, but as indications of attitudes; and it ascribes a meaning to its own gestures as the means of eliciting a certain type of response. Reaching and crying become the means of achieving results from other persons, and thus the purely "individualistic emotional responses" are developed into expressive calls which serve to control other persons,[35] the random movements and articulations which are found useful in a social environment being retained. These responses are symbols to the extent that they are regularly connected with a certain answering response or with an intention of the actor. Stated more abstractly, a symbol is a sign which is uniformly associated with an idea.

(2) SYMBOLIC RESPONSES.—This conscious adjustment of conduct to the acts of others is characteristic of human association. Each imagines how his own actual or prospective gesture appears to others and tends to choose his conduct from this viewpoint. "In this way every act of every individual tends to become a gesture, since what one does is always an indication of what one intends to do. The consequence is that the individual in society lives a more or less public existence, in which all his acts are anticipated, checked, inhibited, or modified by the gestures and the intentions of his fellows."[36]

In animal society there is but little intentional use of symbols, for probably none but a few of the highest species actually indicate a meaning to themselves and to other animals by actions chosen for that purpose. Many stimuli between animals are apparently of a purely mechanical nature, as is illustrated by the flash of the firefly or the vigorous buzzing of the honey-laden bee. The buzzing stimulates other bees to flying but does not indicate the location

[35] Mead, George H., "What Social Objects Must Psychology Presuppose?" *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods,* 1910, vol. vii, pp. 174-180.

[36] Park, R. E., "Human Nature and Collective Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1927, vol. xxxii, p. 738.

of the flowers. Although more bees will find the blossoms as a consequence of this stimulus, the buzzing cannot be said to have been an act of communication; instead, it appears to be wholly physiological and lacking in intended meaning. Studies of the behavior of pigeons and sparrows lead to the conclusion that their cooing, chirping, and ruffling of feathers are agencies for directing the activities of other birds. Each species has forms of behavior which are more or less distinctive and which are a means of arousing concerted action on the part of the members of its group, but there is usually no evidence of any conscious intent to accomplish this result.[37] Therefore these signs cannot be called "language," as this term is employed in human society; but regardless of this, the cries and gestures do have social significance because they serve as a means of interstimulation between individuals, as is shown in the following quotations:

> When a chimpanzee approaches another of the same species with whom he is on a "difficult" footing—for instance, if they have recently been fighting—and is dubious about the possible reception of his advances, he will probably extend his hand with the palm turned inwards. I am not absolutely sure about the significance of this gesture, as it may also often be observed in circumstances of complete tranquillity. But it is permissible to conclude that the flexion of the palm is meant to reassure by contrast to the grasping or hacking motion characteristic of attack.[38]

> Warnings: While Chim showed a clearly marked instinct of protection toward Panzee, in times of danger, it was she who gave what seemed to be a note of warning when any strange creature, such as a squirrel, a horse, or even an automobile, came within her vision.
> Under such circumstances, she uttered a characteristic musical phrase of two tones with the word *ho* in a peculiarly suggestive manner. The first tone, though soft, was clear and slightly accented, then immediately suppressed; the second tone was very distinctive. She also used the first tone alone.[39]

[37] Craig, Wallace, "The Expressions of Emotions in Pigeons," *Journal of Comparative Neurology and Psychology,* 1909, vol. xix, pp. 29-31; "The Voices of Pigeons Regarded as a Means of Social Control," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1909, vol. xiv, pp. 86-100.

[38] Köhler, Wolfgang, *The Mentality of Apes,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1925, p. 316.

[39] Yerkes, Robert M., and Learned, Blanche, *Chimpanzee Intelligence,* The Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1925, p. 137.

Such signs or gestures, if they are not instinctive, imply a discrimination in the use of sounds whose meanings are mutually understood. But even at best, the "language" of the lower animals serves only to communicate the simplest wants and emotional states (fear, hunger, pain, sociability, etc.) without describing objects[40] or designating abstract ideas, while in human association, on the contrary, acts are not only symbolic but they also help to maintain the whole system of relations in which the individual participates. It is probable that no verbal or non-verbal act has a great deal of significance by itself; its import is derived largely from the attending circumstances and the culture and conventions of the group.

(3) CONVENTIONAL CONDUCT.—The symbolic character of acts is thus derived in part from first-hand experience and in part from the influence of the customs imposed by the group. This acquisition of a culturally prescribed meaning is gradual, for it depends upon maturation as well as upon association. During its first months the child makes little, if any, distinction between stranger and acquaintance;[41] no "friend," "stranger," or "antagonist" exists for it, although differences in reactions have been apparent when someone other than its mother handles it.[42] At the age of seven months, the child whom Perez studied smiled at a stranger as if he were an old acquaintance.[43] In the second year, however, if not earlier, children distinguish persons as well as the manner of social contact; during the second and third years, their responses toward people are clearly influenced by social models, for they apply to others the simpler norms of behavior which they have experienced or observed;[44] and by the time the child is four years old, nearly every type of social response has appeared. The following table, compiled from Zaluzhni's studies of nursery school children, shows the number of social reactions per child during one observation period.

The meaning of acts is determined more largely by culture than may at first appear from the foregoing illustrations, for even the emotions are schooled and expressed, to a considerable degree, in compliance with the customs of the individual's civilization. Al-

[40] Köhler, Wolfgang, op. cit., p. 317.
[41] Bühler, Charlotte, op. cit., p. 17.
[42] Stern, William, op. cit., p. 109.
[43] Perez, Bernard, The First Three Years of Childhood, E. L. Kellogg and Company, New York and Chicago, 1888, p. 236.
[44] Verry, Ethel, A Study of Mental and Social Attitudes in the Play of Pre-School Children, unpublished thesis, University of Iowa, 1923.

Table I

RESPONSE PATTERNS AMONG NURSERY SCHOOL CHILDREN [45]

| Type of Reaction | Number of Reactions Per Child for Specified Ages Per Observation Period | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | 1–3 Years | 3–4 Years |
| Questions and answers............................ | 8 | 42 |
| Proposals and instructions......................... | 13 | 19 |
| Information...................................... | 12 | 54 |
| Aid, cooperation................................. | 3 | 12 |
| Call for cooperation.............................. | 2 | 14 |
| Criticism........................................ | 0 | 8 |

though the reflex and other elementary reactions supply a basis for gestures and other forms of communication, they do not carry a definite meaning until they are standardized and made into conventional or customary signs. The method by which this is achieved is shown in Chapter VII.

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[45] Quoted by Murphy, Gardner, and Murphy, Lois B., *op. cit.,* p. 282.

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# CHAPTER VII

## Language as Consensus

The specific form and meaning of gestures are largely fashioned in association. Elementary reactions do not, in the main, convey a definite meaning or indicate specifically the nature of the stimuli to which they are a reaction.[1] That is, the connection between stimuli and reactions to them is not uniform; a certain stimulus may arouse varied reactions, and a given reaction may be coupled with dissimilar stimuli. But whenever people are in close association, such as the family, tribe, clique, or vocational group, they develop symbols which convey a more definite meaning because these are conventionalized, and this standardized means of communication constitutes language. More precisely defined, language is "every system of signs which give expression to ideas in a manner more or less intelligible, more or less perfect, more or less rapid."[2] Sapir, emphasizing other phases of language, defines it as "a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires, by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols."[3]

### CONVENTIONAL SYMBOLS

There are three major divisions of language: (1) conventionalized emotive signs, (2) systematized gestures, and (3) speech.

(1) CONVENTIONAL EMOTIVE SIGNS.—It has been noted that no constant relation exists "between the quantity of an idea and the quality of bodily action. . . . The expressions of extreme delight are quite similar to the expressions of extreme distress. It is frequently difficult to tell whether a child is crying or laughing. The stampings of rage are similar to the applause of approval. Trembling accompanies intense delight as well as extreme cases of dread.

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[1] This statement does not refer to physiological processes. Examples of the regularity of physiological reaction to various stimuli will be given in Part Eight.

[2] Romanes, George J., *Mental Evolution in Man*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1889, p. 85.

[3] Sapir, Edward, *Language*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1921, p. 7.

The cutaneous shiver which frequently accompanies the perception of musical tones is also felt in the presence of the gruesome, the uncanny and the weird. . . . The screams of passion are not easily distinguished from the shoutings of pleasure."[4] So, also, the reactions of fear, rage, and love displayed by an infant are indeterminate until they are schooled and standardized;[5] no one unconditioned act is exclusively associated with any one emotion.[6]

This is indicated by the results of various experiments. When motion pictures showing the behavior of normal infants in response to various stimuli are shown to observers, there are great discrepancies in naming the emotions portrayed. For example, in one study in which there were thirty-two observers, the following judgments were recorded: the hunger reaction was judged as anger by 13; hunger and fear, 7 each; pain, 3; and grief and consternation, one each. The twenty-six judgments of the reaction to the dropping stimulus, which is supposed to produce fear, were: anger, 15; hunger, 6; and fear, 5. Observers who were informed as to the character of the stimulus preceding the reaction showed no greater unanimity in naming the emotions than did those not thus informed; and even when they saw the application of the stimulus, their answers concerning the emotional reactions differed widely.[7]

It would seem from such data that the interpretation which observers put upon infants' reactions is based partly upon accompanying circumstances—if a given situation evokes aggressive behavior the response is called anger; if the situation is judged to be dangerous the response is called fear, etc. However, skill in detecting emotional expressive signs is subject to training. Thus, young children will respond at first to scolding much as they do to affectionate talk and to an angry voice (unless it is too loud and vociferous) much as to a lullaby. Months are required for them to learn that crying is the proper response to an angry voice, that scolding is a sufficient cause for restlessness, and that smiles are expected in response to

[4] Scott, W. D., *The Psychology of Public Speaking*, Hinds, Noble and Eldredge, New York, 1907, p. 80.

L. G. Lowry affirms: "There is, so far as I know, no clear proof of unalterable individual responses either in quantity or type." "Environmental Factors in the Behavior of Chi'dren," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1927, vol. vi, p. 232.

[5] See Watson, John B., "Experimental Studies in the Growth of the Emotions," *The Pedagogical Seminary*, 1925, vol. xxxii, p. 340.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 346.

[7] Sherman, Mandel, and Sherman, Irene C., *The Process of Human Behavior*, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1929, pp. 114-142.

friendly, playful tones.[8] The same learning also occurs in the interpretation of facial expressions. A young child cannot distinguish between a friendly and a threatening or angry look, but an adult can often detect very slight variations in moods.[9]

The expression of emotions, like their detection, is influenced by learning and by the examples supplied by culture. To the extent that the occasion and the manner of emotional display are thus subjected to culture, they differ from one era and group to another.[10] In this way people living in one age or one country, as well as those associated with a given occupation, develop distinctive emotional attitudes which conform to their circumstances and to the norms of their group.[11] Accordingly, extravagant exhibitions which characterize one people may be tabooed by another. For example, some religious sects, as well as other groups, have regarded laughter as undignified,[12] and among some preliterates, laughter— even at buffonery—is contrary to good form. The Japanese, who for centuries have been trained to hide their emotions, regard the exhibition of anger or even annoyance as an indication of gross ill-breeding. An American-born naturalized resident of Japan writes: "My cook wears a smiling, healthy, rather pleasing face. . . . One day I looked through a little hole in the shoji and saw him alone. The face was not the same face. It was thin and drawn and showed queer lines worn by old hardship. . . . I went in and the man was all changed—young and happy again. . . . He wears the mask of happiness as an etiquette."[13] The emotions which may actually be felt are not always permitted to influence overt behavior. In our own culture, codes regulate the expression of hostility, grief, timidity, and other psychic states. Thus, if personal antagonists meet at

[8] Murphy, Gardner, and Murphy, Lois B., *op. cit.*, p. 260.

[9] Gates, G. E., "An Experimental Study of the Growth of Social Perception," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* November, 1923, vol. xiv, p. 449.

[10] Gregory, J. C., *The Nature of Laughter,* K. Paul Trench, Trübner and Company, London, 1924, p. 91.

[11] Cooley, C. H., "Heredity and Instinct in Modern Life," *The Survey,* 1922-1923, vol. xlix, p. 455; Judd, Charles H., *The Psychology of Social Institutions,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926, p. 276.

"The emotionalism that seems to belong to certain times and peoples is definitely related to the form of the social evolution of the people concerned." —King, Irving, "Influence of the Form of Social Change upon the Emotional Life of a People," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1903, vol. ix, p. 125.

[12] Hall, G. S., and Allen, Arthur, "The Psychology of Tickling, Laughing and the Comic," *American Journal of Psychology,* 1897, vol. ix, p. 7.

[13] Hearn, Lafcadio, *Japanese Letters,* Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1910, p. 37.

a social gathering, they are supposed to act with every appearance of friendship. A hostess may not disclose the fact that she is suffering from a headache or from grief but must present a gay demeanor to her guests. The "society smile" may be a means of concealing very contradictory individual preferences.

The conventional nature of emotive responses is also indicated by the wide variety of rules of decorum which may require either stoical deportment or extravagant demonstrations under like circumstances. When a Chinese husband returns home, even after a long absence, neither he nor his wife is supposed to show any sign of delight.[14] On similar occasions the Blackfellows of Australia act as if they had never been out of the encampment; in fact, they are more taciturn and reserved than usual, and some little time elapses before they enter into conversation freely.[15] Similar customs exist among the Ainus and other people.

Under analogous circumstances other usages may require demonstrative behavior, such as hand-clapping (which is found in some African groups), jumping up and down (as practiced among the people of Tierra del Fuego),[16] or weeping (as found in the Old Testament narratives of the meeting between Jacob and his cousin Rachel and between David and Jonathan). When Joseph, in Egypt, disclosed his identity to his brothers, he is said to have wept so loudly that the Egyptians in the other part of the house heard him. Similar customs exist among many other preliterate peoples. Thus, in some Australian tribes, relatives who meet after a long absence weep and howl in a manner which would lead an outsider to think that some great calamity had befallen them. The crying chorus is started by the women, but the men chime in, groups of three or four weeping in concert till all are exhausted.[17] When a Queensland mother and daughter meet after a long absence the mother rubs her own head with a stick until she draws blood, meanwhile sobbing profusely; and when the daughter thinks her mother has met the demands of decorum sufficiently she takes the stick away.[18]

Since, among various peoples, weeping is the conventional way of

[14] Ferris, Helen, *The Changing Status of Chinese Women,* master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1928.

[15] Parsons, E. C., *Fear and Conventionality,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914, p. 150.

[16] Tylor, E. B., *Researches into the Early History of Mankind,* John Murray, London, 1870, p. 52.

[17] Tylor, E. B., "On Salutations," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 9th ed., vol. xxi, p. 236.

[18] Parsons, Elsie C., *Fear and Conventionality,* p. 171.

greeting strangers and showing hospitality, the failure to shed tears
is construed as a lack of welcome.[19] Etiquette in one South Ameri-
can tribe formerly required that in greeting a guest, the women of
the house should approach, cover their faces with their hands, burst
into tears, and bid him welcome. The guest likewise was expected
to weep.[20]

From these variations in customs it is clear that overt emotional
expressions can be regulated irrespective of the supposed visceral
accompaniments, such as changes in the pulse rate and glandular
secretions.[21] Consequently we can understand the "expressions of
joy, of sadness, of fear, or of anger of a savage . . . very well . . .
in so far as they are merely reflex; but if they are voluntary and
more or less altered by social influences we shall not be sure, say
before the dance he is performing, whether he celebrates the joy of
victory or prepares himself to fight by the symbolical, half-conven-
tional mimicry of anger. Here again an education is required, since
our previous personal experience is insufficient."[22]

In so far as the forms of response are conventional, their meaning
is to be interpreted from this standpoint,[23] rather than from that
of innate "drives," "impulses,"[24] or other physiological equivalents
of the social acts. Shedding tears is probably attended by no more
emotion, among people who practice ceremonial weeping, than is
the handclasp in our own civilization. Tears required by etiquette
can be commanded upon all occasions at a moment's notice, and the
lachrymose exhibition can be stopped as the social situation
requires.

(2) GESTURES and pantomimes likewise become schematized and
have definite meanings in their appropriate situations. Early infan-
tile movements undergo modifications. Sometimes they are *simpli-
fied*—for example, the mimicry of anger may be expressed by a
mere suggestion of the more elaborate infantile expressions, the
items supposed to be non-representative being gradually dropped or
abbreviated (truncated). Again, gestures may be *elaborated* into
complex procedures which have a definite meaning to a given social

[19] Frazer, James C., *Folk Lore in the Old Testament,* The Macmillan Company,
New York, 1918, vol. ii, pp. 82-89.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[21] Cf. Watson, John B., *op. cit.,* p. 347.
[22] Nony, Camille, "The Biological and Social Significance of the Emotions,"
*British Journal of Psychology,* 1922, vol. xiii, p. 90.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[24] Cf. Watson, John B., *op. cit.,* p. 347.

group. The variety of forms used by different groups to express the same meaning, and the variety of meanings attached to similar bodily reactions, show how largely their significance depends upon the influences of collective living and the mental associations there formed.

*Tactile gestures* are conventionalized, especially in usages referring to greeting, leave taking, welcoming, imparting magical powers, and blessing. The custom of handshaking, which is known to have existed as early as the time of the ancient Trojans, has been followed with many variations by different peoples. Among the Wanyika, people meet by grasping hands and pressing their thumbs together; dwellers in the region of the Niger join their right hands and separate them with a pull so that a snapping noise is made by the thumb and fingers.[25] "The handshake of the Arab seems to be a scuffle in which each tries to raise to his lips the hands of the other."[26] The Ainus draw their hands from the shoulders and down the arms to the fingertips of the person greeted, or they rub their hands together. Many variations exist elsewhere. Some preliterate peoples greet by blowing into each other's hands or ears; Polynesians stroke their own face with the other person's hands. Salutation by embracing assumes equally varied forms in different cultures. The Fuegians in saluting friends hug "like the grip of a bear."[27] Some peoples greet by placing one arm around the neck of the person saluted and chucking him under the chin,[28] or encircling his neck with their arms. In continental Europe the "slap of greeting" is more of an embrace.[29]

However natural the custom of kissing may seem to us, it is prevalent in only a few cultures. For example, the Japanese, who are especially affectionate toward their children, seldom or never kiss—their language does not even have such a word. On the other hand, this form of salutation was customary in Semitic and Aryan antiquity.[30] The early Christians made it a sign of fellowship. Later it grew into the ceremonial kiss of peace given at the celebration of the Eucharist and the initiation of new adherents.

[25] Roth, J. Ling, "On Salutations," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1889, vol. xix, p. 168.

[26] Parsons, E. C., *Fear and Conventionality,* p. 84.

[27] Snow, W. P., "A Few Remarks on the Wild Tribes of Tierra del Fuego," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society,* 1861, vol. i p. 263.

[28] Roth, J. Ling, *op. cit.,* p. 167.

[29] Parsons, E. C., *Fear and Conventionality,* p. 83.

[30] Tylor, E. B., *op. cit.,* p. 236.

Customs utilize still other biophysical acts with the same social signification. In some Eskimo tribes, according to the statements of travelers, the courteous way of greeting a stranger is to lick one's own hands, draw them first over one's own face and then over that of the visitor.[31] Among various preliterate peoples—for example, among the Polynesians, Malays, Burmese, Mongols, the Lapps[32] and others—a usual salute is that of smelling each other's cheeks and joining or rubbing noses. According to Lewin, the Khyoungtha do not say to each other, "Give me a kiss," but "Smell me."[33] Closely allied to tactile gestures as a mode of greeting is the custom of spitting upon one another. In some parts of Africa this is a pledge of fidelity or friendship and takes the place of extending the compliments of the season and passing the time of day.[34]

*A systematic sign language* was in use among the ancient Greeks, Japanese, and Hindus; and it reached a high development among various preliterate peoples,[35] especially among some tribes of American Indians. When Lewis F. Hadley published his book on Indian sign talk in 1887, he estimated that there were one-hundred-thousand Indians who used this form of communication. The Cheyennes elaborated a sign language of seven thousand symbols.[36] Dactylology based upon phonetic speech has been utilized by vari-

[31] Beechy, Captain F. W., *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific*, H. Colburn and R. Bentley, London, 1831, part i, p. 285.

[32] Smith, J. E., *Linæus's Tour in Lapland*, White and Cochrane, London, 1811, vol. i, p. 315.

[33] Roth, J. Ling, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 172.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 180; Hickens, W., "Queer Customs in Native Africa," *Discovery*, 1929, vol. x, pp. 100-103.

[35] The following are examples of the sign language used by a tribe in Central Australia:

"To hear: Raise the face upward slightly and sideways as if listening, or point to the ear with the forefinger.

"To see: Look straight forward and nod the head several times.

"Be quick: Hold up the right hand somewhat high with the arm extended. Move it several times quickly downwards diagonally from right to left.

"Child: Place both hands behind the back as if carrying a weight.

"Companions: Hold up the fore- and middle-fingers of one hand, then lightly snap the fingers and thumb."—Howitt, A. W., "The Dieri and Other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1891, vol. xx, p. 90.

[36] Sign language was used particularly by the Indians in the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River.—Mooney, J., "Signals," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* xxx, 1910, p. 567. See also Willis, George, *The Philosophy of Speech*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1919, pp. 17-18; Mallery, Garrick, *Sign Language Among the North American Indians*, First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C., 1881.

ous groups. The Cistercian monks, in order to avoid the use of audible speech, invented a sign language somewhat like that used by the deaf today.[37]

Because of its widespread use and its supposed ease of comprehension, sign language has been regarded by some writers as the primitive and fundamental form of communication. However, this surmise is not well founded. In the infant, vocalizations appear as early as do other random movements. In some groups, speech and gesture languages are used concurrently by children as well as by adults; and there is no evidence that a diminution in the use of gestures indicates a corresponding degree of advancement in other respects, or that people (such as the southern French) who employ gestures freely may for that reason be assigned a lower place in the scale of cultural development than many other groups who make little use of pantomimes. Some preliterate peoples—for instance, the Kurani of southeast Australia—are altogether lacking in a language of gestures,[38] while others, like the American Indians, developed it late in their history.

Moreover, the gestures used in one group are often the reverse of those found elsewhere, since they are the result of culture cumulation rather than of any innate tendency toward a specific form of expression. The signs for "yes" and "no" vary among different people. The natives of New Zealand show assent by elevating the head and chin instead of nodding as we do.[39] The Turk expresses negation by throwing his head back and simultaneously making a clucking noise with his tongue. The inhabitants of the Admiralty Islands indicate a decided, vigorous negative by means of a smart, quick stroke of the nose with an extended finger of the right hand; if the negative is doubtful or hesitant, the finger lingers on the way and is rubbed slowly across the nose.[40]

Beckoning is also done by motions which are the opposite of those employed in our culture. Some people make this gesture by holding the hand half erect with the palm forward, and moving it toward the person addressed. To beckon approach, the Bahima of

[37] Darwin, Charles, *Expression of the Emotions,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1899, p. 60; Tylor, E. B., *op. cit.,* p. 40 ff.

[38] Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia,* Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1904, p. 725.

[39] Tylor, E. B., *Researches into the Early History of Mankind,* p. 53.

[40] Moseley, H. N., "On the Inhabitants of the Admiralty Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1877, vol. vi, p. 395.

eastern Africa reverse the palm in a manner that looks like a sign of repulsion,[41] while the Niam-Niam of central Africa wave their arms in a way which we might take for a withdrawal.[42]

Astonishment, which in our civilization is shown by raising the eyebrows and opening the mouth, is expressed by the Eskimos, the Tlingits of North America and the Indians of Brazil by a similar play of features accompanied by a slap on the hips. The Ainus and others give a light tap on the nose or mouth to convey this idea; the Tibetans pinch the cheek; the Negro Bantus move the hand before the mouth; while primitive Australians and West Africans protrude the lips as if to whistle.[43]

(3) SPEECH.—Vocalizations, as well as gestures, become conventionalized through life in a group, although innate tendencies limit their range and character.[44] This is shown by the process of speech development in children. Their first respiratory tricks, cooings, and articulations[45] are performed independent of example or imitation, for such sounds are produced even by deaf infants.[46] But in normal individuals these elementary expressions are soon modified by association with other persons who have already acquired cultural forms. The effect of this association upon the development of speech usages is indicated by the fact that the deaf, even though they are taught to speak, do not develop the rich repertory of tones usually commanded by those who can hear. Analogies are also supplied by observations of the lower species. For example, deaf cattle low in a peculiar manner. Some songbirds do not learn to sing if kept in isolation from others; while the sparrow, if reared with canaries, may acquire much of their characteristic warble, even though it is not a songbird.[47] On the other hand, a geopelia pigeon which has been reared by ringdoves, coos, calls, and bows exactly after the

[41] Roscoe, J., "The Bahima: A Cow Tribe of Erikola," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1907, vol. xxxvi, p. 131.

[42] Roth, J. Ling, *op. cit.,* p. 168.

[43] Deniker, J., *The Races of Man,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1900, p. 110.

[44] Cf. Sapir, Edward, *op. cit.,* p. 7.

[45] One nine-month-old child studied by Gesell spent six per cent of its waking time in such activity.—Gesell, A., *Mental Growth of the Pre-School Child,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925, p. 213.

[46] Bühler, Charlotte, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

[47] Conradi, Edward, "Song and Call Notes of English Sparrows When Reared with Canaries," *American Journal of Psychology,* 1915, vol. xvi, pp. 190-198; Briffault, Robert, *The Mothers,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, vol. i, p. 25.

fashion of its ancestors, never learning either the music or the gestures of its adopted companions.[48]

A child may build up a speech which differs phonetically from that it hears used by others. A few children in close association may develop vocabularies which seem to be distinctly their own, but these are compounded for the most part from the speech elements of the family or other group to which the "originators" belong, the models being changed in the process of acquisition.[49] Such distinctions soon tend to be lost in the general stream of culture when contacts are increased in wider circles of associates.

Language responses are thus results of association. Even such apparently spontaneous expressions as interjections are determined by the speech habits of the social group. For example, the American who says "ouch" when he is hurt is not understood by people who use other exclamations.[50] Speech habits are not predetermined. The range of possible sound production permits the articulation not only of the mother tongue but of other languages as well. Although individuals in most groups walk very much alike because the fundamental elements of locomotion are determined by inherited structure, they talk according to the prevailing fashion, much as they wear a given type of clothing. Usages require that the voice be pitched in such and such a key and that definite types of rhythms, speed, and cadences be observed.[51] Therefore, although the origin of speech in human beings is a matter of surmise, any valid theory must include the influence of collective living. The earlier individualistic theories on the evolution of speech have, in derision, been called the "bow-wow," "pooh-pooh," and "yo-he-ho" theories. The first implies an imitation of the sounds to characterize objects; the second presupposes instinctive utterances evoked by feelings; and the third maintains that language is the natural phonetic accompaniment of acts performed in common, the sounds standing as

[48] Craig, Wallace, "The Voices of Pigeons Regarded as a Means of Social Control," p. 91.

[49] Strong, Herbert, et al., The History of Language, Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1891, p. 164; Laguna, Grace de, Speech, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927, p. 115.

See "On the Origin of Language," in Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1887, vol. xxxvi, pp. 500-509; and also Stern, William, op. cit., p. 170.

[50] Kroeber, A. L., "The Superorganic," American Anthropologist, 1927, vol. xix, pp. 172-174.

[51] Sapir, Edward, "Speech as a Personality Trait," American Journal of Sociology, 1926-1927, vol. xxxii, pp. 892-905.

verbs denoting acts themselves. Recent theories recognize the inter-
individual nature of language, and one of them suggests that speech
arose in the festal activities of groups.[52] Allport states that random
articulations and responses which occur in the sight and hearing of
another person or persons condition both speaker and hearer to the
same word sign, so that success in communicating with and con-
trolling one's fellows tends to establish the use of the given vocali-
zation for a definite purpose. Thus, "social stimulation and response
lie at the very root of language."[53] In fact, from early childhood
when he imitates the words of those about him, everyone as he
speaks, constantly adjusts his reactions to those of other persons,
comparing his behavior with theirs and responding accordingly.

### AUTONOMY OF SOCIAL ACTS

We must conclude, from these data, that an act considered as a
social event is not equivalent to the same act viewed as an organic
event. The same social fact may involve different biophysical means
(effectors and receptors), and unlike social facts may involve like
receptors and bodily movements. Although the two aspects are in-
volved in a single event they fall into different levels or systems
of phenomena.

That *identical social meaning may be contained in unlike bio-
physical acts is shown by the following examples and others* pre-
viously given. A smile, a nod, a wave of the hand, whistling,[54] a
telephone call, a casual "howdy," or an elaborate formula may serve
equally well to pass the time of day, providing only that the acts
have become standardized within a group. A social act, such as
expressing the compliments of the season, may be performed by
pantomime, spoken word, telegram, letter, or gift; and sympathy
or any other attitude may be transmitted by any one of these
methods. One vocal movement may differ greatly from another
although socially they may be identical, as is illustrated by syno-
nyms or by the interchangeability of words in the same or different

[52] Such a theory is offered by J. Donovan in "The Festal Origin of Human
Speech," *Mind,* 1891, vol. xvi, p. 506; see also Harrison, Jane E., *Ancient Art and
Ritual,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1923, pp. 42-43.

[53] Allport, F. H., *op. cit.,* pp. 194-195; Pillsbury, Walter B., *The Psychology of
Language,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1928, p. 121.

[54] In the island of Gomera, everybody except a few dignitaries may converse by
means of whistling. See Klattsch, H., *Evolution and Progress of Man,* T. E. Unwin,
London, 1923, p. 130.

languages for the communication of an identical thought or social attitude.

The converse of this principle, that *unlike social acts may be performed by the same biophysical event,* is shown by the fact that the gesture which we use to designate withdrawal may in another culture mean approach. Identical vocal tones have unlike meanings in different languages and even within the same language, as is seen by the fact that homonyms can be understood only from the context in which they occur. In a more comprehensive sense, the vocal apparatus may be considered a structural unit; and from this standpoint sobbing, laughing, scolding, praising, reprimanding, crooning, etc., are expressed by the same biophysical equipment. Considered solely as physical events, the blow with which a life guard stuns a drowning man in order to rescue him is similar to the blow of a pugilist or a thug. The meaning conveyed by spitting upon a person varies radically from one group to another, and shedding tears may be a means of arousing pity, showing grief, or expressing compliments and hospitality.

Although there is no inevitable connection between biophysical acts and their social uses and meanings,[55] there are various instances of a logical connection between them. For example, Preyer noted that a week-old child when sated turned its head away with a motion which was later used in denial. He also observed that in the sixth month the child added arm movements which looked as if it were pushing the object away, although these movements were not clearly made for this purpose until the fifteenth month.[56] The expression of satiety may thus have developed into a social gesture. A similar logical connection may exist between prostration before an antagonist because of exhaustion or collapse from fright and the subsequent utilization of these postures as symbols in similar social situations. So, also, the gestures of supplication and of begging may be naturally connected with the infantile act of grasping. But such logical gestures are not always employed for the given ideas. Thus,

[55] As Sapir points out, the complex body equipment which is used in speech—the lungs, larynx, the palate, the nose, the tongue, the teeth and the lips—"are no more to be thought of as primary organs of speech than are the fingers to be considered as essentially organs of piano-playing or the knees as organs of prayer. . . . Physiologically, speech is an overlaid function, or, to be more precise, a group of overlaid functions."—Sapir, Edward, *Language,* pp. 7-8.

[56] Sully, James, *op. cit.,* p. 139; cf. Tanner, Amy E., *The Child,* Rand McNally and Company, New York, 1915, p. 312.

in begging, some tribes rub the palms of the hands together much as Europeans do in praying.[57] When a Kafir father serves food to his children they must hold out both hands to receive it, thereby suggesting gratitude—holding out one hand would imply that the father gave so little that it could be held in one hand.[58]

Some people show reverence by squatting in the presence of a superior rather than standing, as we do. In the interior of Java, when a Dutch official of whatever rank passes along the road, the native wayfarers squat on their heels until he has gone by. In Burma they drop upon their knees,[59] and in China, Siam and Siberia they grovel in the dust. In the Tonga Islands, when a subject approaches a chief to do homage, the chief raises his foot behind him as a horse does, and the subject touches it with his fingers, thus figuratively putting himself under his lord's foot.[60] The kotow is still another variant of the same social act. Among South African Negroes, respect is shown to a person of rank by turning the back and bowing away from him, whereas in our culture one bows toward the dignitary. While the socially derived meaning of an act need not be fortuitous, the instances of such logical connections are very few.

From these facts it is clear that the forms of communication prevalent in a group arise in the process of associated living and that their meaning depends upon consensus. Their function is to maintain some workable relation between individuals and to enable them to participate in a collective life.

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[57] Granville, R. K., *et al.,* "Notes on the Jekris, Sobos, and Ijos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1898, vol. xxviii, p. 123.

[58] Kidd, Dudley, *Savage Childhood,* Adam and Charles Black, London, 1906, p. 111.

[59] Yule, Colonel, "Notes on Analogies of Manners between the Indo-Chinese Races and the Races of the Indian Archipelago," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1879, vol. ix, p. 299.

[60] Tylor, E. B., *op. cit.,* p. 471.

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## Communication and Social Participation

The forms of communication, which, as we have seen, arise in asso-
ciation, in turn become the chief means of maintaining a social
structure. The possession of a common language enables individuals
to engage in cooperative efforts, to share in one another's thoughts
and experiences, and to act upon information given or recorded by
persons beyond the range of direct perception; and, conversely,
handicaps in communication, including the defective command of
a language, impair association.

### LANGUAGE AS A MEANS OF PARTICIPATION

The ability to communicate implies that individuals have pre-
viously associated or have otherwise acquired a *lingua franca*.
Moreover, the command of the same vernacular indicates that even
if people are not at the moment engaged in direct communication,
they have the ability to do so, and, further, that they more or less
participate in current ideas and engage in social intercourse. Such
participation assumes various forms.

(1) LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL RITUAL.—Although the chief function
of language, it may be supposed, is the interchange of information,
this is often a relatively minor part of conversation. Indeed, much
discourse consists of statements which each interlocutor knows to
be familiar to the other; for such exchanges serve primarily to
show amity and to maintain responsiveness or *rapport*, thereby
aiding harmony and cooperation. This seems to be the primary
function of such social rituals as greetings, passing the time of day,
or exchanging remarks concerning the weather, for they express
good will (at least, ostensibly) and serve to arouse and maintain
friendly attitudes. This is especially important in the conversation of
strangers, between whom the rituals for finding one another out
are correspondingly guarded and elaborate. Each offers tentative
self-disclosures by comments concerning the climate, crops, market

conditions, governmental policies, or whatever else he thinks will serve to "draw out" the other person.

The large variety and the apparent universality of these responses discussed in Chapter VII indicate their importance in social life. A random example will serve to show their utility in signifying *rapport*. Among members of a Congo tribe, "when one person is stationary in a given place and another is approaching, the first will say, 'You have come,' and the other will reply, 'Yes, you are there,' to which the first answers, 'Yes,' thus completing the greeting. . . . If a person is at home, and another is passing by, the first will say, 'You have come' or 'You are passing' or 'You are there'. . . . The final 'Yes' must not be omitted unless one means not to receive the greeting."[1] Leave-takings which suggest the wish for a subsequent meeting (such as "Tomorrow," "May we meet tomorrow") or wishes of good fortune ("Go in peace" and "Remain in peace" or "in prosperity"—expressions used before starting a journey or an adventure), are found in the rituals of primitive peoples as well as in those of more advanced civilizations.

It is unlikely that, among most peoples, two well-disposed persons would meet without such a greeting, and therefore its omission usually shows either hostility or an ignorance of the prevailing etiquette. Class distinctions are in part indicated and in part maintained by this means. In a caste-ridden society, members of a lower social class must show proper respect for their "betters" by correct obeisances and salutations, on pain of being considered disrespectful. Greater stress is placed on such formalities in some cultures than in others. For example, Orientals, who are punctilious about these observances, have often regarded Occidentals as lacking in "good breeding."

(2) THE TRANSMISSIVE AND DIDACTIVE FUNCTION OF LANGUAGE is basic in the cumulation of civilization. Without language, the individual's own immediate perceptions would determine his mental store; but the more complex forms of communication, such as speech and writing, put the ideas of each group member at the disposal of all the others.[2] Through such means an individual acquires the information by which he largely directs his conduct and main-

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[1] Wood, L. Foster, "Cultured Wild Men," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1931, vol. xv, pp. 226-267.

[2] Creighton, J. E., "The Social Nature of Thinking," *The Philosophical Review,* 1918, vol. xxvii, p. 289.

tains relations with others, even with those widely separated in space.

Language also enables the individual to share in the thoughts of past generations, as well as in those of his contemporaries, for it labels experiences, discoveries, and opinions so that they may be handed down from one generation to another. Past hardships endured or successes achieved become a part of the emotional and intellectual equipment of each group member; and accordingly, he himself does not find it necessary to go through the wasteful process of trial and error in order to understand the meaning of a given object or social relationship. Through such "contacts of continuity" each one may share in the wisdom, as well as the fallacies, of bygone generations and races, and thus becomes a member, not only of his immediate family, class, or state, but also of a world society which extends back to prehistoric times.

The dependence of the individual upon this common store of information is shown by the fact that in adopting the current forms of expression he simultaneously takes on certain general forms of thought which they convey, and he is limited to a corresponding degree by a paucity of verbal forms. If words for numbers larger than three are lacking among his people, he will find it impossible to participate in complicated mathematical or scientific knowledge. If names for colors—such as blue, yellow, or green—are not prevalent, as is the case in various cultures, he will be excluded from the artistic achievement or enjoyment which familiarity with these terms implies.[3] Such facts warrant the belief that much of what we regard as peculiarities or limitations of national thought depends upon the adaptability of the language in expressing subtle shades of meaning.[4]

However, this does not imply that the absence of a given language form is the result of an inability to comprehend the meanings it conveys. For example, investigators have shown that many preliterate people are able to distinguish finer gradations of color than their vocabularies indicate.[5] The fact that a language has a paucity of abstract terms is due not to an inherent inability for abstract

[3] Lévy-Brühl, Lucien, *Primitive Mentality,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923, p. 170.

[4] Hobhouse, L. T., *Social Development,* p. 177; Young, Kimball, "Language," *Social Attitudes,* p. 132.

[5] Bartlett, Harley H., "Color Nomenclature in Batak and Malay," *Papers of Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters,* 1928, vol. x, pp. 1-52.

thought on the part of the people concerned, but to the accidents of cultural development. Accordingly, at present no authorities believe language differences to be due to, or indicative of, racial inferiority or superiority.[6]

Indeed, it is clear that in general there is no uniform connection even between the complexity of a language and the general level of civilization. The tendency to use a single term for a complex idea (called "holophrasis") is largely a matter of definition. Every language, it has been noted, may be regarded as holophrastic from the viewpoint of another.[7] The language forms of a people may be very complex and yet lack some terms which are found elsewhere. This fact is illustrated by the absence, in the English language, of a word for the singular of cattle or of an indication of the gender of many words, such as cousin and friend. Some preliterate groups lack a word to distinguish brother from cousin and son from grandson; and although the Hawaiian language has no term referring to adopted son, mother-in-law, or father-in-law, it has special words for brother and sister according to age.[8]

Some groups which have a simple language occupy a high cultural level in other respects, and the reverse is also true. Thus, the Bushmen, whose culture is relatively retarded, have a language which is rich and ingeniously constructed; the Chinese, with their high cultural achievements, have a language which is comparatively simple in form. The natives of Tierra del Fuego have a language stock of 32,430 expressions, as compared to the 15,000 words known to the English-speaking people of Shakespeare's time.[9] It has been estimated that every existing language has a vocabulary of at least 5,000 words. Vocabularies of 10,000 to 40,000 words are known to have existed in American Indian tribes. One dialect of the Fuegians is said to have about 30,000 words. In the language of the Abipones, a South American tribe, the verb can take more than four hundred endings to indicate mood, person, and tense, excluding the tenses formed by the use of auxiliaries; and in some of the Australian

[6] Hertz, F., *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

[7] Faris, E., "The Mental Capacity of Savages," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1918, vol. xxiii, pp. 607-612; Brinton, D. G., *Essays of an Americanist,* Porter and Coates, Philadelphia, 1890, pp. 354-357; Lieber, Francis, "The Plan of Thought in American Languages," in *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States,* edited by H. R. Schoolcraft, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1852, vol. ii, pp. 346-349.

[8] Lubbock, John, "On the Development of Relationships," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1872, vol. i, p. 9.

[9] Hertz, F., *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

and other dialects, dual, triple, and even quadruple forms of nouns are in use. "When it comes to linguistic form," a recent writer observes, "Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd, Confucius with the head-hunting savage of Assam."[10] While language and culture do not coincide in the degree of their complexity, the possession of a uniform language aids the acquisition of a common culture and national sentiment.

(3) LANGUAGE AS A BOND OF UNITY.—A distinctive vocabulary indicates that the individuals who communicate are functioning together, or at least are capable of doing so; it records the points at which there are mutual stimulation, sharing of experiences, and cooperative efforts in the group's struggle against its physical environment, as well as against other groups. The Dutch language abounds in speech forms reminiscent of the sea; and the English language is rich in the number of words for water, such as liquid, lake, river, brook, dew, rain, wave, and fountain.[11] The tribes of New South Wales have many terms for spears; the Eskimos make minute distinctions regarding the character and form of snow.[12] The Nootka Indians, like European fisherfolk, have discriminative terms for marine animals, while desert peoples record their observations of their topographical environment in words connoting "sand flat," "circular valley," "spot of level ground on a mountain," and "plain or valley surrounded by mountains."[13] Other peoples have a varied terminology for plants. The Tunguses of Siberia converse in minute terms about the reindeer.[14] The earliest forms of Aryan languages were lacking in words for fish or sea—a fact which has led to the assumption of an inland origin for these people; and natives of the scorching equatorial lowlands have no word for ice.[15]

In a similar way, other groups have preserved in their language the events of their social history. Americanisms such as caucus,

[10] Sapir, Edward, *Language*, p. 234.

[11] Boas, F., *Mind of Primitive Man*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913, p. 145.

[12] Wallis, Wilson D., *Introduction to Anthropology*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1926, p. 422.

[13] Sapir, Edward, "Language and Environment," *American Anthropologist*, 1912, vol. xiv, p. 228.

[14] They have one name for a wild, and another for a tame or domestic, reindeer, for each age class, for a young female fawn, a doe with one fawn, a doe of three years with two fawns, etc. See Romanes, G. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 351-352.

[15] Dominian, Leon, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1917, p. 1.

filibuster, gerrymander, stumping, and mugwump give evidence of
unique political methods. So close is this association between speech
forms and the experience of a people, that philology has been de-
fined as the biography of nations.[16] Indeed, the very adjective
which describes nationality is likewise used as a noun implying the
national language. For example, the term English refers to that
which is most distinctly English, the language; *französisch* is ap-
plied not to the French religion or dress, but to the French
language.[17]

Although factors other than language are concerned in national-
ism, similarity of language, like common traditions, ideals, or re-
ligion, is one of the most important factors in the formation and
maintenance of group unity. Bohemian patriots say, "As long as the
language lives, the nation is not dead."[18] In fact, it has been noted
that every nationalist movement in Europe, from that of the Cata-
lonians in Spain to that of the Norse in Norway, has been at the
same time a linguistic and a literary movement.[19]

Because of the intimate association between language and group
experience, people tend to idealize their vernacular and to cling to
it tenaciously. For example, some of the descendants of the German
and Swiss settlers in Penn's colony still speak a German dialect,
for although the young attend the public schools, those who remain
in their home community revert to their familiar and intimate
mother tongue except when outside business contacts call for the
use of English.

Under oppression or conditions of conflict, a group is especially
prone to regard its language as its own peculiar heritage which must
be defended lest the group identity be lost. The Lapps, notwith-
standing their contact with the Norwegians, have adhered tena-
ciously to their own language. "Hereafter, both you and your
children must learn Norwegian," says Pastor Hard Hjorth, one of
the characters in *Laila.* "Why should we learn Norwegian?" retorts
his interlocutor Logje; "we are satisfied with our own language."
"Because Norwegian is the better, the more copious, and the more
useful tongue." "Norwegian is not better for us and for our mode

[16] Attributed to Frederich A. Wolf by F. Teggart, "Prolegomena to History,"
*University of Southern California Publications in History,* 1916, vol. iv, p. 275.
[17] Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *op. cit.,* vol. i, p. 357.
[18] Park, R. E., *The Immigrant Press,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1923, p. 40.
[19] Park, R. E., "Negro Race Consciousness as Reflected in Race Literature,"
*American Review,* 1923, vol. i, p. 515.

of life. Your language is a bad one when one has to talk of rein-deer, of hill and valley, of light of day, and of the darkness of nights, and of all that pertains to our ordinary life. You have not one word for our ten about reindeer and many other things. Is such a language rich? No, it is a poor one for us."[20]

The specialized vocabularies of vocational or economic classes also show the tendency of groups to adapt the means of communi-cation to their experiences and functions. Specific terms used in different occupations are the means of imparting knowledge and skill. The Malay gold and camphor seekers have their special languages, as do the Breton tailors, the Irish and Scotch copper-smiths, and other occupational groups. Many functional classes— soldiers, miners, sailors, waiters, laundresses, etc.—have their own peculiar slang. Indeed, the realm of discourse in which the members of various vocational groups—such as the churchman, the scientist, the educator, and the radical leader—participate, vary so widely that they can scarcely converse with one another understand-ingly. Words such as "scab," "liberty," "atheist," or "socialist," do not mean the same thing to people with different backgrounds; the words "comet" and "plague" have disparate connotations to the European peasant with his notions concerning magic, and to the modern scientist.[21] Under such circumstances, members of different interest groups find communication difficult, while those who are in the same realm of discourse associate more readily and more congenially.

This tendency for each social class to develop its own distinctive expressions and universe of discourse has been especially marked in aristocratic societies where class distinctions are hereditary. European peasants often speak a language or dialect which is different from that of the upper classes, who frequently represent a different race. For example, about 60 per cent of the people in Transylvania speak Roumanian, while the literary, military and land-owning classes speak Magyar or German. Similarly, along the eastern boundary of the German Empire, the peasants speak Polish, and the dominant classes, German.[22] In long-established societies each class has not only its own habits but also its own congenial

[20] Keane, A. H., "The Lapps: Their Origin, etc.," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1885, vol. xv, p. 232.

[21] Park, R. E., and Miller, H. A., *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[22] Dominian, Leon, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

forms of discourse which are afterwards inherited with the estates. However, when men who are no longer restrained by rank meet freely or read and listen to the same speech forms, class dialects tend to disappear. There are no exclusive class *patois* in the New World, although decided differences are found in the various sections and classes because of variations in experience and in the amount of schooling.[23]

Changes in social relationships are likewise reflected in language variations, for while, like other cultural and institutional forms, both these relationships and the words describing them have an organic growth (inasmuch as the past affects later growth), the words as embodiments of ideas are a phase of the social structure, as has already been said of some other aspects of culture (see Chapter IV). Where words which were once the exclusive property of a given occupational group, such as technical terms in law, medicine, or science, come into general use, this roughly measures the spread of ideas among the population at large.[24] The language of gallantry once devised by an elegant aristocracy no longer exists as a special vocabulary because at present no one class has a monopoly of these "courteous" practices. The history of words also shows changes in occupation and in economic position or social status, and the attitudes attaching thereto. A "villain" and a "boor" once meant merely a countryman, not necessarily one who was rude or even wicked. Similarly, a "knave" was a young servant; a "varlet," a candidate for knighthood; a "miscreant," one who differed from you in theology; and brigand, ribald (ribold), and assassin formerly designated armed bands. Again, the altered meanings of words indicate changes in practices relating to kindred. The Sanskrit use of the word for nephew to indicate a rival suggests a family system very different from the one with which we are familiar. The etymology of some Greek words which make "foreign" synonymous with that which is outside the house, is reminiscent of the time when the greater family, as the self-sufficient unit of society, was lodged in one household. "Cozen," which is allied to "cousin" and the French verb *cousiner*, was once (1611) defined as "to claim kindred for advantage"; and the old-fashioned New England phrase, "to go a-cousining," meaning to quarter oneself on

[23] See below, pp. 123 ff.

[24] Greenough, James B., and Kittredge, George L., *Words and Their Way in English Speech*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1914, pp. 42-54.

distant relatives,[25] is etymological evidence of relationships which were less impersonal than those prevailing today.

Other distinctions also are embodied in language forms. For example, even the dissimilar tasks and interests of men and women have been registered in esoteric languages by some people. Although such distinctions are not unfamiliar in present-day western civilization, they are even more marked among various primitive people. Among the Caribs, for instance, the men speak Carib while the women speak Arowak; and an observer of the Chukchi relates: "When I was trying to learn their language I found that young men did not know the names of some parts of the house frame, household utensils, and instruments for dressing skins. 'Ugh,' they would say, 'I don't know, that is a woman's business.' "[26] A distinction recognized in our own culture in the manner of greeting appropriate for men and women, is even more clearly institutionalized in other cultures. In one group men rub their hands together, raise them to the forehead (palms up), and then stroke down their beard, one hand after the other. The women draw the first finger of the right hand over the first finger of the left, raise both hands to the forehead (palms up), and then rub the upper lip with the first finger of the right hand.[27] Sometimes people belonging to different generations use distinctive vocabularies. Thus, among the Masai in East Africa, the masculine population is divided according to age into two classes, each of which has its own foods and is restricted in some respects in the use of certain words.[28]

Language is thus a means of differentiating social classes and nationalities; and language forms, when their geographic distribution is plotted, fall into more or less definite spatial patterns. The vernacular is a bond uniting the members of the group, and a symbol of their common life, a "collective representation" and a carrier of the sentiments born of common experiences. Under such conditions, "A single word passed between members of an intimate group, in spite of its apparent vagueness and ambiguity, may constitute a far more precise communication than volumes of

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

[26] Hambly, Wilfred, and Hose, Charles, *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples*, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1926, p. 287.

[27] Holland, Lieut., "The Ainos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1874, vol. iii, pp. 236-237.

[28] Vendryes, J., *Language*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1925, p. 257.

carefully prepared correspondence interchanged between two governments."[29]

(4) EXCLUSION FROM PARTICIPATION.—To the extent that language unites the members of a group and enables them to share in one another's experiences, it helps to exclude those not so united or participating. This is illustrated by the secret signs which enable the initiated to exclude others from the conversation. For example, a Punjab (British Indian) tribe of thieves forms words by inserting the syllable "ma" in the ordinary Punjabi words; and until the nineteenth century a criminal guild in France had a special language or "argot" of its own.[30] Such tricks may be likened to the "hog Latin" and other jargons used by children to deceive their elders. Boys in Natal have a secret language made by adding "lande" to the leading syllable of each word. In southwest Africa Fingo boys change the order of the syllables in words, putting the first half of the word last and the last half first, thus completely mystifying the uninitiated.[31] For the same purpose, when they wish to speak to one another about a white man in his presence, they refer to him as "the animal." So, also, school children use signs which help to draw lines of exclusion between themselves and outsiders, one hundred and fifty such signs being found in general use in one American school.[32]

Differences in language forms estrange and interfere with ready access to another class or group. The failure, on the part of one social class, to observe the language usages regarded as "correct" by another is an important means of social differentiation. Similarly, an ignorance of scientific or sporting terms indicates a lack of experience in these activities. The subtle allusions between intimates exclude those outside the realm of discourse. The strange or "queer" is synonymous with unfamiliarity. Those who are ignorant of one another's language, it has been said, are to one another as though they were dumb.[33] People who can make themselves mutually intelligible often call themselves "The Speakers" or "The People," and

[29] Sapir, Edward, "Communication," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* 1931, vol. iv, p. 79.

[30] Vendryes, J., *op. cit.,* p. 255 ff.

[31] Kidd, Dudley, *op. cit.,* pp. 204-208.

[32] Seton, Ernest Thompson, *Sign Talk,* Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., New York, 1918, Introduction, p. xix.

[33] Tylor, E. B., *Researches into the Early History of Mankind,* p. 34.

those who speak a strange tongue, "The Jabberers" or "The Stran-
gers." For example, the Slavonians label themselves "the intelligible
men," but Germans call them "Wends," that is, wanderers or stran-
gers. The Basques call themselves Euscaldunac, "those who have
speech." The earliest name by which Germans called themselves
was Tungri, "those who have tongues."[34] Sophocles used the expres-
sion "tongueless" for the barbarians as contrasted with the Greeks.
"Only by speech," says Gumplowicz, "do men become *men* to one
another."[35]

This group differentiation is seen not only in the unintelligibility
of speech but also in the lack of responsiveness to the emotional
expressive signs. "Our laughter," says Henri Bergson, "is always
the laughter of a group. . . . A man who was once asked why he
did not weep at a sermon when everybody else was shedding tears
replied: 'I don't belong to the parish!' What that man thought of
tears would be still more true of laughter. However spontaneous it
seems, laughter always implies a kind of secret freemasonry, or
even complicity, with other laughers, real or imaginary."[36] Unfa-
miliarity with gestures, such as those used in greeting, likewise
interferes with *rapport*. After several English people had shaken a
Palaung woman heartily by the hand, she said, "I suppose that
they mean to be kind, but what a strange custom. I am very glad
that it is only my hand that they wish to shake and not my
head!"[37]

### ISOLATION AS DIFFERENTIAL COMMUNICATION

Individuals do not share equally in the thoughts of their time,
for all do not have an equal opportunity to communicate. This may
be due to language handicaps, to the absence of the usual oppor-
tunities for social contact, or to other causes such as sensory defects
or inferior capacities. It may also be due to geographic location,
distance, and topography.

(1) LANGUAGE HANDICAPS.—Isolation due to language handicaps
exists both *between* and *within* vernaculars. The first type, *inter-*

[34] Taylor, Isaac, *Words and Places,* Macmillan & Company, Ltd., London, 1864,
pp. 62-68.

[35] Gumplowicz, Ludwig, *Der Rassenkampf,* Wagnerischen University, Innsbruck,
1883, pp. 249 ff.

[36] Bergson, Henri, *Laughter,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924, pp. 6-7.

[37] Milne, Mrs. Leslie, *The Home of an Eastern Clan,* Clarendon Press, Oxford,
1924. p. 220.

*language barriers,* has always existed and, under primitive conditions, it took the form of local exclusiveness. The aborigines of America, for example, belonged to about 150 separate language families, speaking something like 1,000 different dialects.[38] Among the Croatians today there are almost as many dialects as there are geographic provinces.[39] In some parts of the globe almost every village has its own dialect, and although the cooperation within these language-limited communities is intense, their relations with other groups are correspondingly limited.

The effect of language obstacles has been subjected to measurement in the mental tests of immigrant children. For example, Darsie's tests of children of Japanese parentage in California, 10-13 years of age, showed that their scores were approximately the same as those of Caucasian children of the same age, except in reading, language, and science, in all of which they were about one year below the level of the whites at the age of thirteen. His studies also indicated a definite tendency for the Japanese to equal or exceed American norms in non-linguistic tests. A test of twelve-year-old children in Honolulu shows that the inferiority of the Chinese and Japanese children, in comparison with the Anglo-Saxons, is due largely to language handicaps, for where these factors are absent, the performance is equal.[40] Other studies dealing with various nationality groups arrive at similar conclusions concerning the effects of language obstacles.[41] In non-verbal tests, children of immigrants may make an even more favorable showing than native children of native parentage.[42]

The bilingual child has repeatedly been found to be under a

[38] Hertz, F., *op. cit.,* p. 85.

[39] Park, R. E., *The Immigrant Press,* pp. 36-37.

[40] Murdock, K. M., "A Study of Differences Found Between Races in Intellect and Morality," *School and Society,* 1925, vol. xxii, part i, pp. 628-632; part ii, pp. 659-664.

[41] See for example, Colvin, Stephen S., "Principles Underlying the Construction and Use of Intelligence Tests," *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,* 1922, vol. xxi, pp. 22-23; Feingold, G. A., "Intelligence of the First Generation of Immigrant Groups," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 1924, vol. xv, pp. 65-82; Kirkpatrick, C., *Intelligence and Immigration,* The Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1926, p. 92.

[42] See Brunner, Edmund de S., *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children,* Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., New York, 1929, pp. 206-207.

This study shows that the children of Bohemian parentage made higher scores in arithmetic than did the children of native Virginians in the same community.

handicap in respect to the culture and language acquired outside the home, although this varies with the degree to which activities of all kinds are shared with the people using the second language. Berry's test of first-grade pupils in Detroit showed that the children of Polish, Russian, and Italian parents scored lower than the children of German descent, because a smaller proportion of the latter spoke the parental language at home; the children who did not speak German at home made higher scores than those who did.[43] Similar disabilities attaching to the use of two languages were found by Pintner's tests in Youngstown, Ohio,[44] and Saer's study of Welsh-English bilingualists. The latter investigator found that bilingual children have a smaller vocabulary and a less reliable comprehension of English words than English monoglot children, and that these difficulties persist during the later years of schooling.[45]

*Intra-language barriers* are indicated by the unlike vocabularies of people of different vocations and schooling. Various studies indicate that the children of educated and wealthy parents have larger vocabularies than do the children in less favored circumstances, even when mental ability is equal. Investigators find that when children of the same age and mental ability are paired according to social status, those of the higher social class show a superior average command of words.[46] In pre-school years, American children from homes of a higher degree of culture show a larger range of words, and during the school years, the mastery of words is said to depend much less upon school training than upon home conversation and especially upon home reading.[47] One investigator has calculated that in the favored socio-economic classes the children two and one-half to seven and one-half years of age are, on the average, eight

[43] Berry, C. S., "The Classification by Tests of Intelligence of Ten Thousand First-Grade Pupils," *Journal of Educational Research*, vi, October, 1922, pp. 185-203.

[44] Pintner, R., "Comparison of American and Foreign Children in Intelligence Tests," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1923, vol. xiv, pp. 292-295.

[45] Saer, D. J., "Effect of Bilingualism on Intelligence," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1923-1924, vol. xiv, pp. 24 ff.

[46] Gesell, A., and Lord, E. E., "A Psychological Comparison of Nursery School Children from Homes of Low and High Economic Standing," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1927, vol. xxxiv, pp. 339-356. See also, Smith, Madorah E., *An Investigation of the Development of the Sentence and the Extent of Vocabulary in Young Children*, University of Iowa Press, Iowa City, 1917.

[47] Chambers, Will G., "How Words Get Meaning," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 1904, vol. xi, pp. 45-46.

months in advance of working-class children of the same age;[48] and other investigators find a much greater disparity.[49]

Among adults the exclusive use of the "book" language or a non-literary vernacular produces differences in participation to a greater degree than is generally realized. According to one writer, nineteen-twentieths of the vocabulary of any people lives only in the literature and the speech of the cultured classes.[50] The average man reads very little, and he can secure other people's ideas only by word of mouth. One who has not had formal schooling not only does not speak the book language, but probably does not understand more than two-thirds of the words used by a political orator, a learned clergyman, or an academic person.[51]

(2) ABSENCE OF THE USUAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION.—The effect of extreme isolation is seen in the neglected and abandoned children who survived alone or who grew up in solitude. A considerable number of these so-called "feral" cases have been recorded in previous centuries, and a few well authenticated cases of extremely isolated children have been discovered more recently, even in America. The truly feral individuals, when found, were without language, pride, etiquette, gratitude, ideas of property rights, or sense of time; they fled at the sight of other people, and resisted the use of clothing. Although able to subsist single-handed in the wilds, they lacked skill in handicrafts; and even when domesticated they acquired but a slight and imperfect command of the content of culture. However, some of these individuals, when subjected to medical treatment and instruction, made up part of their retardation. Such facts supply the basis for Brinton's aphorism, "Man becomes man only as one of many,"[52] and for Ratzel's assertion, "The most important step from savagery to culture is the emancipation of the

[48] Stern, William, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[49] Schweisinger, G. C., "The Social-Ethical Significance of a Vocabulary," *Columbia University Contributions to Education, Teachers College Series, No. 211,* New York; McCarthy, D. A., "A Comparison of Children's Language in Different Situations and its Relation to Personality Traits," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1928, vol. xxxvi, pp. 583-591; Van Alstyne, D., "The Environment of Three-Year-Old Children," *Teachers' College Contributions to Education,* New York, 1929. F. L. Goodenough ("Interrelationships in the Behavior of Young Children," *Child Development,* 1930, vol. i, pp. 29-48) found a progressive decrease in talkativeness with downward shifts in occupation.

[50] Taylor, Isaac, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[51] Park, R. E., *The Immigrant Press,* p. 15.

[52] Brinton, D. G., *The Basis of Social Relations,* p. 188.

[small group] from complete or temporary segregation or isolation."[53]

Deterioration as a result of isolation from normal association is illustrated by the effects of imprisonment and other forms of exclusion from normal social participation. An extended study of the effect of solitary confinement was made by the English Prison Commission, and in 1919 the Commission brought forth a report dealing especially with the conscientious objectors during the period of the World War. The effects of solitary imprisonment were shown to be: (1) an initial period of heightened excitation; (2) a determination to make the best of the situation; (3) a gradual deterioration, including the slowing down of mental activities, the intrusion of irrelevant thoughts into a topic under consideration, and obsessional tunes and ideas; and (4) the growth of apathy, or the weakening of the mental powers—listlessness, a heightened disposition to emotional responses, deterioration of volition, and a confusion of dream and waking states.

The prisoners recorded that in their solitary confinement their attempt to give their thinking the form of conversation with imaginary persons aided their mental processes for a time, but eventually even this device failed to maintain continuity of thought, for actual interstimulation was lacking. The power of dealing critically with any topic gradually ceased. Personal grievances and irritations were magnified until they assumed pathological proportions. Dread was aroused by the strain of the routine adjustments incidental to solitude, but even more by the anticipated problems to be met after release from prison.[54] Such examples illustrate the truth of Sapir's statement, "We human beings do not exist out of society. If you put a man in a cell, he is still in society, because he carries his thoughts with him, and these thoughts, pathological though they be, were formed with the help of society."[55] But in prolonged isolation the effects of previous association gradually subside.

(3) SENSORY DEFECTS AND OTHER PHYSICAL HANDICAPS may interfere with social contact and limit the acquisition of culture

[53] Ratzel, F., *History of Mankind,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1896, vol. i, p. 131.

[54] Hobhouse, Stephen, and Brockway, A. F., *English Prisons Today,* Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1922, pp. 488-498; Small, M. H., "On Some Psychical Relations of Society and Solitude," *Pedagogical Seminary,* 1900, vol. vii, pp. 13-69.

[55] Sapir, Edward, "Speech as a Personality Trait," p. 893.

very much as does the restriction of mechanical devices for communication. The impairment of sense organs and sickness obviously lessens both impressions and expressions and produces results comparable to other forms of isolation. The life histories of Helen Keller, Laura Bridgman, and other deaf-blind persons are highly instructive in showing the significance of such physical impairments. The deaf are excluded from many impressions, for even though they may read lips and interpret gestures and facial expressions correctly, their inability to detect modulations of the voice and to catch the trivialities of speech interferes with their full participation in the trends of moods and thought.[56]

One investigation of reading handicaps suffered by deaf-mute children shows that in beginning reading their attainment falls at least one-sixth behind that of a class which can hear.[57] Another study dealing with 2172 deaf children, eight to twenty-one years of age, in 15 institutions, shows that, in mental development, on the average, deaf children are two years behind those who hear, and five years behind in the ability to acquire an education. The earlier in life deafness occurs, the greater is the retardation.[58]

(4) ISOLATION DUE TO DISTANCE AND TOPOGRAPHY.—The inaccessibility to culture models is further illustrated by the interference with communication because of distance or geographical barriers, as in the case of isolated sections which share only slightly in the general trend of thought. This may be clearly seen in some inaccessible mountain communities. The following description, published in 1923, pertains to the American colonial racial stock in one of the nation's "backyards"[59] in the Appalachian Highlands, where numerous mountain ridges and gaps have impeded communication.

[56] Haines, Cora M., "The Effects of Defective Hearing upon the Individual as a Member of the Social Order," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 1928, vol. xxii, p. 151.

[57] Thompson, Helen, *An Experimental Study of the Beginning Reading of Deaf-Mutes,* Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1927, p. 66.

[58] Reamer, Jeannette C., "Mental and Educational Measurements of the Deaf," *Psychological Review Monographs,* 1921, vol. xxix, p. 130.

Idiocy has been regarded by some investigators as a segregated condition of an individual's mind, which might be produced artificially by isolation. See Seguin, Edward, *Idiocy and its Treatment by the Physiological Method,* Brandon Printing Company, Albany, New York, 1907, pp. 16 ff.; Ireland, W. W., *The Mental Affections of Children,* P. Blakiston's Son and Company, Philadelphia, 1900, p. 258.

[59] MacClintock, S. S., "The Kentucky Mountains and Their Feuds," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1901-1902, vol. vii, p. 13.

In one family, separated by a mountain range from the nearest store and postoffice, the father had not called for his mail in twelve months, the mother had not been to the settlement in seven years, and the father's mother had lived sixty years before she saw a train. Another woman living across the same range had never traveled beyond the nearest village, and had not gone there during the nine years of her married life. A third instance was that of a mother who had not been to the nearest settlement, six miles distant, in twenty years. . . . A mother who resided only three miles from town, one-third of the distance rugged trail, stated that she had lived there a year before she saw another woman. At one home the husband in explaining his wife's shyness said: "She has seen mighty nigh no strangers and never seen a train." One-fifth of the women were illiterate. Only seven of the 505 mothers had completed the eighth grade.

Home remedies were frequently used. "Scarifying," which is similar to blood-letting, is sometimes used as a "baby cure." A seven-weeks-old infant suffering from intestinal trouble was treated with "dirt tea" made by pouring boiling water on soot scraped from the back of the chimney.[60]

While "degeneration" (a deterioration of morals and cultural standards) must be distinguished from retardation and "backwardness," it is clear that all of these conditions may be present where obstacles to communication prevent a group from sharing in the general cultural advancement. "It is ordinarily recognized that what we call a lack of intelligence in individuals, races, and communities is frequently a result of isolation."[61] The fact that backward peoples are, for the most part, located at the periphery of the accessible regions and at a distance from the highways of travel leads to the inference that such retardation is—at least partly, if not wholly—due to this factor. "Where we see people of whatever degree of civilization, not living in contact and reciprocal action with others, we shall find a certain stagnation, a mental inertness, and a want of activities which render any change of social and political conditions next to impossible."[62]

[60] U. S. Children's Bureau, *Publication* 120, 1923. Cf. Campbell, John C., *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland,* Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1921, pp. 195-225; Thompson, Samuel H., *The Highlanders of the South,* Eaton and Mains, New York, 1910.

[61] Thomas, W. I., *Sourcebook for Social Origins,* Richard Badger, New York, 1909, p. 169.

[62] Teggart, G. F., *Theory of History,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1925, p. 185.

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# CHAPTER IX

## Communication and the Social Structure

Communication, as we have seen, is a network which is both a cause and an effect of consensus and unity of interest between people. In the present chapter we shall note further that the methods of communication are the chief factors in determining the size of social groups and the range and character of the relations between their members. Our natural means of communication enable us to come into contact with only a small group, but modern methods of extending contacts enable—and even compel—us to take into account the people at great distances. Therefore, the form and complexity of the social structures and the situations to which individuals are exposed vary with the improvements in communication.

### DIRECT VERSUS INDIRECT FORMS OF COMMUNICATION

When viewed from the standpoint of the mediacy of contact,[1] communication is either direct (*vis-à-vis*) or indirect (made effective through long-range or mechanical devices). These two forms of contact are sometimes confused with the attitudes belonging respectively to primary and secondary relations. But the distinction becomes clear at once when it is recalled that either form of contact may be used in either type of relation. There is, nevertheless, some correlation between the method of contact and the attitudes, because close association typically results in sympathy and cooperation, while the absence of contact implies either lack oi acquaintance or estrangement. This does not mean, however, that direct contacts do not also result in attitudes of hostility and aversion, for statistics of crime and conflict prove fully that they do. Aside from such exceptions, it is clear that each of these forms of contact tends to produce characteristic attitudes and helps to determine the size of social groupings.

[1] Although a slight distinction may be made between contact and communication, in that the former may imply an unintended stimulus, the two terms are, for the most part, used synonymously here.

(1) DIRECT CONTACTS.—At best, communication is subject to many errors, for it is not an actual transfer of ideas but an expression by one person and an interpretation by another. The interlocutor puts meaning of his own into what he hears and sees; and because of this, and also because complete consensus seldom exists, communication is correspondingly imperfect. However, direct forms of communication permit the conveyance of impressions and expressions from one person to another with relative ease and vividness, for several sensori-motor processes are usually involved simultaneously. But such impressions may contradict, as well as reinforce, one another, as is seen by the change in social attitudes which frequently occurs when the sensory contact changes. A study of several hundred cases of "first impressions" shows that as often as not these are modified later when contacts are renewed.[2] Vocal-auditory impressions may contradict those formed by visual contact, and *vice versa*. The individual who is attracted by a visual impression may be repelled by a tactile contact, by the tone of voice, or by the trend of a conversation. The listener may be favorably impressed by a public speaker and feel dislike after shaking hands. The spectator who admires an athlete in action may feel indifference or dislike after conversing with him.

Because visual impression supplies a superficial form of contact, it is easily influenced by veneers and tinsels of ornamentation. The usual form of contact between strangers and casual passersby is visual, the city, especially, being characterized by this form of contact and by a corresponding superficial display. Furthermore, limitations inhere in the fact that a given sensori-motor process is unsuited to various conditions. For example, savages who make much use of sign language are said to have difficulty in conversing after nightfall. Gesture language has further limitations in that it interferes with other activities which involve the use of the eyes and hands, and excludes everyone from participation except those in the direct line of vision.

(2) INDIRECT MEANS OF CONTACT, though less vivid than the direct forms, have advantages, in either range, speed, or durability. For instance, printing and motion pictures (the chief forms of visual extension) and stored speech (phonographic records) can be preserved indefinitely but they cannot be transported any faster than people can. While telephonic and aerial transmissions have

[2] From an unpublished document by the author.

eliminated much of the time element in communication they, like the spoken word, leave no record beyond the moment of their enactment. Although mediated communication is often only one way,[3] what each person does may, in the long run, affect others, for each one rearranges his conduct by what he learns of distant events and people—their fortunes or misfortunes, economic pursuits, new methods of competition, construction of armaments, migrations, or other changes in the social situation as he sees it. Improvements in the means of communication, transportation, and travel facilitate the collection of ideas and artifacts from ever wider areas. These contacts with the "changing present" widen the range of competition and interdependency and, perchance, enlarge the sense of community and social responsibility.

In addition to this lateral spread, there is an increase in the "contacts of continuity," through which the past is preserved and wisdom is accumulated. This is accomplished particularly by written records which add to the permanence, as well as the range, of communication. Oral transmission is capable of preserving folklore, traditions, and folk wisdom over a considerable period of time; and primitive peoples provide for the training of individuals to keep the folk memories alive. But such memory-recorded culture cumulations are unstable and therefore subject to rapid modification, as would be seen by comparing the oral traditions of some primitive groups with the written accounts of the same events.

The forerunners of phonetic writing—object symbolism and hieroglyphs, which were apparently the earliest inventions for mediated communication—afforded a standardized and, within the range of comprehension, a patent and relatively reliable record of the intended information.

*Object symbols* permit only a limited combination of signs in representing the relation between ideas, as will be seen by the following examples. The natives of west Africa use corn, feathers, pepper, stone, coal, sticks, powder, shot, and cowries in various combinations. One cowry signifies defiance and failure; two, if strung face to face, signify a meeting or conference, but strung back to back they mean, "Let us keep what we promised; if you do not, our friendship is dissolved." Three cowries with some pepper may indicate deceit; a fan, high position and authority; a bean,

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[3] This type of social action has been designated as "linear" by F. H. Allport in his *Social Psychology* (pp. 148-150).

friendship and fair play; honey, welcome; a fagot, fire and destruction; a necklace, slavery, etc.[4] Among the wild tribes inhabiting the Naga hills, a challenge is conveyed by a piece of charred wood, a chilli, and a bullet tied together. The wood signifies destruction by flames, the bullet suggests the weapon of warfare, while chilli augurs the smarting punishment inflicted.

The Algonquins used devices similar to the tally sticks of early English kings. Preliterate peoples in Egypt, Tibet, Japan, and North and South America used vari-colored knotted cords, each color having its own meaning—red for soldiers, green for corn, etc. A single knot meant ten, and a double knot, one hundred. In various other cultures, designs on earthenware, blankets, needlework, and baskets recorded legends or events;[5] and in later periods painting, sculpture, music, and architecture were used with symbolic significance.[6] Among some peoples even tattooing and body colorings conveyed ideas as to the social status (tribal connection) or information concerning a messenger's errand (hostility, peace, or other news).[7] The use of light, fire, smoke, flags, pennants, and semaphores are symbols to the initiated; and although these devices have a limited utility they nevertheless contain the essentials of recorded language, providing they are understood.

*Picture representations,* although a convenient means of conveying information, obviously can be used only if there is consensus as to the meanings represented, and this is true also of *hieroglyphs,* which are abbreviated or conventionalized pictures serving as symbols of objects, actions, and relations. For example, in the Chinese script, which is a simplified form of picture reading, the written character for hearing was once a complete picture of a person listening behind a screen, but this eventually became a few

[4] Gollmer, C. A., "African Symbolic Messages," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1884, vol. xiv, pp. 169-180; Woodthorpe, R. S., "Wild Tribes Inhabiting the So-called Naga Hills," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1881, vol. xi, p. 71; Tylor, E. B., *Researches into the Early History of Mankind,* John Murray, London, 1870, p. 157.

[5] Dellenbaugh, Frederick S., *The North-Americans of Yesterday,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1901, p. 58; Wissler, Clark, *The American Indian,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1922, p. 97.

[6] One chapter in Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* describes the rise of printing and the overthrow of architecture as the principal recorded language of mankind. See Hammond, J. L., and Hammond, Beatrice, *The Town Laborer,* Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1920, p. 38.

[7] Howitt, A. W., *Native Tribes of South-East Australia,* p. 681.

scratches; the character for war, now a few spider marks, was originally a sketch of two women in one house.[8]

*Phonetic writing* occupies a preeminent place because of its convenience, portability and versatility, inasmuch as the symbols representing articulate sounds can be combined indefinitely to express ideas, however abstract. Its invention is usually considered as marking the beginning of the era of civilization in contrast to barbarism. The significance of this form of record and "distance communication" is attested by the fact that the highest development of science, literature, law, and commerce coincide with its use.[9] Without it, the present complex social structure could not exist; the size of communities and associations, including states, would be relatively small, as is necessarily the case among preliterate peoples. The people of a literate society secure more information by reading and less, proportionately, by word of mouth. By means of the written or printed page, commands, laws, and other measures for collective action can be preserved and widely disseminated; and opinions can be recorded and shared over an entire linguistic area, unencumbered by the barriers of dissimilar spoken dialects.[10]

Owing to modern mechanical devices, printed matter has become one of the most common objects of merchandise, second only to the materials utilized in satisfying daily needs. A quantitative measurement of the part played by printing in western civilization is supplied by current statistics of books, newspapers, and magazines. The world's total book production to date has been estimated at 17,000,000 volumes. The present annual output is about 283,000; while the total number published during the entire sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries was, respectively, 520,000; 1,250,000; 2,000,000; and 8,250,000. The Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris occupies first place among the libraries of the world, with its more than 4,000,000 volumes. The Library of Congress at Washington is second, with 3,556,765 volumes. In 1930 there were over forty-four million volumes in the

[8] Evens, A. G., "The European Diffusion of Primitive Pictography and its Bearing on the Origins of Script," in *Anthropology*, edited by R. R. Marett, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908, pp. 9-44; Mason, William, *A History of the Art of Writing*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920, p. 51.

[9] The slow development of Chinese civilization has been attributed by H. G. Wells to the complicated system of writing which could be mastered by only a small proportion of the population.

[10] Strong, Herbert, *et al., op. cit.,* p. 406.

libraries of American universities and colleges; and in 1927 there were more than forty-one million volumes in the 395 important book-collections of Germany.[11]

In the United States and Canada alone, more than two thousand *daily* newspapers are published, with a total circulation of approximately forty-five million copies per issue. The *weekly* papers, comprising about eleven thousand publications, have a circulation of sixty millions. On the average, two daily newspapers and five monthly magazines per issue are sold for each of the twenty-one million homes in the United States.

Postage circulation shows with equal clarity the expansion of the area of participation and the increase of mediated communication. The quantity of correspondence tends to vary with the extent of migrations away from the native community, the degree of economic specialization, the attendant search for a market, and other occasions for making contacts with distant peoples. From 1913 to 1925 the number of pieces of mail posted throughout the world increased from fifty billions to seventy-one billions.[12] The accompanying table shows the growth in the volume of postage mailed in the United States during three-quarters of a century.

Table 2

CIRCULATION OF POSTAGE IN THE UNITED STATES FOR SPECIFIED ANNUAL PERIODS [13]

| Year | Number of Pieces of Mail in Millions |
|---|---|
| 1850–1880 | (No estimates) |
| 1890 | 4,005 |
| 1900 | 7,130 |
| 1910 | 14,850 |
| 1920 | (No estimates) |
| 1923 | 23,055 |
| 1925 | 25,835 |
| 1928 | 26,837 |
| 1931 | 26,544 |

Notwithstanding their great importance, these distance contacts are inferior to *vis-à-vis* communication as instruments for conveying exact meanings and attitudes. For example, writing lacks the color and tone of speech and the subtleties of signs detected by

[11] *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1932, p. 111; Balcke, Curt, "The German Library World and Its System," *Library Association Record,* v, 1927, p. 103.

[12] Klein, Julius, "Business," in *Whither Mankind,* edited by Charles Beard, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1928, p. 96.

[13] Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1932, p. 330.

direct sight. Owing to these shortcomings, it has been prophesied that eventually writing will be so largely superseded by new inventions that it will be classed along with the hieroglyphs and other cumbersome relics of a bygone age.[14]

The devices which convey spoken words verbatim or represent them by other symbols (such as telegraphic codes) carry ideas more rapidly than do written characters, which can be transmitted only as swiftly as other commodities can; but, like writing, other distance contacts lack vividness because the participants are excluded from one another's sight. However, the transmitted spoken word itself loses little of its quality and, in addition, it removes barriers of space and time, for people in Europe and America can now talk together almost as readily as can residents of neighboring villages. Wireless telephony connects San Francisco and Stockholm, Berlin and Buenos Aires, England and Australia, in easy conversation.

The importance of these distance contacts is further suggested by the following data. In 1913 the world's telephone mileage was thirty-eight millions; in 1931, one hundred and forty millions.[15] Between 1902 and 1927 the numbers of telephones in the United States increased at a higher rate in comparison with the population than did the number of telephone calls; but since the latter date the reverse has been true. In 1902 the annual number of telephone calls per capita was 64; in 1930 it was 226. The long-distance conversations in the United States number about four million annually. During the past three decades telegraph and ocean cable messages increased from ninety millions to over two hundred millions.[16]

Through the radio also, people are enabled to share in world-wide events and opinions; for electro-magnetic sparks very easily ignore political boundaries, space, and topography. Owing to the ready accessibility of this means of information, the public has come to depend more on the radio than on the press for news of the hour. In 1927 fifty-seven foreign countries maintained regular broadcasting service. According to the 1927 estimate made by the United States Department of Commerce, ninety million out of the one billion people living in the constant radio reception areas of the

[14] Slosson, Edwin E., "Science Remaking the World," *World's Work*, 1922, vol. xlv, p. 411.

[15] Klein, Julius, *loc. cit.; Chicago Daily News Almanac and Year Book,* 1933, p. 363.

[16] *Statistical Abstracts of the United States,* 1926, p. 353.

world receive broadcast programs in some form. Something of the significance of this means of communication in forming public opinion may be realized from the fact that the words of a speaker can be transmitted instantly to millions of people in widely separated continents[17]—in the words of Ross, the whole world has become one vast "whispering gallery."[18]

Motion pictures, through the concreteness of their portrayals, are more readily interpreted than are written symbols or spoken words. Even though persons are unacquainted with one another's language or dialect, they can comprehend some of the actions and scenes presented by the cinema; and, consequently people belonging to widely separated social classes and regions become acquainted with one another's way of living. The significance of the motion picture is attested by statistics of film production. In the United States 200,000 miles of films are manufactured annually, and approximately 28,000 miles of films are shown daily in the 23,000 places of exhibition.[19]

*Transportation,* although not strictly communication, is obviously a factor in extending the scope of social participation in so far as it involves personal mobility, and the conveyance of printed materials, etc. Not only has the distance over which commodities are shipped been widened, but the knowledge of other cultures and people has also been augmented with the increase in the speed and convenience of travel. The speed of travel increased very little from the domestication of the horse in prehistoric times until the invention of the steam locomotive; but within the past century revolutionizing inventions have decreased the barriers of space by perhaps four-fifths.[20] The inhabitants of different continents are brought into contact as readily as nearby counties were in former centuries; and India, China, and Japan have become nearer neighbors to America than England was a hundred years ago. One can sail from New York to Hamburg in five days, meanwhile receiving world news reports hourly. Peasants living in the most isolated

[17] Slosson, Edwin E., *op. cit.,* p. 401.

[18] Ross, Edward A., *What Is America?,* The Century Company, New York, 1919, p. 55.

[19] *The Motion Picture,* vol. iii, no. 5, p. 7; vol. vi, no. 4, p. 7; also reports by N. G. Golden, Assistant Chief, Motion Picture Division, United States Department of Commerce.

[20] Robinson, James H., *The Mind in the Making,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1921, p. 163.

parts of Europe or Asia can be transported with relative ease and security to the antipodes, whose culture they may adopt to a greater or less degree. In this way, changes follow readily in the wake of traffic and travel.

### COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Improvement in the means of communication and transportation has been roughly paralleled by growth in the size and complexity of social groups. Although other factors are also involved in these trends, as will be seen in the following chapters, we shall here discuss only the part played by the methods of communication, noting (1) the structure of the community, and (2) the increased animation and range of social participation.

(1) The Relation between Communication and Community Structure pertains especially to the *location* of population centers, the *dimensions* of the community, and the *diversity* of special interest groups. As to the first point, it is worthy of note that throughout recorded history the *location* of population centers has been influenced by the arteries of trade and travel. So largely has this been true that Ratzel defined a city as "a permanent condensation [or dense settlement] of human beings and human habitations covering a considerable area and situated in the midst [or at the juncture] of several routes of transportation."[21] The point of such condensation varies with the means of locomotion. In ancient and mediæval times, cities were situated on the seacoast or near a navigable body of water; thus we find Alexandria and Cairo located on the Nile, Babylon on the Euphrates, and Bremen on the Weser. Market towns tend to arise at crossroads, at the juncture of two or three valleys, or at the end of a mountain pass. The strategic position of Mecca and Palmyra, for example, may be explained by their location where the caravan routes met at the borderland between the desert and the plains. Commercial centers also develop where there is a break between two kinds of water transportation, or at the junction of land and water routes.

Although the coming of railroads made large inland cities possible, water communication has continued to be important. Even in the United States, where many cities have grown up since the advent of railways, most of the large centers of population are

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[21] Quoted by Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *The City,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925, p. 177.

located on waterways; and this is an adequate refutation of the former belief, that "a wise providence caused rivers to flow past great cities." But the opposite unqualified supposition is likewise to be avoided so far as man-made transportation routes are concerned, for they follow, as well as affect, the place of settlements: roads converge toward population centers; but they result from, as well as cause, the urban growth, the dominance over the lines of travel varying with the size of the city.

With these qualifications, it may be observed that population and wealth tend to concentrate particularly at points where there is a break in transportation, for the necessity of unloading and reloading goods calls for appliances of all sorts, as well as specialized labor.[22] Furthermore, the transfer of goods at this point is likely to be accompanied by a change in ownership,[23] thereby causing various forms of business to spring up; and accordingly, merchants and money changers, importers and exporters abound in these areas.

It is clear, therefore, that the grouping of people depends in significant ways upon the available means of transportation. If, as has been noted, every great city owes its eminence to commerce, it is also true that changes in transportation may cause centers of population to pass speedily through cycles of growth and decline. The introduction of a railway, for example, has been known to change the entire history of a community; and alterations in water routes, such as the building of canals, have likewise affected population centers. One writer asserts that if the water route could be extended into Chicago by means of an adequate ship canal, this metropolis would become the terminus of European commerce and, in the course of time, would doubtless take New York's position as the commercial and financial center of the New World and, prospectively, of the world.[24]

In a somewhat similar manner the sections within a community thrive or decline according to existing forms of communication and transportation. The arteries of urban transit not only contributed to the location and the phenomenal growth of cities during the past century, but gave character to internal spatial structure, such as

[22] Cooley, Charles H., "Theory of Transportation," in *Social Theory and Social Research,* edited by R. C. Angell, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1930, pp. 76-79.

[23] Weber, A. F., *The Growth of Cities,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1899, p. 173.

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 174.

the location of retail trade, industries, and residential sections. In turn, the growing complexity of the spatial and functional structures requires more communication and means of travel; and therefore the quantity of traffic and of distance contacts increases more rapidly than does the size of the population. The more intensive the specialization, the greater is the number of contacts which are required to maintain the social structure involved in meeting the daily interests and wants.

The existing methods of communication and transportation have also influenced the *size* of communities. Excluding the incorporation of one people into another by military conquest of adjacent territory and the expansion of a people through natural increase, the growth in the size of communities has been due to the spread of consensus and of interdependency arising from division of labor. But this consensus and interdependency require communication and transportation; consequently, as new methods of locomotion and sharing information evolve, the size of the spatial organization expands.

That improvements in the means of communication have been paralleled by the expansion of communities may be clearly seen by the increase in the size of the trading area of a village or town. Travel by walking and transportation by man-power encouraged a plan of social organization in which small groups were able to satisfy most, if not all, wants. American local communities based on the team-haul were typified by the small trading hamlets which, in the diversified farming areas, were located at intervals of five miles or less. With the coming of motor-driven vehicles these small centers were absorbed into the trading zones of larger villages; and these, in turn, were increasingly dominated by still larger centers. The railway and internal waterways produced the skeletal outline for a spatial structure on a national scale; the automobile modified the arrangements within the region—a metropolitan city, for example, and the hinterland from which resources are drawn and throughout which goods and ideas are disseminated. The steamship, ocean cable, wireless telephony and telegraphy produced a spatial structure on an international scale.

The coming of a world community is indicated not merely by international trade and associations but also by the fact that the coast lines of the oceans dividing the great nations have become the points of the greatest population concentration. People migrate

to these areas because the functional relations with those across the seas provide them with work in trade, manufacture, and exchange of information. If, as was stated fifty years ago, our planet, for all practical purposes, had shrunk to the proportions of a middle-sized mediæval state,[25] this statement is still more true today. One writer suggests that, in consequence of the present means of communication and transportation and their effect upon the integration of functions, it is possible for the social organization to approach "a hypothetical limit which may be characterized as omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient"[26]—a world community in the making.[27]

*Interest groups* have likewise expanded. These structures were formerly restricted chiefly to local areas, whereas they may now extend even beyond national boundaries, as is illustrated by international labor unions and cartels, and literary, scientific, and other special interest groups. Such associations would have been impossible without the present-day means of maintaining contacts. On the other hand, these changes have lessened the importance of propinquity- or locality-groups.

(2) ANIMATION AND INCREASED RANGE OF PARTICIPATION.— Cooley aptly observed that modern devices of communication have four chief characteristics: the *extension* of the range over which ideas can be carried; the *permanence of record*, or the overcoming of time; *swiftness*, or the overcoming of space; and *diffusion*, or access to all classes of the population.[28] As already suggested, all of these imply an increased social participation, or the sharing of interests and thoughts. People are now more interested in, and affected by, happenings in the distant orient than they were formerly by events a few hundred miles away. When professional news-vending takes the place of neighborhood gossip, communities which were formerly isolated and concerned chiefly or solely with the daily affairs of their local environment become participants in world events, as is indicated by the increasing amount of international news in periodical literature. Thus communication, to use a figure

[25] Clark, G. N., *Unifying the World*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1920.

[26] Weiss, A. P., *op. cit.*, p. 393.

[27] Cf. Randall, John H., *A World Community*, Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1930; Bogardus, E. S., "The World as a Group Concept," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1922-1923, vol. vii, pp. 31-38.

[28] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, p. 80.

of speech, has wired the world into a vast, intricate circuit, so that an electric spark which starts at any point on the line will travel to the end, even though it loses some of its force in transit.

In this way the activities and opinions of all the world become common property to a great extent. Fashions, knowledge, and attitudes on various topics spread through all localities and classes so that no one segment of the population can claim a monopoly of any one type of dress, field of knowledge, or habit of life. The motion picture, the airplane and the radio, it has been stated, have accomplished as much for world solidarity as has the League of Nations.[29] "Invent the printing press," said Carlyle, "and democracy is inevitable." Although other factors are obviously concerned in the breaking down of local and class distinctions, it is nevertheless true that changes in social organization are stimulated by the increased range of contacts. By disseminating a knowledge of other localities and classes, the new means of communication promote understanding, help to form new attitudes, and, perchance, diminish prejudice and increase tolerance. If, as Buckle believed, national hatred is due primarily to the absence of contacts between the people concerned, new forms of international relations may be expected to continue to develop from the improved means of communication.[30]

But various influences limit the changes which may be produced by the new forms of communication. The growing complexity of society makes any intelligent participation in most public questions increasingly difficult. This is apparent in the voters' lack of interest in exercising their right of the franchise,[31] and in the feeling of helplessness in the face of the bewildering array of news and other demands upon one's attention and sympathies. Other sources of resistance to the effects of these new secondary relations are the weight of the established primary group attitudes and the preoccupation with immediate problems which minimize any interest in facts not directly involving one's own social world. The effect of the mediated stimuli is also limited because the very volume of the potential contacts necessitates the exclusion of many of them. The content of a single newspaper or of simultaneous radio programs

[29] Burgess, Ernest W., "Communication," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1929, vol. xxxiv, p. 1080.

[30] Buckle, H. T., *History of Civilization in England,* Rose-Belford Publishing Co., Toronto, 1878, p. 222.

[31] Merriam, Charles E., and Gosnell, H. F., *Non-Voting,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1924, pp. 158-201.

supplies a bewildering array which may be treated as a mere spectacle or annoyance. However, this very diversity enables the individual to exercise a choice in accordance with his inclinations; but he must, nevertheless, against his will as it were, adjust himself to various changes in the practical and cultural phases of his environment. Unless he withdraws into isolation, he must concern himself with wider issues and deal with more people. Human nature itself changes as a result of these modifications in the social system in which individuals are enabled and compelled to participate.

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# MUTUAL AID AND COMPETITIVE COOPERATION: THE FUNCTIONAL PATTERNS

# The Basis of Positive Relations

The foregoing discussion of the consensus involved in communication has not indicated whether the attitudes conveyed are associative or dissociative. These two major aspects of social relations, briefly described in Part One, are involved in varying proportions in all social situations; indeed, the organization of every group is an adjustment to, and an equilibrium between, these opposing tendencies. A brief recapitulation will help to recall the main points of the foregoing discussion and to indicate the next step in our analysis of the principal topics. The key words or concepts presented in Chapter II were society, consensus, interdependency, community, and ranking, functional, and spatial relations. Some aspects of ranking relations (Chapter III) and of consensus (Chapters IV-IX inclusive) have already been considered. A more detailed discussion of the functional and spatial relations or patterns will now be undertaken, and this will necessarily lead to a further elaboration of the concepts of community and rank as expressed in functional and spatial terms; for, as already observed, the functional, ranking, and spatial aspects of society reenforce one another in various ways. In this chapter we shall observe the extent and the manner in which the positive attitudes are formed through association and culture; in Chapters XI and XII we shall see how mutual aid and philanthropy vary with the character of the social structure; and Chapters XIII-XVI will review the types of competitive cooperation, together with the ecological organization incidental thereto.

## THE NATURAL BASIS OF THE ASSOCIATIVE TENDENCIES

The positive relations illustrated by gregariousness, mutual aid, and cooperation are frequently regarded as predetermined by inherited nature. "Mutual aid," says Kropotkin, "is the predominant fact of nature."[1] Various writers attribute the other-regarding attitudes to a "social," "ethical," or "moral" instinct which they be-

[1] Kropotkin, Prince Peter, *Ethics*, The Dial Press, New York, 1924, p. 14.

lieve is felt as "spontaneous sympathy" arising at the sight or knowledge of need or distress," and which inclines beholders to lend assistance to others of their kind, irrespective of previous conditioning or training.[2]

That inherited nature supplies a basis for human gregariousness, collective action, mutual aid, cooperation, or other associative behavior may be argued by analogies from the lower species, even if the latter lack a corresponding degree of consensus and sentiment. This may be seen in the relation known as symbiosis. Symbiosis is a living together in such a way that some advantage, probably undesigned, accrues to one or both of the parties concerned. The term is applied to the adjustments made between plants and animals as well as to those between plants or animals of the same or different species, and also to relations between human beings in cases where the utilitarian element predominates and where persons use one another as mere instruments.

The symbiotic relation between individuals and groups may be parasitic or mutually advantageous in varying degrees. When the adjustment is beneficial to both, it is called mutualism; each profits by the relationship and undergoes changes in behavior or even, in some instances, in bodily structure as a consequence of the ecological adjustments. Mutualism among animals is illustrated by the fact that ants use as food the liquids exuded by various insects, such as the aphides, and in turn render services such as providing shelter. In other forms of mutualism there is an exchange of protection for aid in foraging; or, again, the structural equipment of one may supplement that of another, as when long-legged birds, which are dependent on sight, associate with four-footed beasts which are guided by scent in addition to sight. Thus each is of service to the other in detecting food or danger because its unique structure is complementary to that of the other.[3]

Mutual assistance among members of the higher species of animals takes many forms. Ants perform acts which may be inter-

[2] Bain, Alexander, *The Emotions and the Will*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1876. pp. 273 ff.; Conn, H. W., *Social Heredity and Social Evolution*, The Abingdon Press, New York, 1914, p. 329; McDougall, William, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, Methuen and Company, New York, 1924, pp. 72 ff.; Shand, Alexander F., *Foundations of Character*, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1914, pp. 44 ff.; Ward, Lester F., *Pure Sociology*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1903, pp. 422-431.

[3] Alverdes, F., *Social Life in the Animal World*, translated by K. C. Creasy, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1927, p. 82.

preted as aid for their wounded companions, when they dip them in water or carry them to the nest.[4] Romanes describes acts of mutual helpfulness on the part of monkeys who deny themselves dainties in order to give them to a sick companion.[5] Most of the higher animals live in flocks or herds and combine in play, hunting, and reciprocal defence; and in such cases, some degree of organization and division of labor is frequently observable. This is true even among some fishes—as, for example, among salmon and herrings which travel in a wedge-shaped formation, the larger ones being said to be in the van. Various species divide according to generations, or assume some plan of migration or feeding which depends on the degree of maturity. Wild birds in flight have a recognized order of precedence. Flocks of geese, parrots, and flamingoes post sentinels on guard while the rest are sleeping.[6] When wolves hunt together, the pack may form into two divisions, one of which pursues the prey, while the other joins in the attack. Beavers have some division of labor in making dams, the females being the architects and builders, and the males gathering the materials. In some species there is a definite division of functions resulting from inherited structure, as in the case of the workers, the drones, and the queen in the beehive; in others, the immaturity of the young assigns them to a distinctive rank in the group. But this allotment of position is also accomplished by the domination exercised by some animals over their associates, the societal structure so produced being possible only because they are bound together notwithstanding such negative tendencies as intimidation and assaults.

Individuals are therefore prepared and compelled to live together partly because of their original nature (mateship and the dependence of the young) and partly because of the results of association itself (habituation, and, perhaps, even structural adjustments)[7] and the reciprocal advantages derived therefrom (such as leadership, the teaching imparted, mutual defence, etc.).[8] Only through such mutual assistance are some types able to maintain themselves and only through careful protection can the young be reared during a long period of helplessness. It has been estimated

[4] Romanes, George J., *Animal Intelligence*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1884, p. 47.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 473.

[6] Alverdes, F., *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[7] Allee, W. C., *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[8] See Alverdes, F., *op. cit.*, chaps. vii and viii.

that for every individual who lives a keenly competitive life, a dozen can be found who unite in some activities and, in general, make provision for the common welfare.[9] In fact, cooperation, mutual aid, and other forms of positive relations (to use this as the generic term), rather than unmitigated competitive struggle, may be regarded as the rule within a group. Thus the inherited nature (instincts, structures, needs, etc.) and the results of learning and discriminative adjustments are all involved simultaneously in a united product, the coacting and interdependent group. The character of this cooperation varies with the species and, in human society, with the stage of culture and the type of social organization. In the more highly developed societies the increasing control over the environment may be ascribed to such efficient forms of social organization and cooperative effort as are implied in the existence of civic society, for mankind has always practiced some form of cooperation and mutual aid as a requirement for coping with an unfriendly environment.

However, "man's inhumanity to man" is sufficiently prevalent to indicate that other-regarding behavior is not inevitable but depends on suitable culture and social conditions. Even the young are not always supported or protected; for infanticide persisted down to the Middle Ages and, while no longer a custom, it is still practised to some extent in both Europe and America, in spite of laws against it. It is still found among various preliterate peoples who kill infants which are deformed or whose birth is considered unlucky— albinism, dentition at birth, multiple births, or birth on certain days of the week have been so considered by many peoples. For instance, among the Kamchadales, children born in very stormy weather were destroyed, as were those in Madagascar who were born in March or April, or the last week of the month, or on a Wednesday or a Friday. Observers report that among the Abipones it is rare to find a woman who has brought up two or three children. One traveler estimated that two-thirds of the children born in the Society Islands were destroyed. Exposure of new-born infants was practiced by various Aryan peoples in ancient times; Greek and Roman customs demanded the exposure of deformed or sickly children, and even healthy children were sometimes cast out to die. Not until the reign of Valentinian I (A.D. 364-375), did laws punish such

[9] Macfarlane, J. M., *The Causes and Course of Organic Evolution*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1918, p. 776.

cruelty. The sale of children by their parents has likewise been practiced by various peoples.[10]

Moreover, innate tendencies do not determine the specific forms of positive relations because these vary widely with time and place. Similar acts may have an unlike meaning in different cultures; thus conduct which one group classes as aid may be actually harmful according to the criteria of other groups. Examples are found in the ceremonial cold bath administered to infants, and in the numerous ordeals, such as the deprivation of food, whipping, and knocking out of teeth, which various primitives inflict upon youths during initiation into the adult group.[11] Fijian etiquette demands that kinsmen visit a sick man until late at night, regardless of how much the patient's rest may suffer. Thus the method of expressing positive attitudes is not a question of sympathy alone, but of insight. Some writers, notably Herbert Spencer and Alexander Sutherland, held that changes in altruism were a cumulative product transmitted by inheritance. But the evidence for either the advance or the decline of altruism in historic times lies in the changing culture and social situation,[12] rather than in the variations in the heritable equipment.

### DEVELOPMENT OF OTHER-REGARDING ATTITUDES

From the foregoing facts we may conclude that man's high innate potentialities for gregariousness, altruism, loyalty, and cooperation are developed only under appropriate conditions, namely, (1) association with others, (2) high cultural standards, and (3) participation in a suitable social organization. Although these factors usually depend on one another, they may, for convenience in analysis, be considered separately.

(1) ASSOCIATION, which occurs as a matter of course in a genetic group, tends at the same time to be both cause and effect of sympathetic behavior. It has been pointed out that the majority of words in the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman languages signifying good will are words which express family affection. In reality, associa-

[10] Parsons, Elsie C., *Social Rule*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1916, p. 21; Westermarck, E. A., *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 408-411; Ulhorn, Gerard, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1883, pp. 385 ff.; Sutherland, A., *The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct,* Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1898, vol. i, pp. 115-117.

[11] Hambly, W. D., and Hose, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Miller, Nathan, *The Child in Primitive Society,* Brentano's, New York, 1928, pp. 202-203.

[12] Cf. Sutherland, Alexander, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 209-210.

tion, which is implied and required by the fact of physiological infancy, in turn fosters sympathy and other positive attitudes. Lowie's observations of the Crow Indians led him to conclude that "there is a generic love of children—no matter whose—which merely requires to be particularized in definite instances by constant association in order to develop into a full-fledged parental sentiment."[13] The significance of social contact in producing altruistic sentiments is suggested by the fact that some people who practice infanticide spare the life of a child who has been permitted to live a few hours.[14]

In the family, other-regarding attitudes and various elementary virtues tend to develop concurrently with maturation. The growth of self-consciousness includes at the same time the awareness of other selves and normally acquires the sentiments which are prevalent in the given primary group. This is illustrated by the fact that children imitate the acts expressing affection or assistance which they have experienced, such as "mothering" a companion, or showing approval and pity.[15] Children only ten months old have been observed to offer a toy to others of about the same age, apparently in imitation of an act they themselves had experienced when adults wished to "console" them.[16]

While it is clear that the influence of culture models begins even in infancy, it is also true that the development of an alter-consciousness leads to spontaneous acts of sympathy. Indeed, the two elements cannot ordinarily be isolated, for they may be contained in one and the same act. During early childhood, familial action ways are adopted and applied to associates. When Gunther was three years of age, "his mother slipped down some steps and Gunther at once tried to help her up and asked anxiously, 'Getting well again?' To hide her pain from the children she went into another room. Then Gunther fetched a footstool, climbed on it by the door, turned the handle, and continued his question: 'Getting well again?' Then he returned to the scene of the fall, and carried away the bucket, which he considered the cause of the fall."[17] When

[13] Lowie, Robert H., *The Origin of the State*, p. 72.

[14] Kropotkin, P., *Mutual Aid*, McClure, Phillips and Company, New York, 1903, p. 102.

[15] Baldwin, Bird T., and Stecher, Lorle I., *The Psychology of the Pre-School Child*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1925, p. 244.

[16] Bühler, Charlotte, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[17] Stern, William, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

the mother of the same family was ill, Hilde, at the age of four years and seven months, redoubled her tenderness, asked "poor mother" if she might bring her a drink, and fondled her more often than usual. One evening she said, "Mummy, if you are ill tomorrow, I'll cut your bread and butter." At the age of five years and seven months, she said, "Mummy, when you are ill I love you most." As children grow older, the range of those for whom they show sympathy normally increases.[18]

If, as Aristotle believed, attachments between kinsmen are in direct proportion to the nearness of the blood relation, this may be explained by the fact that association is most frequent between close relatives, and, conversely, *rapport* tends to wane with emigration and separation. Accordingly, if kinship bonds are less significant in our own society today than they were formerly, this may be attributed to a changing social organization, an increasing mobility, and the extension of contacts with non-kinsmen,[19] and not to any lessening of the natural tendencies toward gregariousness. Westermarck concludes that men become gregarious by remaining in the circle where they were born, and that if they preferred to isolate themselves or to dwell among strangers there would be no blood-bond at all.[20]

In a somewhat similar way, proximity of abode supplies an occasion for contact, and, in general, fosters positive relations.

> In human society a man's interest in his fellows is distributed about him concentrically according to a compound of various relations they bear to him which we may call in a broad way their nearness. The centrifugal fading of interest is seen when we compare the man's feeling towards one near to him with his feelings towards one farther off. He will be disposed, other things being equal, to sympathize with a relative as against a fellow-townsman, with a fellow-townsman as against a mere inhabitant of the same country, with an Englishman as against a European, with a European as against an Asiatic, and so on until a limit is reached beyond which all human interest is lost.[21]

The far tends to be regarded as the strange or hostile, the near as the friendly. "It is surely one of the most remarkable of all

[18] Murphy, Gardner, and Murphy, Lois B., *op. cit.*, p. 298.
[19] See chap. xxvi.
[20] Westermarck, E. A., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 203.
[21] Trotter, W., *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War,* T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1916, p. 122.

social facts," says one writer, "that, coming down from untold ages, there should be this spontaneous understanding that the man who establishes his home beside yours begins to have a claim upon your sense of comradeship."[22] In non-mobile societies propinquity and kin ties tend, in the long run, to overlap because of the inter-marriage of contiguous people. In China, villages can be found which are composed entirely of persons bearing the same ancestral name.[23] A study of nine American neighborhoods in one locality shows that in 1825 at least half of the families about whom information was obtained were related to some other family in the neighborhood.[24] According to a more recent study of Columbus, Ohio, 646 out of 1,000 low-income families reported one or more related households in that city, and 476 claimed kinship with one or more families in the immediate neighborhood. Thus, it seems that kinship bonds still influence the territorial groupings, except among the most highly mobile elements of the population.[25]

Proximity also entails elements of common experience and leads to similar occupations and to cooperation in meeting the problems of life. Neighborhood sentiment thrives best where the population is homogeneous and stable, and where the physical conditions are such as to lead to similar habits and modes of livelihood. A mutual dependence upon the soil or upon united activities is felt as depend-ence upon the group and its members. In simpler stages of society the ostensible basis of consensus might be kin or common worship, "but the real basis is homogeneous tradition extending to every re-lationship of life. For kin itself is not yet a demarcated principle, nor is worship. There is no family, no State, no church as we today understand these terms. Law, custom, and morality were undif-ferentiated, and therefore none of these were realized in their pres-ent significance."[26] This common living gives rise to local culture in the form of customs, folk tales and legends centering around the features of the terrain—in other words, a local pride and patriotism.

(2) CULTURE (rules, institutions) determines more or less how

[22] Woods, Robert A., "The Neighborhood in Social Reconstruction," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1913, vol. viii, pp. 14-28.

[23] Westermarck, E. A., *op. cit.,* vol. ii, p. 214.

[24] Williams, James M., *op. cit.,* p. 23.

[25] McKenzie, R. D., *The Neighborhood,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1923, p. 503.

[26] MacIver, R. M., *The Community,* p. 227.

association shall take place and, in addition, prescribes other-regarding conduct, even when this does not develop spontaneously from the natural kin and propinquity contacts or the prescribed forms of association. That culture is a source of such conduct is seen by the way it varies in similar relations in different civilizations. For example, among certain preliterate peoples parental care is restricted largely to the age of helplessness. Thus, a Samoan mother pays little attention to her child after it learns to walk.[27] At three years of age, the New Caledonian boy is given the *maron*, or emblem of manhood, and thereafter is deprived of maternal care.[28] Demonstrations of affection by the Fuegian woman toward her child are said to decrease as it grows older, ceasing entirely when it is seven or eight.[29] Parental solicitude may be expressed by fondling and pampering or by treating the child with respect or with condescension. The inference to be drawn from these facts is that the so-called "parental instinct," as it manifests itself in actual practice, is conventional and a product of social life.

The corresponding behavior of children toward parents is likewise supplied by the customs which stamp the members of a group with prevailing attitudes and sentiments.[30] Thus, among some Mexican tribes, as a mark of manliness, children were encouraged to flout and deride or even strike their own parents.[31] On the other hand, a culture may prescribe high standards of filiality. For example, the Iroquois regarded disobedience to parents as among the worst of crimes; the Dyaks of northern Borneo are said to pay honor to their mothers all their lives and to resent any criticism of them.[32] Among various preliterate peoples it is common to see a

[27] Mead, Margaret, "Samoan Chi'dren at Work and Play," *Natural History*, November-December, 1928, vol. xxviii, pp. 626-636.

[28] Parsons, E. C., "Avoidance," p. 483.

[29] Westermarck, E. A., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 193.

[30] Josey, Charles C., *The Rôle of Instinct in Social Philosophy*, Chauncy Holt Company, New York, 1921, p. 64.

[31] Westermarck, E. A., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 600; Briffault, Robert, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 147.

Aside from conduct approved by the standards of a group, there may of course be "demoralized" behavior which is condemned by primitive, as well as modern societies. In later Athens, litigation by children to deprive their parents of property was frequent. A disinclination on the part of chi'dren to support their parents is, of course, a familiar occurrence in western civilization. See Mahaffy, J. P., *Social Life in Greece*, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1877, p. 120; cf. Sumner, W. G., "The Yakuts," pp. 77-78.

[32] Briffault, Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

son carrying his aged parent as a means of ministration. In the earlier history of ancient Athens a man, before becoming a magistrate, had to prove that he had treated his parents properly.[33] The ancient Chinese written character for filial piety was a youth holding an old man on his shoulders. In present-day China filial obligation is prescribed to a degree seldom found elsewhere; and, instead of nursery rhymes, stories of men and women renowned for this quality are taught to young children. "Sons and daughters-in-law are expected to go to their parents and with bated breath and gentle voice ask if their clothes are too warm or too cold, whether they are ill or pained, or uncomfortable in any way. . . . In bringing in the basin for them to wash . . . they will beg to be allowed to pour the water, and . . . they will hand the towel. They will ask whether they want anything, and respectfully bring it. All this they will do with an appearance of pleasure in making their parents feel at ease."[34]

But such conduct is prescribed only for a few relationships, and the same persons may be indifferent to the discomfort or misfortunes of those who are not kinsmen or members of the same intimate primary group. One traveler relates: "The Chinese never interfere with one another. For their own safety they dare not. We saw a man hauling sacks of grain; one sack was broken and the grain was flowing out in the street. Many Chinese saw it, but it was not their business and they did not interfere by telling him."[35] Another writer states: "As I was walking along one of the principal streets I noticed a crowd standing around some object. On worming my way through the crowd I found a man lying on the frozen ground evidently in great pain. . . . This was about eleven o'clock. At three o'clock I passed that way again and the man was still lying there, now evidently dying, with the crowd looking passively on."[36]

(3) POSITIVE RELATIONS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE.—The examples cited indicate that obligations and other-regarding conduct vary

[33] Westermarck, E. A., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 536; Bennett, M. M., "The Dalleburra Tribe of Northern Queensland," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1927, vol. lvii, p. 404.

[34] Parsons, E. C., *Fear and Conventionality*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1914, p. 173.

[35] Conger, Sarah P., *Letters from China*, A. C. McClurg and Company, Chicago, 1910, pp. 69-70.

[36] Burnight, Ralph F., "A Study of Social Conditions in Peking, China," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1922-1923, vol. vii, pp. 26-27.

with the degree of kinship and other forms of established relations. This coincidence of positive relations with the boundaries of the group rests not only on the sentiments arising in association and prescribed in the culture but also upon the fact that the group is the means whereby the individual attains his own aims. Wester- marck says: "The intensity and extensiveness of social affection in the first place depend upon the coherence and size of the social aggregate, and [the development of the altruistic sentiments] must consequently be studied in connection with the evolution of such aggregates."[37] In other words, the social structure and the positive attitudes largely coincide, although customs may interfere and even demand the opposite type of behavior. Indeed, the positive atti- tudes at once reflect and help to produce the societal structure, and they tend to change when the latter are modified. This coincidence between the existing forms of social organization and the positive attitudes may be observed in both the expansion and contraction of the genetic or crescive structures, and of the enacted interest groups or associations, as we shall note briefly.

When the kin group is the established form of organization, loyalty, cooperation, and mutual aid occur within this system of relations. The clan or other genetic group is responsible for the support and defense of its members and the vindication of wrongs to them; to this group, likewise, redress or repayment is made for theft, murder, or other crimes. However, when other types of or- ganizations exist, positive relations prevail within them also, for personal conduct is, in these respects, the correlative or counter- part of the social structure, and changes with the latter.

Likewise, changes in the form and scope of territorial groups entail realignments in the associative sentiments. The territorial plan of organization has long been a competitor of, or an alter- nate to, the kin unit in the performance of various economic, cere- monial, and political functions. Even among some simpler peoples, locality groups, with their prescribed loyalties and obligations, ex- isted side by side with the genetic groups and divided responsibilities with them. In more complex societies, locality becomes the basis of political organization and administration, patriotism expand- ing as the structure grows in complexity and size, providing that adequate communication and fair dealings are maintained.

[37] Westermarck, E. A., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 198.

So, also, other special interest groups require and engender suitable attitudes. The superspatial groups,[38] as we have already noted in Chapters III and IX, are not only increasing in number and absorbing many functions once assumed by genetic and propinquity groups; but they are also producing a new combination alike of private interests and of the associative attitudes. Therefore, statistics on the growth of new associations show the direction and extent to which new sympathies and loyalties are developing. An indication of this trend is supplied by Table Three, which lists 814 interest groups, most of which are national in scope; the few which are local (less than one per cent) are paralleled by similar organizations in many other communities. International associations are likewise increasing rapidly in number and scope.[39]

Table 3

DISTRIBUTION OF 814 ASSOCIATIONS ACCORDING TO MAJOR
INTERESTS [40]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Religious | 103 | Social reform | 35 |
| Business | 101 | Political | 30 |
| Professional | 100 | Recreational | 29 |
| Scientific | 69 | Benevolent | 28 |
| Social-fraternal | 64 | Racial (immigrant groups) | 28 |
| Welfare | 61 | Intellectual | 26 |
| Commemorative patriotic | 53 | Æsthetic | 24 |
| Educational | 45 | Protective | 18 |
| | | Total | 814 |

While other-regarding attitudes thus tend to reflect the social structure, it is equally true that personal inclinations and interests find expression in appropriate organizations; for persons tend to enter into association according to the objectives which they share. Therefore, groups vary in respect both to the type and number of interests which their members have in common. A study of 350 rural special interest groups[41] shows that the percentage of those having one, two, three, and four or more interests or functions was, respectively, 35, 41, 17, and 7. The larger the number of these in-

[38] Special interest groups may also operate on a locality basis. See, e.g., data in chap. iii; also, Blumenthal, Albert, *Small-Town Stuff*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932, p. 232; Thrasher, F. M., *The Gang*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927, pp. 7 ff.; Hiller, E. T., *The Strike*, pp. 25-26.

[39] See chaps. ix and xviii.

[40] Weatherly, Ulysses G., "Habitation Areas and Interest Areas," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1925-1926, vol. x, pp. 406-407.

[41] Kolb, J. H., and Wileden, A. F., *op. cit.*

terests, the more durable and solidary is the group. Gumplowicz says: "The greater the number of group-making factors binding men together, the more intimate is the social bond and the greater is the cohesive force and power of resistance."[42] Strongest of all is a community, united by permanent material, economic, and moral forces.

The interests of the individuals in these associations may be related in one or more of the following ways. First, they may be antagonistic, in that the attainment by one person excludes others from the same benefits, such as winning a prize, securing a position, etc. Secondly, they may be like or parallel, joint participation even increasing the benefits accruing to each one concerned. This type is exemplified by the united efforts in promoting similar interests in music, recreation, art, science, literature, social welfare, health, international peace, etc. In some instances, parallel interests may be pursued separately by individuals, although under other circumstances there may be advantage in cooperation. When pursued individually, these interests are essentially egoistic; when carried on with others they become social. Thirdly, interests may be supplementary and complementary, that is, interdependent and reciprocal, as in the benefits secured through an exchange, and division, of labor.[43] Under such conditions, each can pursue his own interests to his best advantage in conjunction with other persons. Finally, interests may be identical, in that each person concerned feels that his own aims are promoted when the well-being of the group as a whole or of any of its members is advanced. Such attitudes obtain only when there is complete identification between the coacting persons.

In all but the first type, individuals may promote private aims collectively; and even the antagonistic interests may lead to the formation of an association in order to change the conditions of competition or to harmonize and restrict the antagonisms, as when wage workers form a union to prevent cut-throat competition for work. When an association forms around like, interdependent, or identical interests, they are lessened, increased, or otherwise modified, for they now acquire "public" significance. Through discussion and collective action each person more or less adjusts his point

[42] Gumplowicz, L., *Outlines of Sociology*, translated by F. W. Moore, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, 1899, p. 142.

[43] Cf. MacIver, R. M., *The Community*, pp. 100, 105.

of view to that of others, and in this way the aims which are incompatible are given up or modified in order to retain membership or preserve the organization.

As long as the results of such collective efforts are distributed among the members, we may say that like interests predominate; and under favorable conditions they tend to develop into identical interests in varying degrees; for when people realize that the promotion of their own interests benefits their associates, a sense of obligation toward one another tends to arise. An association formed around such interests is held together by both the desired individual advantages and the other-regarding sentiments; and even when the latter element is very slight or entirely absent, the members may cooperate as a means of promoting their private interests.

When the benefits derived by such collective action are utilized jointly, we may say that the results are corporate. This is true, for example, of the properties owned by a family, a political unit, or a business corporation. Whether the results are distributed or retained as corporate goods, they are equally for the benefit of the members; for, as Dewey points out, "It makes nonsense to set up an antithesis between the distributive phase and the collective. An individual cannot be opposed to the association of which he is an integral part nor can the association be set against its integrated members."[44] Only the methods of controlling the benefits differ.

Positive relations reach into all phases of conduct which contribute to the solidarity, the reputation, and the well-being of the group members. Action for and with other persons comprises a large portion of the institutionalized interests of a society; but mutual aid and philanthropy rest particularly on similarity of culture and on sympathy, while cooperation permits the joining of efforts by strangers and distant peoples through the medium of communication and exchange. These topics will be discussed successively in the next three chapters.

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[44] Dewey, John, *The Public and its Problems,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1927, p. 190.

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# CHAPTER XI

# Mutual Aid

Mutual aid and utilitarian gifts and exchanges vary with the relationships between the persons concerned. Within historic times pronounced changes have taken place in the relationships within which support and other specific kinds of reciprocities are customarily rendered, thereby giving rise to some of our major social problems, as will be apparent presently. These facts may be considered from the following points of view: first, the dependence of the form of these reciprocities upon the established social relations, and, second, the depersonalization of mutual aid under modern conditions, with the resulting increase in individual poverty and in the problems of ameliorating distress.

## RECIPROCITIES IN PRIMARY RELATIONS

The types of aid may be graded according to the closeness and permanence of the relationships between the people concerned. On this basis, the chief forms of mutual aid may be considered in the following order: (1) support, (2) obligatory lending, (3) collective repairment of losses, (4) hospitality and other temporary obligations, and (5) symbolic expressions of personal relations.

(1) SUPPORT, or permanent aid, is a prescribed or customary duty within defined relationships such as the family, the clan, and other primary groups. Societies differ as to the relationship in which support is expected; but, in the main, the more permanent associations are characterized by the more binding obligations. Constant and continuous support on the part of relatives is usually obligatory, but it is not uniformly allocated according to the degrees of kinship.

The rule that parents and children shall support one another is the usual institutional regulation. Among many preliterates, as well as some more advanced peoples, a man is not allowed to marry until he has given proof that he can support and protect a family. During a protracted scarcity of food, it is said, the Aleut cares for

his children first, giving them all he has while he himself fasts.[1] At their initiation into the adult group, the boys in some tribes are taught that they must henceforth give half of the results of their labors to their parents.[2] When, upon being interrogated by the natives of Savage Island, an Englishman explained to them that he would not usually, or necessarily, share any money he earned with his parents or brothers and sisters, and that it was not the custom to do so, they found his "reply so amusing that it was long before they left off laughing. Their attitude towards [this] individualism was exactly of the same order as that which we adopt towards such a custom as the couvade."[3]

But the parent-child relation is not everywhere the most binding. For example, a few cultures prescribe that a man shall support not his own, but his sister's, children. In the Trobriand Islands a man will carry yams many miles in order to fill the yam house of a man who could do this for himself, if it were not that he is under obligation to give all his harvest to his own sister's husband: The beneficiary reciprocates with similar services to someone else. If a man's mother has died and he has no sisters, his nearest female blood relative claims the proceeds of his labor.[4]

Among some people, unusually close relations prevail between a man and his maternal uncle—the so-called avunculate. Not only are property and succession to authority transmitted through the uncle to the nephew, but special privileges and freedom are permitted between the two.[5] Elsewhere, as in the Banks Islands, analogous relations prevail between a woman and her brother's child, and there is often a community of property between them, extending in some instances to eating from the same dish.[6] Where such relations exist, the aunt is particularly obligated to look out for her nephew's best interests.[7] Again, a man and his wife's brother often hold their possessions in common and rely upon each other in special emergencies, even giving their life for each other if necessary.

[1] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 531.

[2] Hambly, W. D., and Hose, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[3] Rivers, W. H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[4] Malinowski, B., *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, George Routledge and Sons, London, 1922, p. 174.

[5] Rivers, W. H. R., *History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge University Press, 1914, vol. ii, p. 96; Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, p. 10.

[6] Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, p. 39.

[7] Rivers, W. H. R., *History of Melanesian Society*, vol. i, p. 39.

On the death of either one, the survivor is required to support the family of the deceased.[8]

In other cases a man may be obliged to support his prospective or actual parents-in-law. A youth of the Arunta tribe, for example, finds that much of the products of his labor are reserved for his father-in-law or for the man who, according to the tribal law, may be his father-in-law. Designated parts of any game caught are given by the hunter to his wife's relatives.[9] Under the "greater family" system (which formerly existed among most of the Aryan peoples and which still survives among the isolated Slavic groups and some Orientals), all members of the family—parents, children, grand-children, and in-laws—live under the same roof or in compactly located houses and derive their support from the combined efforts of the group.[10] Concerning his Japanese family, Hearn wrote: "I have nine lives depending on my work—my wife, wife's mother, wife's father, wife's adopted mother, wife's father's father, servants, and a Buddhist student."[11]

Although dwelling apart, kinsmen are generally expected to render assistance in time of special need or danger. The following illustrations, drawn from widely separated areas, may be profitably compared with the claims of kinship existing in Western civiliza-tions. Among the natives of Madagascar, a man who becomes poor is supported by the members of his family; and if he is sold into slavery they furnish the price of his redemption. Among the ancient Hindus, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, persons belonging to four generations of near relatives were expected to assist one another whenever necessary and, in particular, to avenge the death of a kinsman.[12] In some societies all the members of a family are, as a rule, responsible for one another's fines, punishment, and debts; and if a man becomes destitute or dies, his wife and children are supported by the entire family group. In societies where age groups are customary, the members have institutionalized duties toward one another, including mutual assistance in work, eating together

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 43.

[9] Hambly, W. D., and Hose, Charles, *op. cit.,* p. 138.

[10] Hearn, W. E., *Aryan Household,* Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1891, p. 177; Wallace, Donald, *Russia,* Cassell and Company, New York, 1912.

[11] Bisland, Elizabeth, *The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1906, p. 81.          •

[12] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.,* vol. i, pp. 539, 540.

on ceremonial occasions and, in some instances, even holding their property in common.[13]

Obligations toward neighbors, while less intensive than those toward kinsmen, are nevertheless binding in many societies. These duties usually take the form of a mutual sharing of benefits. In classical Greece, for example, the citizens of Crete and Sparta were maintained at public tables,[14] and similar customs obtained among many preliterate groups. In Fiji, communism still exists in the form of *kerekere*, whereby any persons may take the property of other members of the tribe, a practice which has proved an effective bar to the adoption of European methods of trading. A Fijian who sets up a store is likely to have his goods appropriated by anyone who comes in.[15] Ownership in land or its products, and rights to game have not always been individualized in the sense with which we are familiar. Usually there are predetermined objects which must be shared and exact rules of exchange which must be observed on prescribed occasions. In many preliterate groups elaborate regulations designate the portions of the animals slain or the fruit gathered which shall go to kinsmen and members of the community.[16] Among the Greenlanders custom prescribes that in time of need the successful hunter must share his kill. It is recorded of a Hottentot pastoral people that when a family butchers a sheep, its owners obtain only a small share of it, for the neighbors come in and do not leave until the whole animal is eaten. This custom is so well established that a family would not think of violating it. The Yakuts of Siberia, although living in separate dwellings and having distinct ownership in the herds, nevertheless distribute meat as presents to all the local residents, and the failure to do so indicates the severance of friendly relations.[17]

Even in modern cities, in situations where a similar social status facilitates contact and understanding, genuine neighborly relations may be maintained. "There are numberless instances of self-sacrifice quite unknown in the circles where greater economic advantages make that kind of intimate knowledge of one's neighbors impossible. An Irish family in which the man has lost his place and the woman is struggling to eke out the scanty savings by day's work,

[13] Rivers, W. H. R., *Social Organization*, pp. 136-137.
[14] Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, p. 346.
[15] Rivers, W. H. R., *Social Organization*, p. 107.
[16] Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, p. 323.
[17] Sumner, W. G., "The Yakuts, etc.," p. 68-69.

will take in the widow and her five children who have been turned into the street, without a moment's reflection upon the physical discomforts involved."[18]

(2) OBLIGATORY LENDING is customary in all well-organized primary groups, including neighborhoods, although it seldom extends to strangers. The lack of equal recompense is balanced by the fact that the individuals involved are so closely identified as to overlook discrepancies, providing any may be felt to exist; or compensation may not be expected. Cultures differ as to the relationship in which lending is obligatory, or optional, or not expected. The following will serve as a contrast to the practices existing in communities without local sentiments, especially in sections settled by people who are strangers to one another. One observer relates of a preliterate group: "If a man, say, wants a pig for a feast, he goes to a neighbor who has plenty and asks him for one. He cannot well refuse, but in his turn is entitled to ask for something at some future time. The custom, fortunately, is seldom abused."[19]

Apart from minor details, the following description would apply to present-day European and American neighborhoods which have not lost their local culture.

> The landlord whose harvest has failed borrows corn and straw from his neighbor until the next harvest, when he returns an equal quantity. The man reduced to distress through fire or the loss of his cattle is assisted by the other on the tacit understanding that he will show the like favor in the like event. If anyone has a particularly expert slave, he lends him to a neighbor, just as he would a horse, a vessel, or a ladder; in this case the slave is fed by the neighbor. The owner of the winepress, a malt kiln, or an oven allows his poorer fellow villager the temporary use of it, in return for which the latter, on occasion, makes a rake, helps at shearing, or runs some errand.[20]

(3) COLLECTIVE REPAIRMENT OF LOSSES may be practiced between members of a solidary group. For example, among the Tuscaroras it was customary for one who had suffered a severe loss to invite his neighbors and acquaintances to a feast. When all the

[18] Addams, Jane, *Democracy and Social Ethics,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1902, p. 20.

[19] Gardiner, Stanley J., "The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1897, vol. xxvii, p. 408.

[20] Bücher, Carl, *Industrial Evolution,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1901, p. 107.

guests had assembled, one of their number addressed the others, reminding them of the great calamity that had befallen their host, and of their duty to contribute to his relief; and after this, those present put on the ground such valuables as they had with them (skins, furs, wampum, etc.) sufficient to compensate for the loss. Elsewhere, a savage who has been unsuccessful in beaver-hunting will be succored by his fellows without his having to ask for it; if his gun bursts or breaks, each hastens to offer him another.[21]

Similar practices have been observed in other close associations, either because they are prescribed by group traditions or because they seem the best way to care for the unfortunate members. In some rural cultural communities, for example, losses of livestock or property by a member of the group are made up, in whole or in part, by neighbors, the proportion of the loss to be borne by the group being specified by rules. In other similar communities compensation for losses is made in an impromptu manner, the amount given being determined by the needs of the individual or family affected.[22] Mutual aid of this type also existed among the mediæval guild members, who shared with one another both the burdens of their misfortunes and the benefits of their successes.[23]

(4) TEMPORARY OBLIGATIONS.—Custom may also require altruism in special types of temporary relations, such as between a host and guest. In many primitive tribes, and also in mediæval Europe and in America under frontier conditions, hospitality was regarded as a duty, and at times even as a privilege.[24] Among the Yakuts, a traveler has the right to enter a house at any hour of the day or night and to cook food and enjoy shelter, the owner not being at liberty to refuse this privilege under ordinary circumstances.[25] In the village communities of the Mongol Buryates a destitute man has the right to enter a hut and partake of food.[26] The hungry Indian could not only ask for, but also demand, food.[27] Any Kafir

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[21] Briffault, Robert, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 497.

[22] Hiller, E. T., Corner, Fay E., and East, Wendell L., *Rural Community Types*, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, December, 1928, vol. xvi, no. 4, pp. 31-32.

[23] Cunningham, William, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, University Press, Cambridge, England, 1905, vol. i, p. 220.

[24] Clay, R. M., *Mediæval Hospitals in England*, Methuen and Company, London, 1909, pp. 1-2.

[25] Sumner, W. G., "The Yakuts, etc.," p. 70.

[26] Kropotkin, P. *Mutual Aid*, pp. 139-140.

[27] Dellenbaugh, F. S., *op. cit.*, p. 354.

who passes by when others are eating may share their food without
an invitation.[28] Among some peoples, rules require that a guest be
fed before the host himself partakes of food. A Mottoal Indian, al-
though sometimes indifferent to the claims of his parents, will
share his last crust or shred of dried salmon with his guest.[29]
Among the Kandhs a guest's claims take precedence over those of
the members of the family. In India a native wayfarer is assured
of food and shelter according to his needs.[30]

Among the old Norsemen, a guest was treated hospitably, even
though he might have killed his host's brother.[31] In Egypt the Beda-
wees will suffer injury to themselves or their families rather than
allow their guests to be ill-treated while under their protection.[32]
A person who has touched the rope of an Arab's tent must be de-
fended by his host against all personal enemies, and a Montenegrin
host must protect his guests even against his own relatives. In
order to shield a guest, some preliterate peoples permit a man to
speak falsely—an act otherwise regarded as a serious offense. In
ancient Rome the host was sponsor for his guest before the law,
while among the Akikuyu he took his side in a quarrel. Some peo-
ple hold that it is even more obligatory to revenge the death of a
guest than of a relative.[33] A visitor to an Ao village receives gifts
from the old men in the form of eggs or fowls, and upon departing,
he must give a present which more than covers the value of the
gift he received.[34] The customs of some people permit a guest to
demand any present he desires, and by the same rules the host com-
plies as a matter of course.[35] The requirement that, in the guest-
host exchange of presents, the gifts be proportional to the dignity
of the recipient is a social, rather than merely an economic, reg-
ulation.[36]

[28] Kidd, Dudley, *Kafir Socialism*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1908, p. 30.
[29] Parsons, E. C., *Fear and Conventionality*, pp. 34-35.
[30] Ghani, M. A., "Morality in India," *International Journal of Ethics*, 1896-1897, vol. vii, pp. 301-314.
[31] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 576.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 577.
[33] Durham, M. E., *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1928, p. 169.
[34] Smith, William C., *The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1925, p. 12.
[35] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 584-588; Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, p. 338; Mead, Margaret, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, W. Morrow and Company, New York, 1928, pp. 46-57.
[36] Bücher, Carl, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

But such rules apply first of all to fellow group members, for it is inherent in the social structure that the aid given to close associates is not given to strangers in the same degree. This is a phase of the ethnocentrism already spoken of. The outsider receives benefits because custom prescribes that for the time being he shall be accepted as a member of the group, unless he is so admitted, he is without rights. Although the obligations of hospitality were peremptory in ancient India, they were due members of the same caste alone.[37] In ancient Greece and Rome the right to relief was based upon citizenship. When caring for the poor, the followers of various religions, such as Zoroastrianism and even Christianity, formerly gave preference to those of their own faith. As late as the seventeenth century, the Scotch clergy are said to have taught that food and shelter should not be given to a starving man unless he was orthodox in his belief; and somewhat similar practices still exist in modern civilizations, for people regard members of their own group—family, sect, political party, vocational class, club, etc. —as the beneficiaries of their special obligations.

The foregoing descriptions pertain to social relationships which are characterized by a personal and sentimental point of view. The needs of the beneficiary, the relative well-being of the people, their established relations, and other personal or sentimental factors determine the benefits and services bestowed or exchanged. The closer the relationship, the greater is the personal factor and the less the insistence that accounts be balanced. People in the closest relationship, such as the family, usually participate according to their need and contribute according to their ability. In consequence the following statement concerning Polish peasants applies in principle to any other equally solidary group: "No amount of work entitles the individual to anything like wages, and no inability to work can diminish his right to be supported on the familial farm."[38] This is also illustrated by the motto of the early church: "For those who are able to work, work; and for those unable to work, compassion."

In the case of infants, the aged, invalids, and others who are dependent, aid may be given without the prospect of repayment. Although the nurture of children may be accompanied by the expectation of a recompense in later years, the parent-child relationship

[37] Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, p. 344.
[38] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 159.

calls for aid without prospect of any such return. Again, the serv-
ices which A renders B may be considered equalized if the latter,
in turn, aids C, who is in greater want than either of them. In such
instances the equating of benefits is altruistic and corporate, the
end being the welfare of the group rather than the cumulation of
wealth by A. In other relationships, direct reciprocity is expected
and implied in an act of aid, A doing for B what the latter has done
for A. This is the typical form of conduct between equals.

Such reciprocities belong to every type of institutionalized posi-
tive relationship—to that of leader and follower, husband and wife,
parent and child, and so on. The claims are not exercised arbitrarily
and one-sidedly but according to definite rules, and they are ar-
ranged in well balanced plans of reciprocal services.[39] These reci-
procities indicate not only that the individuals concerned are func-
tioning together but that they are bound together by mutual ties—
the Chinese say that kindness is more binding than a loan.[40]

(5) Symbolic Expressions of Personal Relations may be
made by means of language, and, in fact, by any act which conveys
an attitude; but we shall here concern ourselves only with the
sociology of gifts, which may be either symbolic or utilitarian.
While it is not always possible to separate the two elements, we
may note that some gifts—such as medals, images, ceremonial
wafers, scapulars, trinkets, personal photographs, and various ar-
ticles of adornment—are primarily tokens denoting good will, re-
spect, or amity. Utilitarian objects may likewise be employed in a
purely symbolic manner, but they may also serve an additional func-
tion of direct assistance. The social situation, including the relations
between the individuals and their respective needs, determines
which element shall predominate in the bestowal of a gift.

Many relationships do not permit utilitarian, but only symbolic
and conventional, gifts. This is illustrated by the fact that in our
own civilization a young man may, as an expression of amity, give
candy, flowers, or ornaments to a young woman, whereas gifts of
purely utilitarian objects (such as potatoes, shoes, or a gingham
dress) would be regarded as an affront; for by custom such objects
are not used in relationships where the gift must be symbolic. Not
only do the existing relationships prescribe the appropriate type of

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[39] Malinowski, Bronislaw, *Crime and Custom in Primitive Society*, p. 46.
[40] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 165.

gift, but the latter may also indicate various social relations such as comparative social status and solidarity, and serve as a symbol in sealing new personal relationships.

Gifts may connote the donor's dominant position and by their profusion symbolize his generosity. Concerning the Melanesians, one writer says: "In the giving of gifts, in the distribution of their surplus, they feel a manifestation of power, and an enhancement of personality. . . . Generosity is the highest virtue to them, and wealth the essential element of influence and rank. . . . Such display and public assessment impose a definite constraint and impulsion upon the giver. They satisfy and reward him when successful work enables him to give a generous gift and they penalize and humiliate him for inefficiency or stinginess."[41] Among the Maoris, business transactions are largely ceremonies and offer occasions for display through an appearance of munificence. Maori chiefs like above all things to appear generous; and in dividing provisions they may give away everything, keeping nothing for themselves.[42] European peasants who have become rich during a sojourn abroad occasionally display unexpected generosity toward persons for whom they have no familial or other direct responsibility.[43]

Conversely, gifts may symbolize the donor's subordination or his respect, providing that there is no implication of a want on the part of the recipient. This may be accomplished by the lavishness of the gifts. The members of one primitive tribe are said to have given to one of their prophets such a great quantity of provisions that they spoiled before they could be consumed. If the donor clearly occupies a lower position, he may expect to raise his status without putting the recipient under obligation as in the case of presenting pheasants' eggs to the king of England or a cake or turkey to the president of the United States.

Solidarity or loyalty among people is frequently indicated by the giving of tokens on ceremonial or other occasions—christenings, graduations, confirmations, betrothals, marriages, etc. Marriage is announced among one gens of the Sioux by the distribution of gifts by the groom to the bride's relatives, who later return presents

[41] Malinowski, B., *Crime and Custom in Primitive Society,* Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1926, pp. 29 ff.

[42] Firth, Raymond, "Economic Psychology of the Maori," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* 1925, vol. lv, p. 356.

[43] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.,* vol. i, p. 201.

of equal value providing they are satisfied with the new in-law.[44] Some of the ancient Roman emperors, at the time of their accession to the throne and on other occasions—such as triumphs and births in the royal family—showered the populace with largesse—lottery tickets, grain, money, foreign birds, horses, and even ships and landed properties.[45] In our own society similar relationships are indicated by the exchange of gifts by a ward politician and his followers.

Among the Trobriand Islanders mortuary ceremonies are accompanied by the bestowal of gifts, relatives of the deceased giving presents to friends who return them on the same day.[46] Furthermore, on the occasion of a visit made by members of one community to another, presents are given which are soon returned. However, the gifts may serve to indicate sympathy or cordiality, although they may be given without the usual motives of amity, for the act is duly required by the established relationship and the prevailing customs.

Polish peasants express neighborly loyalties on various occasions, such as births, deaths, and weddings, by the bestowal of gifts of a practical nature, such as feeding the guests for two or three days. By inviting members of other families and offering them food, the family indicates that it wants the event to be considered a social, not a private, affair; and that in spite of any change in its life or composition—birth or death—it remains solidary with the community. The community, on its part, expects these tokens, and it must in turn manifest its loyalty toward the family by gifts or assistance.[47]

A similar social use is served by the Trobriand *wasi*, a ceremonial exchange of food between members of an inland and a lagoon village. Each inland man has a partner in a lagoon village to whom he brings a quantity of vegetables when they are abundant, and he is eventually favored by a return gift of fish, much of which may be superfluous and unused. This fact, however, does not detract from the value of the courtesy as a social event. These dealings differ from barter in that the amount given in return is determined by the success of the other's labor, much or little being given according

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[44] Dorsey, J. O., "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology,* 1894-1895, p. 242.
[45] Uhlhorn, Gerard, *op. cit.,* p. 12.
[46] Malinowski, B., *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* pp. 489 ff.
[47] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.,* p. 177.

to the abundance or scarcity of the crop or the fish. The initial gift is always made by the inland man and it cannot be refused. At present fishermen can earn ten to twenty times as much by pearl diving as by their share of the *wasi*; but in spite of this and of pressure by white traders, the natives keep up the custom.[48]

Changes in personal relations are often indicated by the bestowal of gifts. For example, it is said that among Polish peasants the material value of the gift corresponds to the importance attached to the relationship between the giver and the recipient: Valuable gifts may be offered by a young man to the girl he intends to marry.[49] Among the Trobriand Islanders the *Kula* (the ceremonial exchange of armshells and shell discs) establishes a lifelong relation of mutuality between the "partners," who are thereby obligated to trade with each other and to offer protection and hospitality whenever needed.[50] Similar examples of gifts symbolizing a new relationship in our own culture are readily called to mind. In some societies the admittance of a guest may initiate a relationship with the host which must be celebrated by giving and counter-giving presents.[51] The conventional nature of such practices is emphasized by the fact that gifts are seldom exchanged among some other peoples, even by close kinsmen. Lowie cites the case of a Crow Indian who bought the right to use a special kind of ceremonial paint from his own mother. In many other instances the privilege of using sacred objects or secret arts is purchased from members of the family.[52] Elsewhere, as in Japan, the practice of giving is widespread, and is not limited to ceremonial occasions.[53] In mediæval Europe, likewise, the giving of presents by members of the same community, guild, or other association, was much more prevalent than it is today. The refusal of a proffered gift, without adequate reason, is regarded as an insult by some peoples; and elsewhere the custom of giving a return gift may amount to a claim, the neglect of which would be regarded as a sign of hostility.[54]

[48] Malinowski, B., *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, pp. 187-188.

[49] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[50] Malinowski, B., "Kula, the Circulating Exchange of Valuables in the Archipelagoes of Eastern New Guinea," *Man,* July, 1920, pp. 97 ff.

[51] Bücher, Carl, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[52] Lowie, Robert, *Primitive Society*, p. 239.

[53] Chrisman, O., *The Historical Child,* Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1920, pp. 131-132.

[54] Dundas, C., "Native Laws of Some Bantu Tribes of East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1921, vol. li, p. 276.

Gratitude, like altruism, varies with the social situation and the culture of the group, no less than with individual attitudes. Some primitives believe that a person who accepts a gift, such as food or medicine, surrenders himself to the machinations of the donor, and accordingly, the recipient does not express gratitude, for he regards the donor as his debtor. In fact, the absence of gratitude is frequently, although erroneously, said to be characteristic of uncivilized peoples. It is reported of one Eskimo tribe: "Gratitude is not only rare, but absolutely unknown amongst them, either by action, word, or look, beyond the first outcry of satisfaction. Nursing their sick, burying the dead, clothing and feeding the whole tribe, furnishing the men with weapons, and the women and children with ornaments, are insufficient to awaken a grateful feeling."[55] The fact that the languages of some primitive peoples have no word meaning gratitude has also been frequently cited as proof of the absence of this sentiment.

However, modes of conduct by preliterate as well as by more advanced peoples are based upon their peculiar beliefs and rules of etiquette. Giving occurs between the equals in a group as a matter of course and may or may not be accompanied by expressions of gratitude. The open-handed giving frequently found in groups of primitives may not call for return favors, the social situation here being comparable to family relations in that expressions of gratitude are not demanded, or they may be conveyed by the enjoyment of the gift. Favors are rendered by the Arabs, as well as by various preliterates, with the idea that they are duties which it would be disgraceful to shirk.[56] Gifts by a superior to an inferior may be regarded as even more obligatory, and hence expressions of thanks may be considered as unseemly or even insulting, for they would imply that the donor is on a level with the recipient, whereas their non-expression attests to the donor's superiority or suggests that his store is so great that giving does not diminish it. The custom of suppressing any sign of emotions, which obtains among many peoples, would further help to account for the failure to show appreciation. Moreover, the fact that, under some circumstances, numerous savage peoples evince warm gratitude

[55] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 155, quoting Lyon, *Private Journal During the Voyage of Discovery under Captain Parry*, pp. 348 ff.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

for a kindness shown them is a further testimonial of the conventional nature of these sentiments. While reciprocities are thus affected by other parts of a group's culture, they are also expressive of established relations and in turn help to create them.

### DEPERSONALIZATION OF RECIPROCITIES

The types of personal relations which have been discussed stand in sharp contrast to the pecuniary and contractual relations, now to be noted. The former are sentimental and customary, while the latter are gauged by abstract considerations such as profit, legal obligations (or their absence), and the reciprocities are largely restricted to a quantitative measure expressed in monetary units. When dealings are thus reduced to pecuniary terms, all traits of personality may be ignored; only the monetary equivalent of the labor, exchange, or dole in question need be considered.

Historically, this depersonalization has developed gradually; and the changes have not occurred at a uniform rate so far as all utilities and all types of relations are concerned. As long as the personal, rather than the pecuniary or commercial, point of view is applied to necessities, food and shelter are held at the disposal of all the members of the group; in fact, these utilities have proved to be most resistant to commercialization. It was recently reported that Polish peasants would not sell bread except in localities near large cities and that, in general, they showed an unwillingness to apply the pecuniary point of view to the farm products which are used for food. They were also loath to sell any commodity whatever to a neighbor—for instance, a peasant who had a horse for sale would not enter into a transaction with his neighbor except at a fair, where, after much hesitation in discussing terms, a sale would eventually be made.[57] Palaungs consider that there are three things for which money should not be given except on a journey among strangers: wood, water, and grass.[58] In the Torres Straits a youth is taught at the time of his initiation into the men's group that if a person asks him for food or water, he must give him half of what he has; and if he fails to do this, he will be laughed at as being childish, that is, not initiated into the adult group.[59] Food,

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[57] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

[58] Milne, Mrs. Leslie, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[59] Hambly, W. D., and Hose, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

like air and water, was regarded by the Amerinds as a necessity that should be free in time of need.[60] The Iroquois are said to have given such necessities as freely as they asked them of others, not even expecting or giving thanks.[61]

A similar non-pecuniary or personal point of view is seen in the exchange of food by neighbors, and in the rules of hospitality which, as we have seen, formerly led people to invite wayfarers to share the family food and shelter. Concerning some preliterate peoples, it is said that even the poorest think it an offense to be offered payment for food and lodging.[62] "Wherever the custom of entertaining guests has been preserved in the pure and genuine form, remuneration is neither asked nor expected; indeed, to offer payment gives offense, and to accept it is disgraceful."[63] The contrast between the two types of attitudes is illustrated by the remarks made by Canassatego, an eighteenth-century Ononadaga chief, to a white man. "You know our custom . . . if a white man enters one of our cabins, we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold and give him meat and drink that he may allay his hunger and thirst; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on. We demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house at Albany and ask for victuals and drink, they say 'Where is your money?' and if I have none, they say, 'Get out, you Indian dog.' "[64]

In some cultural communities, tasks requiring collective efforts are still performed by exchange of labor without applying the pecuniary point of view. In one such community the farmers had long been advised "by the manager of an elevator company to keep an account of their labor for each other. This year they decided to try keeping records and called a meeting for the purpose of settling balances. After the checks had been made to equalize accounts, one of the audience said: 'Well, neighbors, I never thought we'd come to this. Pretty soon I'll be paying my neighbors to give me a lift into town and the Frau will be buying a shoot off the geranium plant. No, sir! It's nonsense. The elevators can keep ac-

[60] Boyle, David, "On the Paganism of the Civilized Iroquois of Ontario," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1900, vol. xxx, p. 269.

[61] Dellenbaugh, F. S., *op. cit.,* p. 354.

[62] Featherman, A., *Social History of Mankind,* Trübner and Company, London, 1889, vol. i, pp. 14-15.

[63] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.,* vol. i, p. 593.

[64] Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution,* p. 339, quoting Morgan, L. H., *League of the Iroquois,* p. 328.

counts if they want to; but we are neighbors and not in business with each other.' "[65]

Intensive mutual aid is also frequently found among other groups, especially those which have a distinctive culture, such as immigrants who are faced with economic vicissitudes in a new environment. Organizations for this purpose are in part transferred from their native habitat and in part developed as a response to the hazards of the new situation. In fact, mutual aid societies have been said to be the basic organizations of American immigrants.[66] Among the Hebrews, for example, the *Khevra*, an association analogous to the artisans' and journeymen's guilds found in western Europe during the Middle Ages, assists its members in disaster, sickness, and death. Every immigrant group in America has such an organization under one name or another.

In societies where direct, personal reciprocity and obligation exist or where rules of hospitality are inviolable, *individual poverty*, such as that prevailing in the midst of plenty in our impersonal society, is unknown. In Chicago, there were, in 1920, ninety contributors to the United Charities in less than a square mile on the Gold Coast and 460 cases of poverty in the square mile adjacent to it.[67] In the simpler, non-commercial type of social organization, on the other hand, all fare about equally well or ill, depending on the abundance of the essentials of life. Suffering in the midst of plenty, such as that occasionally found in our cities, is incomprehensible to persons accustomed only to the intimate relations and reciprocities typical of the family, clan, and small communities whose unity is based upon a common culture and origin. "When Turner told a Samoan about the poor in London, the native replied, 'How is it? No food! No friends! No house to live in! Where did he grow? Are there no houses belonging to his friends?' "[68] The Yakuts visited by Sumner would not believe him when he told them that in his country people sometimes died of starvation in rich and populous cities. They were astonished that "anyone should starve when he could go to eat with his neighbors"[69]—that some should be in want while others live in affluence.[70]

[65] Hiller, E. T., *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

[66] Park, R. E., and Miller, H. A., *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[67] Zorbaugh, Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[68] Mason, Otis T., *The Origins of Invention*, Walter Scott Publishing Company, London, 1901, p. 27.

[69] Sumner, W. G., "The Yakuts, etc.," p. 69.

[70] Briffault, Robert, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 497.

The attitudes shown here regarding food, shelter, and objects of neighborly exchange were once held also with regard to money. When California was a Spanish province:

> The hospitality of the colonists was unbounded; they were always glad to entertain strangers. . . . A person could travel from San Francisco to San Diego and never pass out a shilling. A saddle horse would be furnished him at one mission on which to ride to the next, and there a relay would be furnished. At the missions he would be received with hospitality and be treated to the best food and shelter the place afforded. Among the Spaniards of the better class it was customary to leave in the guest chamber a small heap of silver, covered with a cloth. If he was in need, the guest was expected to uncover this and take such portion as would supply his immediate needs. . . . A Spanish girl relates her experience on a journey from Monterey to Los Angeles in 1829. A young American accompanying her father's party insisted on paying for everything he received. At one house the Señora gave him some fruit, whereupon he handed her two *reals* which she let fall on the floor in surprise; while the old Don, her husband, fell upon his knees and said in Spanish "Give us no money, no money at all. Everything is free in a gentleman's house." A young lady who was present exclaimed in great scorn: "The English pay for everything!" Among the American pioneers of a more recent time somewhat of this same hospitality existed. You were welcome, if congenial, to stay a week or a month, to use horses, and even saddles, free of charge and there was danger of offense in offering to pay for the hospitality.[71]

The custom of regarding money as a means of supplying the wants of the group rather than merely as a private possession was once widespread. Formerly men of means were expected to help those who needed money with gratuitous loans.[72] But the numerous declarations against usury by the laws of Islam and the teachings of mediæval churchmen, as well as the ancient Hebrews, indicate that even in those times the older customs were being undermined by the application of the commercial point of view to the essentials of life.

In recent centuries the increase of a money economy has made people dependent upon an impersonal medium of exchange, rather

[71] Blackmar, Frank W., *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest*, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1891, p. 257.

[72] Ferrero, J., *Ancient Rome and Modern America*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1914, p. 110.

than directly upon one another. This has been hastened by rapid social changes such as the growth of population, the division of labor, large cities, and class distinctions, together with the displacement of workers by machinery, extensive inter- as well as intranational migrations, the loss of control over the means of production by a large proportion of the population (the wage earners), and the commercialization of agriculture by production for a specialized market rather than for home consumption.

Consequently, as the social structure undergoes changes, new practices and attitudes arise with respect to both the *giving* and the *receiving* of aid. Charity becomes formal and impersonal, for, in the words of one writer, "One cannot easily sympathize with each individual in a multitude."[73] Hospitality was extensively practiced in accordance with the tenets of chivalry, and the poor, no less than the upper classes, considered it disgraceful to refuse to share their meals with a stranger. However, under conditions of high mobility, the number of strangers increases to such an extent that they are divested of the sanctity they formerly had in communities isolated from frequent outside contacts. In the middle of the Elizabethan period Archbishop Sandy complained: "It is come to pass that hospitality itself is waxen a stranger."[74] Hospitality became a burden, and special organizations were developed to care for the urgent wants of wayfarers. This is shown by the appearance of the Xenodochia of the early Middle Ages, the founding of the Teutonic Order and the Hospitallers during the Crusades, and the establishment of many eleemosynary agencies in modern times in order to meet the problems incidental to the removal of large numbers of people from their native communities.

In other respects, also, the direct reciprocities typical of the simpler social organizations break down under more complex conditions. However, the same factors—notably, the improved means of communication and the enlarging dimensions of social groups— have increased the area of active sympathy, which now extends beyond the local and even the national community. England's contribution of one hundred thousand pounds sterling to the victims of the Lisbon earthquake disaster in 1755 is said to have inaugurated the new era of international charitableness. "Compassion was at

[73] Sidgwick, H., *Methods of Ethics,* Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1893, p. 250.
[74] Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.,* vol. i, p. 596.

last shown by Englishmen, not simply for Englishmen and Protestants, but for foreigners professing a different religion; pity, for once, triumphed over intolerance and national prejudice."[75] Although charity is still more or less restrained by national or religious boundaries, in the higher stages of civilization it embraces a larger group of people in proportion to the spread of interdependency and consensus or a common culture, such as religion. But this very extension makes the benevolent relationships more casual, and, furthermore, the benefits are, for the most part, rendered to those from whom little or no return can be expected. Consequently, new impulsions—religious appeals and legal coercion—are substituted for the mutual aid institutions prevailing under simpler conditions.

Impersonal conditions also affect the attitudes of the recipients. There is little likelihood that individuals will try to impose upon the good will of members of the family or the clan; but even in these groups, people are occasionally inclined to neglect the usual reciprocities, as is suggested by the problems arising in various communistic societies. A case in point is Saint Paul's reference to those "that will not work at all but are busy-bodies," and also the admonition to the Thessalonians: "If any will not work, neither let him eat." Shirkers and knockers are still found in primary, although they are typical of secondary relations. The likelihood of parasitism of all sorts is increased among complete strangers, and there, too, exploitation flourishes, as is indicated by the frauds, confidence games, extortions, malingerings, "hard-luck stories," and the techniques of begging from individuals and benevolent societies. Public poor relief, such as that dispensed by county commissioners, is generally permeated by petty corruption and inefficiency. The more impersonal the source and the greater the strangeness, the smaller is the sense of obligation and the greater is the probability of indifference, neglect, and imposition—a tendency which is in keeping with the etymology of the word pauperism which originally meant a non-producer and not, as at present, an indigent person.[76] Accordingly, increasing restraints have been placed upon unwarranted demands by the imposition of legal penalties and particularly through investigations and discrimination in giving relief.

p. 558.
[76] Devine, E. T., "Pauperism: An Analysis," *Studies in Social Work,* no. 9, New York School of Philanthropy, 1915.

Nevertheless, the social ills arising from impostures and economic shirking are actually only minor problems when compared with the devastating competition, unemployment, and individual poverty arising out of the malfunctioning of this impersonal social system.

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# CHAPTER XII

## Social Work as Aid in Impersonal Relations

Although every society practices mutual aid, the forms this assumes vary with the character of the social structure. The depersonalization just discussed is accompanied by new impulsions and restraints in giving and receiving aid, and by the application of professional standards in philanthropy.

### IMPULSIONS AND CONSTRAINTS

As long as a practice is followed consistently it is taken for granted; but when it is frequently violated, efforts are made to enforce it. Therefore the adoption of new devices for compelling benevolence shows that charity is not spontaneous or that the needs are greater than the available supply. Although the rules of approved conduct must be taught in all societies, the use of religious and legal sanctions or authority to enforce almsgiving seems to be peculiar to complex civilizations.

(1) RELIGIOUS SANCTIONS came into use as a means of encouraging charity when primary group obligations were lessened by the depersonalization of social relations. The eulogies of charity on the part of various peoples in ancient times indicate that even then social classes had arisen or that aid was no longer based on spontaneous neighborly good will. Memorial inscriptions—such as: "He gave bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, and clothed the naked,"[1] and "There was neither beggar nor needy in my time; none were hungered," which were found on Memphite tombs—indicate that the Egyptians five thousand years ago stressed the virtue of charity.[2] Confucius and other early lawgivers regarded charitableness as an index to "nobleness of character."[3] The Code of Ham-

[1] McCabe, Joseph, *The Evolution of Civilization*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1922, p. 51.

[2] Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, p. 341; Westermarck, Edward, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

[3] Yu-Yue, Tsu, "The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy," *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, 1912, vol. l, no. 1, p. 16.

murabi 2000 years before Christ made definite provision for the assistance of the weak by the strong,[4] and Buddhism stressed the duty of aiding the indigent. In India from the Vedic period onward,[5] almsgiving was recognized as an act of merit. Class distinctions evidently existed among the ancient Hebrews, as is implied in their numerous exhortations to assist the needy: "If there be among you a poor man . . . thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him . . . and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need." "When thou cuttest down thine harvest in the field, and hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it, it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow."

In later periods the duty of almsgiving was definitely incorporated in the religious systems. Thus, Islamic laws included it as one of the five practical duties required by that faith, and as next to prayer in importance. According to the teachings of the early churchmen, almsgiving was as necessary as repentance,[6] and a refusal to give tithes implied the assumption of responsibility for the suffering which the indigent might incur.[7] More definite pressure was exerted by the clergymen through the dispensations granted in return for almsgiving. At the Council of Ravenna, a regular system of indulgences was established for those giving specified amounts of alms.[8] Furthermore, an ecclesiastical rule stipulated that one-fourth of the revenue derived from tithes should be distributed as alms, priests being required to help the needy in their own parishes.

Because there can be no almsgiving unless there are recipients, the latter were held to acquire merit by making it possible for the donors to win sanctity. "If there were no poor the greater part of your sins would not be removed; they are the healers of your wounds," Saint Chrysostom said.[9] An author of a mediæval treatise

[4] Thorndyke, Lynn, "The Historical Background," in Faris, E., Laune, Ferris, and Todd, Arthur, *Intelligent Philanthropy,* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930, p. 25.

[5] Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution,* p. 344.

[6] Lecky, William E., *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne,* D. App'eton and Co., New York, 1870, vol. ii, p. 130; Harnack, Adolph, *Expansion of Christianity,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1904-05, vol. i, p. 191.

[7] Ashley, W. J., *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1906, vol. ii, p. 307.

[8] Queen, Stuart A., *Social Work in the Light of History,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 220.

[9] Quoted by Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution,* p. 349.

on charity, in speaking of lepers as incentives to good works, contemplated the possibility of their disappearance with the ejaculation, "Which may God forbid!"[10] and this attitude still persists to some extent, especially in Latin countries and in some parts of the orient, where from time immemorial highways and temples have teemed with "holy beggars."

(2) LEGAL COMPULSIONS gradually displaced the early religious appeals as the control of relief was transferred to the state.[11] Public charity was not unknown to the ancient world, as is shown by the gratuitous distribution of grain to the Roman populace and by the provisions made for indigents by some Greek city-states. Extensive systems of public assistance for dependent children were established by Emperors Nerva and Marcus Aurelius, and by others of a high station in the Roman Empire. However, a large share of the philanthropy in ancient, as well as mediæval, times was privately endowed; private benevolence increased with the emphasis of the Church on the merits of almsgiving, and rich men established charities and gave bequests to be distributed to voluntary applicants. Mediæval monarchs and feudal lords had officials known as almoners, whose duty it was to distribute gifts to the poor. After the twelfth century especially, the Church's control of alms was shared by charitable lay brotherhoods, industrial guilds, and political communes.[12] However, no concerted measures for public relief were undertaken until the state (because of the failure of the competing donors to deal constructively with the needy, and because of the dissolution of the monasteries, and the general political disturbances of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) began to utilize its growing centralized authority to enforce contributions for the needy and to restrict the indiscriminate giving of doles.

In the early part of the sixteenth century the leading European nations passed laws for the control of pauperism; and although many of these attempts were inadequate, they supplied the models for later remedial measures and are still reflected in some of the present systems of public poor relief. For example, the statutes of

[10] Mead, G. H., "The Psychology of Punitive Justice," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1917-1918, vol. xxiii, p. 596.

[11] Warner, A. G., Queen, S. A., and Harper, E. B., *American Charities and Social Work,* Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1930, p. 10; Queen, S. A., *Social Work in the Light of History,* pp. 236 ff.; Gillin, John L., *Poverty and Dependency,* The Century Company, New York, 1926, p. 157.

[12] Thorndyke, Lynn, *op. cit.,* p. 37.

the American colonies and states followed largely the main pro-
visions of these early laws in England.

In general, we may say that the intervention of the state has
been reflected in the regulations designed to secure: (a) the com-
pulsory transfer of money or goods from the rich to the poor; (b)
the enforced support of individuals by their own locality or kins-
men; and (c) restrictions on unlimited demands for aid.

(a) *The compulsory transfer of money or goods from the rich
to the poor* may be brought about in either of two ways: first, the
benefits may be reserved for the poor, although the money for
administering the service is obtained by assessments on the entire
population, as in the case of poor relief, unemployment and old
age insurance, widows' and orphans' pensions, and workmen's com-
pensation. Second, the benefits may be shared by everyone, al-
though the rich contribute more than the poor. This is illustrated
by public education, parks, libraries, sanitation systems, etc., which
are supported by the taxation on income and property.[13]

Elaborate regulations for poor relief have come into existence
particularly during the past century. In earlier periods, the inter-
vention of the state on behalf of the needy had aimed primarily
at encouraging voluntary assistance. Thus, according to the Eng-
lish law of 1536, collections were to be made for the poor on Sun-
days, and the parson was requested to exhort the people to gener-
ous giving.[14] Later laws (1562) required that those who were able
to contribute toward the support of the poor and who resisted the
exhortations of ministers and justices were to be assessed as much
as the justices thought reasonable.[15] According to the Poor Law
of 1601, a definite tax was imposed in order to supply employment
to the able-bodied needy and to maintain the "impotent" poor.[16]
The principle of compulsory support in some form is now generally
accepted by western nations. Some countries, including France
(1793), Denmark (1866), Sweden (1870), and Prussia (1781)
granted everyone the right to relief, although Holland (1870) took
the opposite position, that no one has an inherent right thereto.[17]

[13] Carr-Saunders, A. M., and Jones, D. C., *Social Structure of England and
Wales,* University Press, Oxford, England, 1927, pp. 145-154.

[14] Queen, S. A., *Social Work in the Light of History,* p. 183.

[15] Nicholls, Sir George, *History of the English Poor Law,* P. S. King and Sons,
London, 1898, vol. i, pp. 151-152, 197-198.

[16] Gillin, John L., *op. cit.,* pp. 165-166.

[17] Fowle, T. W., *The Poor Law,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1890,
pp. 6-7.

The extent to which the state has become obligated for the support of the indigent is indicated by the following typical data. A study by Richard K. Conant shows that American cities with over 500,000 population in 1924 contributed, on the average, 40.7 per cent of their total expenditures to the relief of their needy citizens.[18] A recent survey of twelve cities shows that, of a total of more than one hundred and twelve million dollars which was spent for welfare, 31 per cent was derived from taxes.[19] Of nineteen cities which in 1928 kept records of their poor relief, all but four derived more than half (53 to 98 per cent) of their relief funds from taxes. The average per capita tax was $0.85, and it ranged from $0.15 (New Orleans) to $1.49 (St. Paul).[20] The capital invested in 6852 non-profit hospital associations in the United States in 1928 was over three billion dollars, slightly more than one-half of this property belonging to the federal, state, county, and city governments.[21]

Charities which are supported by taxes are apparently increasing more rapidly than those which are privately supported,[22] and various types of relief formerly privately financed are being taken over by the state—for example, mothers' pensions, maternity benefits, playgrounds, public health nursing, institutions for the physically handicapped, and the several forms of insurance already mentioned.[23] Public and private charities are sometimes combined in a single project and therefore a sharp division cannot always be made between them;[24] but in both, the contacts between the donors and the beneficiaries are becoming more indirect, contractual, and depersonalized.

(b) *The enforced support of the indigent by local communities and kinsmen* implies an attempt to impose to a slight extent the obligations traditionally associated with the primary group. But

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[18] Walker, Sydnor H., *Social Work and the Training of Social Workers,* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1928, p. 47.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 46.

[20] McMillen, A. W., *Measurement in Social Work,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930, pp. 36-38.

[21] Roren, C. R., *The Public Investment in Hospitals,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930, p. 27.

[22] Walker, Sydnor H., *op. cit.,* pp. 51-52; Queen, S. A., *Social Work in the Light of History,* pp. 32 ff.

[23] See p. 186.

[24] Faris, E., "Charity and the Social Sciences," in *Intelligent Philanthropy* by Faris, E., Laune, Ferris, and Todd, Arthur, p. 308.

although these duties were formerly personal and immediate, they have now become impersonal and are performed through very complex legal machinery. Precedents for such laws are found as early as 806 A.D. in a capitulary of Charlemagne, who stated that his vassals should support the needy in their own territory and prevent them from becoming public charges in other provinces.[25] During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the countries of northwestern Europe, and later the colonies and states in America, stipulated that local political units should provide at least the bare necessities of life for their residents, and later many special classes of handicapped individuals were placed under state and federal supervision.[26]

A corollary of this is found in the provision that each community (parish, county, or other civil division) shall be relieved of responsibility for the support of outsiders. For example, the English Settlement Acts of 1662 limited the recipients of relief to those having legal domicile within the parish by fact of birth, apprenticeship, or ownership of property,[27] and those not having legal domicile could be removed within forty days after arrival.[28] Similar measures were enacted in various other countries of Europe and America.[29] The "settlement" laws in some American states specify that a person who has become dependent may be removed from the county before he acquires legal residence.[30] Illinois statutes, for example, permit the removal of anyone chargeable as a pauper from any county or town in which he has not resided for the twelve months immediately preceding his becoming so chargeable; while anyone bringing a pauper into the county is liable to a fine of one hundred dollars.[31]

Laws which attempt to compel the support of the needy by their kinsmen indicate the breaking down of the structure which under simpler conditions prompted relatives to render aid to one another as a matter of course. In some oriental countries where the greater or "compound" family provides for its own poor and where each

[25] Thorndyke, Lynn, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[26] Fowle, T. W., *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[27] Warner, A. G., Queen, S. A., and Harper, E. B., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[28] Nicholls, Sir George, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-280.

[29] Fowle, T. W., *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[30] Millis, H. A., "The Law Relating to the Relief and Care of Dependents," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1897-1898, vol. iii, p. 635.

[31] 1929 Smith-Hurd, Sec. 16, Ch. 107, quoted by W. Huston, "Welfare Laws of the State of Illinois," in *Social Welfare Laws of Forty-Eight States*, Wendell Huston, Des Moines, Iowa, 1930.

person suffers or prospers according to the collective fortunes, neglect of a needy member would involve permanent disgrace. Under such circumstances the problem of individual poor relief is not a serious one, although the poverty of the entire group may be very acute.[32] Even orphanages and the institutions for the aged and invalids, as well as unemployment insurance and strike benefits, are unnecessary because of the mutual assistance rendered within this larger kinship group; but here, too, the old ideas of familial responsibility are weakening, due to the industrialization of society. In western civilization the existence of various laws enjoining support by close kin gives evidence that such aid has long been giving way there. "The movement of progressive societies," said Sir Henry Maine, "has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation as the unit of which civil law takes account."[33]

The Elizabethan law of 1601 required that parents and children should be mutually responsible for one another's support.[34] Similar laws have been enacted in most European countries, as well as in the United States;[35] but the degree of relationship to which the obligation extends has varied widely. For example, in the English law just referred to, liability for maintenance included grandparents,[36] while in Sweden and Denmark, the duty extends only to parents and children, the maintenance of children in Denmark being limited to those under eighteen years of age, and to those parents who are of disordered intellect. In Italy, brothers and sisters are legally responsible for one another's support. In Saxony, on the other hand, such duties are imposed upon even distant relatives, while in France and Germany this obligation extends to children-in-law.

American laws likewise enjoin mutual support by parents and children, and in most cases designate the order of responsibility by other relatives. Illinois laws prescribe that the following order shall be observed in calling on relatives for support, providing always

[32] Leong, Y. K., and Tao, L. K., *Village and Town Life in China*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1915, p. 72; Allen, G. C., *Modern Japan and its Problems*, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., New York, 1927, p. 44; Davis, J. Mer'e, "The Orientals," in *Immigrant Backgrounds*, edited by Harry Pratt Fairchild, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1927, p. 184.

[33] Maine, Sir Henry, *Ancient Law*, J. M. Dent & Co., London, 1907, p. 172.

[34] Nicholls, Sir George, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[35] Warner, A. G., Queen, S. A., and Harper, E. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

[36] Fowle, W. T., *op. cit.*, p. 58.

that there are relatives of the given degree and that they are of "sufficient ability" to supply such aid: (1) parents or children, (2) siblings, (3) grandchildren, and (4) grandparents. Married women are not liable for the support of a relative unless they have separate property or hold property in their own name. A county may sue a person to recover the outlay for his relatives or to compel residents within the state to support a relative of the defined degree of kinship.[37]

(c) *Restrictions upon Demands.*—Legal control interferes to prevent "unmerited charity." In secondary relations, indiscriminate philanthropy was found to result in continued dependency and an increased demand for free assistance. Even as early as Hesiod (776 B.C.) beggary was seen to increase with the indiscriminate giving of largesse.[38] Aristotle wrote: "The poor are always receiving and always wanting more and more; for such help is like water poured into a leaky cask."[39] In Rome, where a pernicious system of doles supplied amusements as well as necessities, the indigent gave up "honorable" labor to such an extent that industry and agriculture were neglected.[40] Similar conditions were encouraged by the almsgiving of the Middle Ages;[41] and with the enclosures of farm land, the dismissal or escape of retainers, and the increasing mobility of the population, vagrancy became a national burden in most countries of western Europe.

In the attempt to curb vagabondage and discourage begging, the poor laws of the early sixteenth century assumed a penal character.[42] In the words of one writer, punishments such as whipping, branding, detention in the stocks, cropping and burning the ear "made this part of English history look like the history of savages,"[43] although the comparison is inapt. Spain, France, and other continental countries also enacted repressive measures.[44] For instance, in the Netherlands (1531) an edict prescribed compulsory work for vagrants. In many cases beggars were driven from the

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[37] 1929 Smith-Hurd, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

[38] Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution,* p. 346.

[39] Quoted by Thorndyke, Lynn, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[40] Lecky, W. E: H., *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[41] Ashley, W. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 306-366.

[42] Thorndyke, Lynn, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[43] Fowle, W. T., *op. cit.*, p. 43; Queen, S. A., *Social Work in the Light of History,* pp. 169 ff.

[44] Warner, A. G., Queen, S. A., and Harper, E. B., *op. cit.*, p. 16.

cities and flogged if they attempted to return. However, some dis-
tinction was usually made between the "impotent," who might be
permitted to beg when granted a license, and the "sturdy" beggars,
who were required to go to the workhouse, or, as an alternate, to
suffer the penalty of punishment as felons, or banishment. Policies
alternated between leniency and severity. Thus, an English law of
1723 which denied aid to those refusing to be lodged in the poor-
house, that is, in the "workhouse"—the so-called "workhouse test"
—was later amended by the "allowance system" which permitted
support outside the poorhouse. Although the "workhouse test" was
reenacted in 1834, the trend toward constructive measures gradu-
ally increased. At present curative and preventive treatment is
generally prescribed and the punitive element is diminished
correspondingly.

This changed emphasis marks the development of a new type of
social structure. The early repressive edicts indicated that, because
the primary social relations and personal reciprocities had declined,
individuals were not restrained from imposing upon one another
and, further, that the earlier social system itself was failing to func-
tion successfully in all respects and in all localities. The recent
trend in legislation and in preventive philanthropy indicates the
growth of attitudes suited to a larger and more complex society; for
because social relations have become so largely impersonal, new
methods of aiding the needy and curbing impostors have been found
necessary.

### THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PHILANTHROPY

These new methods include not only the services of trained work-
ers but also the application of new theories of human conduct in the
attempt to work out successful adjustments for the unfortunate or
needy members of the community. We shall review briefly: (1) the
theories which have served as the basis for the methods of poor
relief, and (2) individualization of treatment, including the case
method of correcting maladjustments.

(1) THE THEORIES UNDERLYING SOCIAL WORK have gradually
evolved as the necessary conclusion to a historic succession of doc-
trines which overlooked the interdependency between conduct and
the established social relations. While such theories are often merely
rationalizations, they do nevertheless affect policies and practices.

The theories which have existed or are still extant will be described briefly under the following five divisions:

(a) The belief in the existence of the poor as a divine provision for obtaining merit by almsgiving was followed by a sentimental humanitarianism which led to the type of social service known as "doing good."[45] During the eighteenth century, the quest for the "ideal state" was associated with the idea of "instinctive" altruism which was supposed to produce harmony and unfailing benevolence. The practical difficulty of this theory lay in the supposition that strangers could be molded by fiat into a primary group with its personal reciprocities, and that such an artificial social structure, if established, could compete successfully with other types.

(b) The doctrine of the individual's responsibility for his own poverty overlapped in point of time with the humanitarianism just described, and, in the main, formed the basis for poor laws until about a century ago. According to this doctrine, poverty is the result of an individual's sloth or other moral shortcomings, and consequently the prescribed treatment consisted of punishment and coercion to induce industry. For the same reason, only a bare subsistence was granted if aid was found to be imperative. Such penurious relief was professed to be desirable on the assumptions, first, that if people are hungry they will exert themselves; and second, that if the aid granted is equal to the earnings of the others who are still supporting themselves, these also will stop work in order to live off the doles. This doctrine led to the classification of indigents as "worthy" and "unworthy" poor; for example, of 28,000 applicants for relief in one charity organization in 1887, 23 per cent were alleged to be "unworthy of relief."[46]

Although most people conform to the expectations of our society that they shall be self-supporting, some revert to the infantile attitude of dependency and others attempt to live by exploitation, and therefore the repressive measures characterizing the early period of state control were not without point. But such laws overlooked the fact that these attitudes are themselves a social malady which calls for correction (not always by punishment), and that

[45] Richmond, Mary E., *Social Diagnosis,* Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1917, p. 25; cf. Rich, Chester L., "The Humane Impulse and Scientific Social Work," *Social Science,* 1925-1926, vol. i, pp. 214-218.

[46] Warner, A. G., Queen, S. A., and Harper, E. B., *op. cit.,* p. 33.

dependency may be due to social conditions rather than to the choice or responsibility of the persons concerned.

While it is readily conceded that there are wide differences in the foresight exercised by individuals, the complex conditions under which people live in an industrial society preclude any arbitrary ascription of individual misfortune to a lack of self-control, industry, or foresight. Vast impersonal forces may elevate some persons and degrade others, out of all proportion to their frugality or other merits or demerits. This is suggested by the fact that in industrial centers, even during so-called normal times, as much as twenty per cent of the population is ordinarily living in poverty— that condition in which a person, because of either inadequate income or unwise expenditures, does not maintain his own or his dependents' physical and mental efficiency. The circumstances which result in poverty are themselves intensified by the poverty they produce, and thereby constitute a vicious circle. Table 4 lists the reported causes leading to the request for relief in England and Wales in 1926.

Table 4 [47]

| Occasions for Relief | Per Cent of Total Cases |
|---|---|
| Unemployment.................................... | 33.8 |
| Bodily infirmity................................. | 23.1 |
| Mental infirmity................................ | 9.0 |
| Ill health of a dependent......................... | 0.4 |
| Other causes (including widowhood and orphanhood). | 33.7 |
| | 100.00 |

(c) Another individualistic theory purporting to account for poverty was that of biological determinism which, in its extreme form, held that income measured the quality of inherited capacities. This doctrine, which is, in reality, an example of the distorted biological theories which were popular during the second half of the last century, affected opinions as to the desirable type of treatment, delayed research into the cause of maladjustment, and interfered with the enactment of remedial measures. Adherents of this theory were opposed to the alleviation of the so-called "struggle for existence" by the application of philanthropy and medical care to the "handicapped." However, these ideas have been discarded except by persons who are ignorant of recent advances in the science of genetics. Although sickness and physical and mental deficiencies do affect

[47] Carr-Saunders, A. M., and Jones, D. C., *op. cit.*, p. 191.

the social processes in definite ways (see Chapter I), this fact is not a part of the deterministic dogma under consideration here. Social workers are interested in the cure of sickness both because this is itself desirable and because it aids adjustment to the personal environment and thus contributes to a satisfactory participation in group life.[48]

(d) A fourth doctrine—the so-called Malthusian theory of population—holds that poverty is due to the presence of more people than can be adequately fed and clothed from the product of a given and relatively fixed amount of land, and that permanent improvement in the standard of living is therefore impossible; for if there is a surplus of food, the population will soon increase to such an extent as to cause want and suffering anew. The partisans of this theory maintained that the "poor laws" helped to create the very poor whom they benefited. While some preliterate groups are known to have perished by starvation, and some present populations are too large for their resources and agricultural methods, these facts do not imply that all individual poverty can be ascribed to the absence of necessities or of the means for producing food, clothing, and shelter. This is obvious from the fact that hunger persists in the midst of plenty, and that equipment and land would be available for the production of these commodities by the unemployed if society were organized for this purpose, instead of for individual profit-seeking. It is therefore clear that present-day *individual* poverty is due to the profound changes in the social organization which have occurred since primitive times, rather than merely to the size of the population. Under the modern advancement of agricultural arts the United States could support several times its present population without lowering the prevailing standards of food consumption.[49] However, the Malthusian theory did advertise the self-evident economic disadvantages of overpopulation and of large families under a wage-and-money economy.

(e) Finally, the social adjustment point of view has developed in recent decades. This is the recognition of the fact that the individual is affected by various conditions over which he has little or no control, that his successes and failures are directly dependent upon

[48] Cf. Jennings, H. S., "Biological Aspects of Charity," in *Intelligent Philanthropy* by Faris, E., Laune, Ferris, and Todd, Arthur, pp. 270-298.

[49] Thompson, Warren S., *Population Problems,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1930, p. 257.

his adjustment to the culture and social organization of his time, and that, under rising standards of civilization and depersonalized conditions, the number of individuals falling below these standards tends to increase. Competitive ability depends not merely on capital reserves, capacities, training, and moral standards, but also on personality—the conception a person holds of himself, and the rôle he is willing to adopt in his group or social world. The attitude of dependency is therefore a complex product, and is often handed on for generations in a family, as is shown by intensive studies of pauper families. One investigation of five generations of a family of beggars indicates that there were, in the first generation, certain handicaps which the children acquired in the dependency situation, making it difficult for them, as adults, to succeed in economic competition. In the second and other succeeding generations this took the form of a lack of education and of vocational training. These handicaps were intensified when the dependent families changed their residence to the city, where the aid of the kinship group was lacking. When the traditions concerning begging and pauperism had once been developed, they were passed on through successive generations.[50] Poverty may thus be only one symptom of faulty adjustment to the personal-social and cultural environment. This point of view has led to the body of theories and methods embodied in professional social work. Because conditions usually cannot be changed suddenly, if at all, there must be individualized treatment in the attempt to meet the problem of the persons and families who fall into misfortune.

(2) SOCIAL CASE WORK and other forms of individualized treatment attempt to meet these problems in an enlightened way. Although there is full recognition of the need for general remedial measures, social case work proceeds from the premise that because the varied contributory conditions cannot be corrected at once, treatment of the unfortunate members must begin with the adjustment of these cases themselves.[51] This type of adjustment is illustrated by "institutional" placement, improvement of health, securing work, reuniting (or even, at times, separating) families, sup-

[50] Gilmore, Harlan W., "Five Generations of a Begging Family," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1932, vol. xxxvii, pp. 768-774.

[51] See Harper, E. B., "Shifting Emphasis in Case Work," *Social Forces*, 1930-1931, vol. ix, pp. 507-514.

plying vocational reeducation, removing the individual or family to a suitable location, etc.

Other phases of the treatment of the client pertain to the correction of "personality problems" or attitudes, especially those connected with his sense of defeat. Various means are used to help him function more successfully in the competitive and personal-social environment, such as securing his favorable adjustment to some suitable group, improving his self-respect, increasing his physical efficiency, and supplying counsel and plans of procedure. All such techniques rest on the assumption that anything which affects the efficiency of the individual or disturbs his life organization, may produce maladjustment and therefore require attention from professional social case workers. Material, medical, and psychiatric factors, therefore, constitute only a portion of the problem with which the case worker must deal; and they are often a result, as well as a cause, of social maladjustment.

These more enlightened points of view have led to the development of special agencies and methods of treatment for various types of cases, such as dependent children, mental defectives, the aged, the sick and the invalided, the unemployed, and other classes of underprivileged individuals, races, and communities. The complexity of the organizations designed to render such services and otherwise promote public welfare may be seen from the fact that in 1929 there were in this country 455 general professional welfare agencies operating on a national scale.[52] In addition, every state and municipality has various public welfare societies of a more or less professional character. These numerous agencies have gradually arisen as a substitute for the spontaneous care formerly given in the community and family. Thus neighborly assistance tends to be displaced by professionalized, and even commercialized, methods of philanthropy, with an accompanying improvement in efficiency and increase in cost.

This and the two preceding chapters have considered the action of one person or group on behalf of another. But one may also promote his own and another's interests simultaneously by cooperating for an end which embodies the objectives of both. This is illustrated by the economic enterprises promoted by partners and by the relations between employers and employees, as well as by

[52] Hall, Fred S., and Ellis, Mabel B., *Social Work Year Book,* Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1930, pp. 5-6, 19-22.

collective recreation, and the maintenance of schools, churches, etc. These and other similar enterprises involve action *with* other persons, as well as direct and indirect efforts on their behalf, as we have now seen. Because the objectives of two or more people are included in the joint effort, there is a likelihood that opposition and aid may exist side by side, and consequently this type of social relationship needs to be considered in more detail. The next four chapters deal with this competitive cooperation and with the social structures involved in such a balancing of these associative and dissociative tendencies. Chapters XIII and XIV are concerned with the functional pattern as represented by competitive cooperation, and Chapters XV and XVI give a brief analysis of the spatial pattern which may involve either the functional or the ranking relations, as already described briefly in Chapters II and III.

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# CHAPTER XIII

## Cooperation and the Organic Nature of Society

Like mutual aid and philanthropy, cooperation is both an indica-
tion, and a result, of the social structure. By cooperation we mean
any uniting of either similar or dissimilar efforts for the promotion
of like or common aims. However, such positive relations also per-
mit of competition, for although individuals unite to promote their
private interests they may disagree as to the distribution of the
product of their united efforts. This blending of positive and nega-
tive tendencies is known as competitive cooperation, and the two
phases may combine in varying proportions. Thus, at one extreme,
personal obligations predominate, and, at the other, competition is
uppermost and the relation is largely utilitarian.

The associative tendencies reflected in the union of efforts—the
functional pattern—are considered in the present chapter, and the
reverse side of this dual relation is given particular attention in the
following chapter. We shall consider here the main forms of coop-
eration, and the organic structure of the society implied therein.

### FORMS OF COOPERATION

As already stated in Chapter II, the interconnection between
functions or efforts is one of the chief phases of social relations.
Many acts presuppose other persons or reciprocation by them. For
example, the function of leading implies a following; conversation
implies an interlocutor; buying presupposes a seller; a courtesy
demands an acknowledgment; and, with the qualifications noted in
the discussion of mutual aid and philanthropy, the bestowal of
labor or other benefit is made possible by an equating according to
the established relations and the institutions of a given society.
While all of these reciprocations may be designated as cooperation,
we shall here consider especially the types of relations observable
in joint efforts for either a distributive or a corporate purpose,
whether this be utilitarian, religious, æsthetic, or political. The
coordinations of efforts may be definitely planned for the purpose

of producing the most efficient service, or they may result indirectly from the fact that one person produces goods or services which he exchanges for those produced by others. These methods of combining functions may be classed as (1) labor in common, and (2) integration of differentiated functions.[1]

(1) Labor in Common consists of similar efforts or functions which are guided by a common consent and a common purpose. It is a form of cooperation in which two or more persons combine to produce a distributive or a corporate result by either of two methods: first, companionable (fraternal) labor or, second, supplementary labor.

(a) *Companionable Labor* is the collective performance of labor which each could do for himself so far as the character of the task is concerned, but which he prefers to perform with others because of the pleasure or other benefits derived from the companionship. The rivalry, conversation or singing, or the derision of the inefficient and encouragement of the skilled and diligent may lead to better and more persistent efforts on the part of the workers.

So universal is this custom of companionable work in non-industrialized societies that we may suppose it to be a folk trait; for, prior to the machine age, it was practiced in all the modern nations, and it still survives in some places, where neighbors join efforts in working in rotation for different members of the circle. Familiar examples are found in the American "husking bees," "threshing rings," or "quilting parties," the workers going in turn to the home or farm of those associated in the work circle; other illustrations are groups of Indians tilling corn, Saxon field-workers, peasant women braking flax, neighbors in French communes digging potatoes or cutting hay, or whatever other pursuit may be found in a folk group.[2] The fraternal element in labor is suggested by the terms "bidden" and "invited" which are sometimes applied to this labor in common. The cooperative circles are based on congeniality and propinquity and, in turn, supply societal bonds.

(b) *Supplementary Labor.*—Cooperation may take the form of combining efforts for accomplishing tasks which may or may not be beyond the strength of one person but which in all events can be

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[1] For a different classification with a more restricted application, see Bücher, Carl, *op. cit.*, chaps. vii, viii; see also Marshall, Leon C., *Readings in Industrial Society,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1918, chap. iv.

[2] Kropotkin, Peter, *Mutual Aid,* p. 243.

done more efficiently or more quickly by joint effort. This supplementation consists in the union of *like* functions of the participants, although the functions are not necessarily of equal strength or capacity. Familiar examples of this type of labor in common are found in building construction, spinning, carpet or cloth making, sheep shearing, moving heavy objects, and planting, cultivating, or preserving harvests that require prompt disposition. The participants may apply their efforts either concurrently, as in lifting or tugging at a heavy object, or synchronously, as when two workmen alternate their strokes in driving a stake with sledges. These simultaneous or alternate efforts to accomplish the one task supply discipline and link the movements of each with those of other participants. Rhythmic counts, song, fife, and drumbeat may be used to synchronize the effort of the workers. Here, too, folk customs radiate an aura of sociability, emulation, and festivity, for usually the participants are already united by bonds of kinship or propinquity and neighborly relations. To this extent, "likemindedness" precedes cooperation; and, conversely, where such cooperation exists, "consciousness of kind" necessarily follows.

(2) THE INTEGRATION OF DIFFERENTIATED FUNCTIONS is the combination of unlike efforts either by a common purpose or by the direction of an official who may be either self-appointed, as in the case of an employer of labor, or elected to his position, as, for instance, a public official, clergyman, etc. The integration of functions is, of course, the complement of their differentiation, for each fact implies the other—neither would have meaning without the other. Two forms of such differentiation are distinguishable, namely, division of labor and division of production or specialization. In each of these, cooperation consists of parceling out pieces of work which are complementary or organically related, rather than uniting on similar efforts or tasks in companionable or supplementary labor.

(a) *Division of Labor* is the simultaneous performance of several parts or phases of work, whereby the unlike functions are made to dovetail and complete one another. Simple forms of this cooperation are illustrated by the separation of tasks as between the cook and the waiter, the motorman and the conductor, the drummer and the piper, the judge and the clerk, the orchestral director and the players, the doctor and the nurse, the mower and the raker, the mason and the hod-carrier, the officers and the functionaries of an association, or the directors of ceremonies and the other partici-

pants. In smaller groups this organization of functions may be inconspicuous, although even here leadership, domination and subordination, division of function, and the allotment of duties based upon such factors as age, experience, physical strength, or prowess may arise spontaneously in the course of the collective action. An aggregate of even the most capable persons must delegate functions and provide points of relatively greater influence in order that it may act unitedly. For example, parliamentary assemblies have such functionaries as a presiding officer, secretary, sergeant-at-arms, doorkeeper, etc. Likewise, informal gatherings and other groups are differentiated, for they have leaders—persons with prestige—and a following. More complex forms of the division of labor are found in an educational organization, a city or a national government, a workshop or a factory.

(b) *Division of Production.*—There is a subdivision of labor not only within a firm but also between industrial plants and localities, between the farm and city, the manufacturer and merchandisers. This participation by industrially independent units has been called *division of production,* or specialization, in distinction to the subdivision of labor within a single factory. In a simpler social structure the raw materials are gathered, prepared for use, and consumed by members of the family, clan, or village community. On the very spot where less than a century ago early American settlers gathered hemp and flax from their own fields, separated the fiber, spun and wove it, and used it as finished cloth, cotton is now grown which is handled by different persons in all the various steps of cultivation, shipping, manufacturing, distribution and use.[3] Under present conditions, most products pass through a series of various trades in their course from the first stage as raw materials to their final usable form and their transportation and sale to the consumer. For example, timber is cut into lumber, shipped to a market, sold to building projects, constructed into a dwelling, painted and varnished, and thus the house is finally made ready for habitation; or, by a different route, the wood is made into vehicles, furniture, or any one of many other objects. When each of these steps is performed by a separate firm, such specialization divides the process laterally. On the other hand, specialization may take

[3] Mason, O. T., *Women's Share in Primitive Culture,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1894, pp. 147-148.

place longitudinally, in that one firm carries on all the steps neces-
sary for the production of some one or a few articles.

Specialization is also found in pursuits which are non-industrial,
as in the case of the division of the educational organization into
elementary schools, high schools, and colleges, or the assignment
of various duties to the home and church. Colleges or universities
specialize in a particular type of curriculum; and within them there
is division of labor among the departments and the staff members.
Other familiar examples are supplied by the specialization in the
medical, dental, and legal professions.

Such specialization makes it possible for each person to enjoy
more and better goods and services than he himself could produce;
further, it eliminates some duplication of effort, increases profes-
sional and mechanical efficiency within a narrow field, and makes
the tasks performed by the majority of workers simpler and easier
to learn.[4] But at the same time it deprives at least the mechanical
or industrial worker of the interest which the older handicrafts
supplied, for subdivided labor requires less skill than the old crafts-
manship did. However, it is incorrect to say that tasks are being
adjusted to limited human capacities, for the reverse is taking
place, in that habits and routine are adjusted to the machine. The
division of production necessitates a roundabout method of securing
necessities and thus lessens the enjoyment derived from work. This
is due to the fact that, in the main, effort is expended on some
small part of a vendable commodity, and that services or goods are
finally bought with the delayed money compensation, thereby in-
creasing impersonality and the likelihood of exploitation.

### DIFFERENTIATION OF FUNCTION AND THE
### ORGANIC NATURE OF SOCIETY

Such integrations of unlike functions and the resulting depend-
encies are a tangible criteria of the organic nature of society; for
whatever influences one part calls for readjustments in other parts,
and these are affected favorably or unfavorably, even without the
intention of the agents. But such results vary with the form of co-
operation. The type we call labor in common can exist only in
face-to-face groups, where prior sympathies are most likely to exist.

[4] Smith, Adam, *Wealth of Nations,* Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh, 1863,
p. 4.

Nevertheless, a division of labor offers a further reason for solidarity, namely, interdependency.

Even within the family some specialization is almost universal. While the division of labor between the young and the old is appreciably affected by comparative strength, the allotment of tasks to men and women is only partly based on such distinctions, some duties or privileges being reserved for one sex and others being assigned to both. This will be seen from the following casual examples which also show the corporate nature of a group within which such functional differentiation takes place.

There is no uniform division of labor between the sexes, even among societies which are at approximately the same stage of cultural development. Although there is a general tendency for men to assume those tasks which are most productive in securing the major part of the food supply, women, because a permanent abode is a more important consideration for them and their children, have been more interested in the occupations connected with the home.[5] In primitive society men assumed largely, or almost exclusively, such work as flint-chipping, smithing, weapon- and canoe-making, hunting the larger animals, herding, and dealing with other groups in trade and militant relations. In both the simpler and the more complex societies, women's labor has usually been more routine, and involved less tension, danger, and adventure—the gathering of fruits and seeds, and, with some exceptions, making pottery, grinding, cooking, and weaving. In some groups women care for the domestic animals, but in others men assume these duties. The same variations also exist in regard to building houses and granaries, weaving, dressing skins, pottery making, tattooing (as a profession), building fish-ponds, planting, harvesting, and baking.[6]

In many of these occupations the efforts of men and women were supplementary. Even where a fairly rigid demarcation of occupations prevailed, nothing, according to Mason,[7] was more common than for the members of each sex to lend a helping hand in bearing the burdens of life. Although men were hunters and fishers, the women often went along; and although women were usually the spinners and weavers, men sometimes assisted in this work. When

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[5] Thomas, W. I., *Sex and Society,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1907, pp. 134-135.

[6] Mason, O. T., *Women's Share in Primitive Culture,* pp. 139 ff., 195.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 10.

the advance was made from hunting to the domestication and rais-
ing of cattle, men attended to the herds; but later, when this again
became a secondary occupation because of the growth of agriculture
or industry, it was allotted to the women.[8] In like manner, when
agriculture developed from the vegetable- and seed-gathering stage
into systematic cultivation, men assumed the major rôle in it and
applied the organizing techniques they had acquired in hunting and
warfare. Men have likewise standardized modern industries which
are, for the most part, the linear descendants of primitive women's
functions. But here, again, women developed subsidiary means of
cooperation, either by contributing foods and materials or by
working over and refining the products secured by the men. For
example, in our diversified farming areas women and children are
usually held responsible for the dairy and poultry chores, whereas
when dairying or poultry raising is the chief industry, these chores
are assumed by the men. However, women have continued to share
in men's occupations in various ways and degrees, as is seen by the
fact that among the peasants of most countries women work regu-
larly in the fields; furthermore, when the ancient supplementary
occupations are shifted to the factory, women add to their own or
their family's support by following their former domestic occupa-
tions into the factory or entering any one of the many other spe-
cialized occupations.

Accordingly, it is erroneous to say that men "encroached" upon
women's vested interests or that the division of labor is dictated
by the "stronger" sex. Innate differences and the natural task of
bearing and caring for the young are instrumental in the assignment
of some functions; but a wide latitude is possible on the basis of
physical differences. Indeed, aside from a few tasks, there is no
obvious reason why the work should not have been assigned in
ways opposite to those actually obtaining in various groups. But
notwithstanding such a chance development of folkways, the fact
that women's work tended to be supplementary and complementary
implies that the division of labor, on the one hand, is dictated by
family solidarity and, on the other hand, produces interdependency
and supplies a functional organization of the group.

The same facts of interdependency, mutual influence, and func-
tional relations are found in all permanent groups. The larger the
group, the more elaborate must be the cooperation and the more

[8] Thomas, W. I., *Sex and Society*, p. 144.

varied, as a rule, is the division of labor. "A very large number of people can constitute a unity only [through an extensive] division of labor, not merely on the obvious grounds of economic technique but because this alone produces that interpenetration and interdependence of persons which puts each through innumerable intermediaries in combination with each, and without which a widely extended group would break apart on every occasion. Consequently, the more intimate the unity demanded . . . , the more exact must be the specialization of individuals in order that the individuals may be the more immediately responsible to the whole, and the whole may be dependent upon the individuals."[9]

Accordingly, societies may be characterized, among other ways, by the kind of functional relations prevailing between individuals. In this connection, Durkheim distinguishes between the "segmented" and the "organic" structures. By the first he means that each village, region, or other local area, or each larger family or kinship group performs all or most of the needful tasks and has little or no local specialization, each segment consequently being a repetition of all the others. Thus, China has hitherto been more segmented than organic because of the larger family system with its local settlement and solidarity, and the absence of efficient transportation which necessarily discourages a high degree of regional and class specialization. By an "organic" social structure Durkheim means that the parts are held together not only by such factors as racial or national sympathies and the other bonds arising from association and similarities of culture, but also—and primarily—by interdependence resulting from a division of labor and specialization by functional classes and localities.

Such specialized and correlative functions could not exist apart from each other or from exchange, which is thus a necessary precondition of this type of cooperation. Individuals who make nothing but shoes can subsist only if they can exchange labor in production for food, fuel, etc. The functions involved in the processes whereby people are clothed, sheltered, fed, educated, and socialized are parceled out; and each person, in a roundabout way, becomes dependent upon all the rest who are involved in producing goods of which he has need. In present-day society each one produces almost en-

[9] Simmel, Georg, "The Meaning of the Number of Members as Determining the Sociological Form of the Group," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1902-03, vol. viii, pp. 2-3.

tirely for others' consumption and in turn consumes almost exclusively what others have produced. Indeed, it might be said that everybody works for everybody else—the upper for the lower functional groups, and *vice versa*; the celebrated chemist in his laboratory for the miss who buys colored handkerchiefs, the workingman for everybody who consumes the goods he produces.[10] In such an organic structure each individual depends on more people, but he is less completely dependent on any one person or small group than he was in former times. As compared with the narrow circle within which his wants were circumscribed in a clan or village economy, the large area upon which he is now dependent is impersonal and non-sentimental; it is rather a circle of objective economic functions.[11]

In such a society workers or their functions are, at least in a mechanical sense, united by the commodity which passes through their hands, whether or not a large degree of consensus prevails. The integration of their efforts is brought about by the director of the enterprise, by civic or other functionaries, and by the trial and error procedure of all the participants in making adjustments to the situation as they comprehend it. Because each must rely on an exchange of goods or services, he must adjust himself to other persons, and, whether or not his own sentiments so dictate, he must work in conjunction with others without whom his efforts would be incomplete or even useless. Consequently the extent of interdependency is as wide as the market in which the goods so produced are exchanged; this may be local, national, or international.

Not only in economic matters but also in other respects, people are now webbed together by a network of activities. This is readily seen when we recall the vast complex of special interest groups and agencies of various kinds—religious, economic, educational, recreational—which are found in every community and nation (see Chapters III, X, and XII). The circle, however large or small, within which such a chain of reciprocities exists, constitutes a society, the extent of which tends to vary with the existing state of communication (Chapter IX). In this sense, society, as various writers have impressed upon us, is in reality organic, each part being related to

[10] Altman, S. P., "Simmel's Philosophy of Money," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1903-1904, vol. ix, pp. 48-67.

[11] Spykman, Nicholas J., *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925, p. 221.

the whole, and the function of each, however differentiated, being interrelated.[12]

The organic nature of society is also shown by the fact that even exploitation requires the tacit cooperation of the victim whose dependency compels the continuation of the relationship. Because of this same interdependency, one cooperator may coerce another by withholding his labor, commodities, or services. This is illustrated by labor strikes and the various non-participation movements, such as those in India, Egypt, and, formerly, in Australia, where opposition against the British government was expressed by a refusal to participate in political and legal duties and privileges. Furthermore, the organic nature of society may be seen by the fact that disturbances send activating or depressive stimuli throughout the entire fabric; and also by the fact that these results are subject to manipulation, as in monopoly control and corrupt practices on the stock exchange whereby the majority are put at the mercy of a few.

From these comments it is clear that the organization of society does not imply equal reciprocities or even equality of the agents concerned. On the other hand, it is not true that "inequality is the very precondition of organization and progressive adjustment,"[13] except as inequality may be produced by the organization itself. The organization comprises whatever differences there may be among the subjects (see Chapter I) and, in turn, helps to make them what they are. The assignment of functions is made on the basis of the existing skills, attitudes, and culture. The quest for individual advantages gradually leads to specialization and organization of effort wherein dependencies and consensus operate in varying degrees. Even the idea of collective welfare is a factor in the allotment of functions, especially in the smaller groups. Therefore, while recognizing the great significance of the functional relations, we must concede that it is not merely the division of labor and the resulting interdependency which characterize human society, but rather the mores, institutions, and public opinion which are superimposed upon and arise out of the functional dependencies. Although, on the one hand, an exchange organization produces cooperation between persons who are not necessarily in sympathy

[12] Cf. Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization, passim;* Hobhouse, L. T., *Social Development,* p. 61; Ginsberg, Morris, *The Psychology of Society,* Methuen and Company, London, 1917, p. 118.

[13] Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *op cit.,* vol. i, p. 141.

with one another, on the other hand, the resulting dependency does tend to produce consensus and fellow feeling.

But cooperativeness or the reverse may also be established as a culture trait. An indication of this is supplied by the fact that groups differ greatly in their attitudes, especially in those toward direct cooperation. For example, it is said that the Akamba are unable to follow a chief or to cooperate in opposing an enemy,[14] and that other primitive people prize their independence too highly to accept the European custom of working together in great numbers. Among some modern peoples, also, effective cooperation extends scarcely beyond their immediate kindred. The Japanese, on the other hand, have been subjected to centuries of team work under feudal discipline, and this has secured for them outstanding success in various cooperative guilds and other organizations. A tendency exists among all the more advanced peoples for functions which were formerly carried on by voluntary efforts to devolve upon the state thus greatly extending the organic societal structure.

Cooperation may therefore be said to be the *sine qua non* of society. Its range "indicates the extent of a society and where cooperation ends, there is the boundary of a society";[15] and its character is an index of the quality of the given social organization. Although few political measures are used to compel cooperation, controls of various kinds are invoked in attempts to restrain the dissociative phase of competitive cooperation, as we shall see in the next chapter.

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[14] Dundas, Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 487-488.
[15] Pepper, Stephen C., "The Boundaries of Society," *International Journal of Ethics*, 1922, vol. xxxii, p. 423.

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CHAPTER XIV

# Competitive Cooperation

Cooperation and competition are involved simultaneously and in
varying degrees in most social situations. The form of each affects
the other, and both are subject to rules of custom and, at times, to
legal restraints. But because competition involves a conflict of inter-
ests, it presents unique problems of social control in maintaining
equitable cooperative relations. Only seldom does competition take
place entirely outside of the moral order, for it is usually limited,
at least to some degree, by customs, opinions, and interdependence
between the competitors. Consequently, as we saw in the foregoing
chapter, impersonal relations between people performing unlike
functions are usually of the sort known as competitive cooperation.

COMPETITION AND DEPERSONALIZED RELATIONS

The terms rivalry, competition, and bargaining are frequently
used interchangeably, but they represent somewhat different types
of social relations. We shall use rivalry to refer to conflict which
is subordinated to the welfare of a group, and designed to win
recognized superiority with reference to any criterion of rank.[1]
Competition is sometimes used in this same sense; but in addition
it pertains to the struggle for subsistence or for some object or
advantage which another is also bent on obtaining. This objective
may be, first, to procure food or other essentials of life or to win
control over the means of obtaining them (the so-called struggle for
existence, to be discussed in Chapter XV); or, second, to gain
advantages over another individual or group. The latter also pre-
sents two forms of relations between the subjects: the higgling or
bargaining between them and the simultaneous offering by them of
like or alternate goods or services to a third party or to a public.

Bargaining supplies an excellent example of the way positive and
negative tendencies may operate in a single social situation; for in
it the antithetical interests of buyer and seller, employer and em-

[1] See chap. iii.

ployee, borrower and lender, lessor and lessee, etc., are adjusted. Each wants the best terms he can secure—at least within the range of customary rules—but in a limited market he dares not press his bargaining to the point where the negotiations will be discontinued, with the resulting disadvantages or even deprivations. The second situation—that in which there are simultaneous offerings of like or alternate wares, services, or favors to a third party or parties—is the more typical of the aspects of competition in our modern exchange economy, and important social problems arise from such relations. On the one hand, this antagonism of interest frequently leads to overt conflict; on the other, competitors may combine or otherwise agree to terminate their competition, as, for instance, in combinations to control prices.

The fact that the competitors may be, and often are, unaware of one another is an example of the depersonalized relations obtaining in modern society. In bargaining, the relative skill of the parties concerned may determine the terms of a transaction; but in competition carried on through the impersonal market, the outcome cannot necessarily or usually be assigned to differences in individual resourcefulness. This is true whether the pressure is exerted through secret agreements and rate fixing and covert propaganda to discredit an opponent, or through normal competition for a market by rival wares or labor. A few examples of this covert conflict of interests may be cited. The Kansas wheat grower is not aware of the efforts of Argentine farmers to sell their wheat on the world market, but the effect is transmitted to him and, at least theoretically, an antagonism of interest obtains between the two. The extension of railways into the states west of the Mississippi and the development of wheat production in these areas during the latter decades of the past century brought hardships to the farmers in Europe. In the early modern era the discovery of new water routes to the orient, together with the invention of the mariner's compass and improved means of ocean travel, shunted commerce from the Italian ports and the towns on German waterways. The power of Venice and Genoa began to decline, while Spain and, later, England, became the chief intermediaries in international trade. Similarly, the change from wagon haul to steam and electric railways and the automobile has brought about a redistribution of the population and favored the city at the expense of the hamlet. During the past few decades the increased use of oil for ocean navigation and the introduction

of machine methods in American mines have affected the well-being of English miners.[2] The opening of the Chicago drainage canal, by permanently flooding the low land, brought losses to the people along the Illinois River.

Workers are often thrown out of employment by the introduction of labor-saving machinery, as occurred during the Industrial Revolution in western Europe. In 1883 Tokio runners were without work because a horse-car line was established.[3] The development of industrialism and of cities attracts young people who have been reared and educated through the effort of farmers and villagers. The city reaps the benefit and its political dominance is increased at the expense of the rural population. Such processes tend to run their course without regard to the people who are adversely affected.

While direct bargaining tends to be conducted in a depersonalized manner, especially when the parties are strangers, the market-mediated pressure is *per se* and unavoidably impersonal, the wants and sentiments of the competitors usually being excluded from consideration. For a portion of the population, necessities are a persistent goad to acquisitiveness, and accordingly the "gain motive" counts heavily. R. T. Ely's statement applies in an economic organization based on a division of labor and exchange: "The kind of competition which is distinctive of the present economic order is the all-pervading endeavor to obtain the largest possible amount of wealth."[4] The pecuniary motto: "To trade with men and to outwit them; to make them think he means one thing when he meant another; to mine and undermine, to add always to his store . . ." applies especially to such depersonalized situations.[5]

Indeed, competition is often successful to the extent that it eliminates personal considerations. After the abolition of feudalism in Japan, all but a very few of the Samurai who entered business failed because they tried to apply Bushido ethics to business and therefore could not compete successfully with their artful plebeian rivals. Analogous situations might be found in our own culture. The

[2] Lubin, Isador, and Everett, Helen, *The British Coal Dilemma*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, pp. 226 ff.

[3] Kawamura, Tadao, *Class Conflict in Japan*, unpublished doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1928.

[4] Ely, R. T., *Outlines of Economics*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926, p. 23.

[5] Russell, C. E., *Stories of the Great Railroads*, C. H. Kerr and Company, Chicago, 1914, p. 109.

"local" or "neighborhood" grocery which conducts its business partly on a personal basis by "carrying" credit accounts for persons in financial straits has been undercut by the chain store which buys more advantageously and ignores these personal elements. Corporations with large capital and centralized management have been able to crowd out the smaller concerns which were prevalent until four or five decades ago, partly because they disregard values which are not recorded in ledgers and pick only "good risks." A corporation is said to be heartless because it overrides sentiments and ignores personal values, just as the consumer is largely indifferent about the effect of his quest for the cheapest market.

These practices are supported by the sayings invented to justify existing practices: "Business rests on free choice," and "One must not mix business with sentiment." The phrase, "hiring hands," implies a depersonalized or utilitarian point of view applied to the laborer, just as slaves might be loaned out or the owner of a domestic animal might receive hire for its use. Individuals may be regarded as tools or as a means of accomplishing chosen ends. Because, or to the extent that, an individual engaged in supplying commodities is valued impersonally as an instrument, the public's interest in him is founded upon the desire for his commodities, and not upon any concern for his rights, wages, or working conditions.

When the stronger competitor imposes conditions of work or wages which are below the standards current in the market or which offend public sentiment, we call it exploitation. Ross defines exploitation as "the regular profiting of one element in society at the expense of other elements which would be abolished if the elements came to be equal in power."[6] This is epitomized by the Japanese aphorism that "the more one squeezes singili-oil seeds and the farmer, the more profit comes out." Friction and acrimony develop readily at the various bargaining points: workers against bosses, buyers against sellers, growers against distributors, and the reverse. On the other hand, a fatalistic or even a gaming attitude may be maintained toward such depersonalized competition. Those who have a surplus or a fair chance of profiting by this competition may make a game of it, eulogizing or regarding it as indifferently as they do the weather; and to that extent the outcome is accepted as final, even if not pleasant. In general, comparatively little hos-

[6] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology,* The Century Company, New York, 1931, p. 131.

tility or animus is aroused over failure or hard conditions as long as the "rules of the game" are observed and the outcome does not rest on the arbitrary and apparently biased decision of one individual, or on underhand methods.

### COMPETITION AND CONSENSUS

Although competition is a universal fact of nature, the struggle is not absolute except in the plant community, where neither sense of weal nor other norms of behavior effect the reactions of the plant in its reach for nutriment and room. Mutualism between plants is not designed or expected as a right or duty. But among the higher animals, instincts or habits put restrictions upon the struggle as, for instance, in parental behavior. Under all ordinary circumstances, the food and gain quest of human beings is essentially different from the struggle for existence among plants and animals. Competition for the market "is a struggle so ordered that outside parties reap a benefit instead of suffering an injury."[7] Moreover, because sentiments and standards of fair play are involved, competition is more or less subjected to control, at least in minor respects; on occasion, the sentiments of the public are aroused, and at such times an ethical point of view is applied, at least momentarily. Therefore, competition is restricted at some points by (1) personal relations, (2) "customs of the trade," and (3) positive laws.

(1) PERSONAL RELATIONS limit competition because concessions or preferences are shown toward the in-group associates, such as kinsmen, or members of the same race, nationality, or creed. The employer makes distinctions between his own and other people's children in the conditions of work imposed. Adulterated food and medicine and shoddy wares are intended for strangers, not for members of one's own family. Although with the passing of the simpler community, market techniques are permissible between neighbors[8] the attitude still holds that it is not creditable to drive a sharp bargain with a close relative or a dependent.[9]

In general, it may be said that when dealings are long continued and involve direct contacts, understanding, even if not sympathy,

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[7] Hadley, A. T., *Freedom and Responsibility*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1903, p. 122.

[8] Cf. chaps. x, xi.

[9] Maine, Sir Henry, *Village Communities in the East and West*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1889, pp. 196-197.

tends to develop. "To succeed," Cooley says, "one must under-
stand opposing forces, and understanding is the beginning of sym-
pathy. Your competitor is one upon whom you must count, a factor
in your life; unconsciously your imagination occupies itself with
him, trying to make out his purposes and methods, interpreting his
thoughts from his words and actions. If he turns out to be a person
of your own sort, with desires, attachments, standards, powers that
you can appreciate, you will respect and perhaps admire him, no
matter how much he may hinder you." [10]

However, even though a person is sympathetic toward others,
he may be prevented from regularly making business concessions
to them because of the competitive forces which are beyond his
control. Aside from personal inclinations, an employer is, in the
main, prevented from paying higher wages than his competitors do,
except as he has special advantages in production and marketing,
for otherwise an attempt to permit personal considerations to
enter wages and prices might force him to operate at a loss and to
close his business.

(2) CUSTOMS OF THE TRADE and standards of fair play likewise
tend to limit the rigors of impersonal competitive dealings, or at
least to supply standards. A few of the practices regarded as unfair
are: pace-making to speed up the workers and curry the employer's
favor, scabbing against strikers, nepotism (in political office), ex-
ploitation, price wars, combination, restraint of trade, and the use
of irrelevant tests in patronage or promotion (for example, the
appointment of officials on the basis of partisan politics rather than
their special preparation for the office).

Within such groups as trade unions and professional associations,
both implicit and verbalized rules develop, and "professional ethics"
supply norms of competition between members. Thus, the profes-
sions requiring the highest training refuse to advertise but permit
the use of "business cards." Japanese jinrikisha runners recently
would not permit one runner to pass another who was traveling
in the same direction,[11] thus protecting the older men from elimina-
tion from their work and preventing the pace-setting so familiar
to workers in American industries. Some of these regulations, how-
ever, provide the means of uniting against patrons by raising fees

[10] Cooley, Charles H., "Personal Competition," *Handbook of the American Eco-
nomics Association,* 1899, vol. iv, p. 149.

[11] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology,* p. 172.

—even cooperation, it is sometimes said, is a form of competition in that it supplies a more effective means of opposition against outsiders.[12]

Public opinion and the more stable mores supply at least latent standards which are occasionally organized in expressible forms, as in the objection to the importation of contract labor, the insistence on the union label, and other guarantees of "fair dealings." Although these efforts are usually confined to "sympathizers" and other informed persons, they suggest that the personal point of view can, in a modified form, be extended to wider relations. This is especially likely to be the case when competition gives way to open conflict, as in strikes by exploited and harassed workers. American ethics hold that, notwithstanding the prevalent bribe to low standards of conduct created by competition as disclosed by the many forms of adulteration, corruption, and exploitation, the advantages attaching to business integrity outweigh the temporary gain from deception, and further, that "on the whole, admitting what exceptions you please, right is more successful under actual conditions than wrong."[13] This type of control over competition is based on the premise that "honesty is the best policy," but it does not substitute the sympathetic for the utilitarian point of view. In reality, it presupposes the possibility of basing control not on sympathy, but on the interdependency between the competitors, and this (as in buying and selling to regular patrons) requires that confidence be maintained. In such situations "good will" is important; but keen wants and an ignorance of standards and of the customs of the trade invite exploitation. Deception may be successful in a highly mobile and changing population, because customers come but once.

(3) LEGAL REGULATIONS represent a cultural or moral order which is constantly endeavoring, with varying degrees of success, to impose itself upon the competitive process. This is especially true because obligation to the community is becoming articulate and the dependence upon international trade is making control desirable in the interest of peace. Although competition is relatively "free" at the frontiers of contact between autonomous groups or racial strangers, it is, in the long run, subjected to restraints and

[12] Carver, T. N., *Essays on Social Justice*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1915, p. 105.
[13] Cooley, Charles H., "Personal Competition," p. 132.

rules such as those found in agreements and treaties. Within a nation or other political unit the laws attempt to limit the severity of competition, partly in the interest of competition itself (for unless it is regulated it destroys itself by eliminating all but a few rivals who then combine to escape mutual destruction), and partly in the interest of those values which cannot be stated in terms of profit and loss, such as safeguarding the health of the worker and consumer. However, effective regulation is confronted by many obstacles. For example, most often laws merely forbid certain acts, for they cannot so readily enforce the assumption of various risks —although they can prescribe a minimum wage for women, they clearly cannot compel their employment. Laws are often unenforceable; at other times they may be turned to unexpected use, as in the application of the Anti-Trust Act against the workers, rather than against the trusts.[14] Competing groups introduce new difficulties when they attain great power and permanence for, like the corporation, they easily evade responsibility. They are described by one writer as "gigantic, unmoral creatures, controlled, if at all, rather by the primitive fear of retaliation than [by] anything else."[15] As members of corporations, legislatures, or parties, men will share in doing things which they would not do if they personally were held responsible.

### BY-PRODUCTS OF COMPETITION

Like cooperation, competition has various incidental results, chief among which are: (1) the distribution of population, (2) vocational specialization and selection, and (3) social differentiation. However, these results cannot be ascribed solely to competition, for rivalry and various cultural factors are also involved.

(1) POPULATION DISTRIBUTION.—The larger the population within a given sustenance area, the more intense is the competition. But only in the earliest stages of civilization are human beings dependent on uncontrolled natural forces. Through improved methods of agriculture or other arts and the limitation of their own numbers, they usually avoid the literal struggle for subsistence, and they may even maintain the most advantageous ratio between numbers and food supply. In the words of Sumner and Keller, "This

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[14] Berman, Edward, *Labor and the Sherman Act,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1930, p. 68, and *passim.*
[15] Cooley, Charles H., "Personal Competition," p. 113.

means, primarily, that they will not propagate beyond the capacity of the environment, on their stage of the arts, to support them according to their customary notion of what satisfactory living is. Population increases to the end of the resources, but the point at which the end of the resources is conceived to be reached is determined by the standards of living."[16]

While a direct struggle for the means of subsistence occasionally comes into actual operation, on the whole it is relatively rare in modern societies, where competition (with the exceptions already noted) is concerned largely with maintaining or improving the standard of living, the latter being affected not only by natural resources[17] but also by the comparative rate of population growth. The birth rate varies with the standard of living and the customs of regulating the size of the family.[18] At present, the higher-income groups usually, although not uniformly, have the smaller families —that is, the professional classes as compared with the less skilled laborers; the urban as compared with the rural population, and the native-born as compared with various immigrant groups. While the low-income classes usually have a relatively higher birth rate,[19] this condition is at times reversed, as is illustrated by the upper classes of Stockholm, the most successful graduates of Yale and Harvard, and the upper strata of civil service employees in Zurich and in France. While the variations in the birth rate cannot be said to be due to the unequal intensity of competition alone, the relative rate of increase in numbers (barring differences in the death rate which usually varies directly with the birth rate) is a factor in determining the intensity of competition and in deciding who shall eventually occupy the earth. The Slavs of central Europe have a natural increase which will double their number in thirty-five years, and the Japanese have accomplished a similar result in the past sixty years. However, it is the ratio of people to opportunities, rather than the mere rate of increase, which intensifies competition.

Since different areas of the earth offer unequal opportunities for

[16] Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 71.

[17] Duncan, H. G., *Race and Population Problems*, Longmans, Green & Company, New York, 1930, pp. 354-384.

[18] Hiller, E. T., "A Culture Theory of Population Trends," *Journal of Political Economy*, October, 1930, vol. xxxviii, pp. 523-550.

[19] Duncan, H. G., *op. cit.*, pp. 312-331; Thompson, W. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 354-372; Woolston, H. B., "American City Birth Rates," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1925, vol. xx, pp. 103-112.

a livelihood, competition in securing the more desirable localities and occupations is an important factor in migrations—international, interstate, and rural-urban. Ratzel considered "the historical movement of peoples" as the struggle for area. In an industrial society, competition takes place for favorable trade sites and remunerative work.[20] Thus, under all forms of social organization, an inequality of opportunities is a persistent inducement to migration, the other causes, such as inquisition, political oppression, etc., being more intermittent and occasional. The growth of a new industry means a redistribution of the population in the areas affected—for example, the textile industry led to the concentration of people in some centers in the east; lumber, iron, and steel manufacturing resulted in a corresponding growth of other sections, just as the motion-picture industry induced many to settle in Southern California.[21]

Because of the mobility of people and, in special instances, because of varying birth and death rates, the population is unequally distributed. As long as this inequality continues, it will tend to produce at least two results: first, it will help to equalize the standard of living in the sections involved, and, second, a selection of population will take place. Since the younger adults and the male element of the population are most mobile, the areas of immigration, except in "residential" towns, contain a large proportion of young persons and of men. For instance, in 1880, Vermont had a lower ratio of people 20 to 39 years of age than did the State of Washington, the percentages being 29.4 and 35.4, respectively. The percentages in the age-group over 50 were, respectively, 19.8 and 9.4. At the present time the age and sex composition of the two areas are nearly equal. In 1880, Italy had 100.5 males to 100 females; and in 1920, 97.3. The proportion for Sweden was 94.2 in 1880 and 96.4 in 1920.[22] New industrial regions are especially likely to be characterized by variations from the normal age and sex composition, the disparity decreasing as the section becomes more self-sufficient. Smaller localities, such as new industrial centers, and especially cities whose chief industry is extractive, show even wider discrepancies in their population pyramids—the ratio of the

[20] Thomas, F., *op. cit.*, p. 139.
[21] Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *The City*, p. 70.
[22] Thompson, Warren S., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

sexes and of different age-groups.[23] Accordingly, the areas of immigration prosper inasmuch as they have a larger per capita earning power, their organizations flourish through the addition of new members, and business booms because of the growing demand for goods and housing. In turn, the intensity of competition is increased in these localities, as is indicated by the brisk, feverish tempo and the rapid rise and fall of private fortunes. The areas of emigration suffer to a corresponding degree.[24] Migrations are thus both a cause and a result of competition, irrespective of the quality of the migrants.

If competition operates in distributing people and industries over the face of the earth, it has a similar effect within a local community where the same factors are at work. Because some locations offer greater advantages, the bargaining and struggle to secure them for residence or factory and mercantile uses, raises land prices and rent. Those who succeed economically move into the more desirable residence areas, and spatial differentiation along economic lines takes place. Exclusive clubs, restaurants, and resorts likewise select by elimination; price barriers produce discrimination similar to the ancient objection to eating with publicans and sinners, except that the agent of selection is now the financial outcome of competition. Therefore, while societal factors determine the esteem attached to a locality, the competitive processes, together with race and class prejudice, determine who may move into it.

(2) COMPETITION PROMPTS SPECIALIZATION as a means of gaining temporary advantages, and it also serves as a selective factor in distributing people vocationally. In a society in which occupations are not generally hereditary and other methods of assignment to position are absent, this must rest on chance or on the outcome of individual effort. The rapidly increasing division of labor gives scope to wider ranges of capabilities, but increases the stress in selecting a career, for individuals do not know what they are best suited to do and no one can unerringly tell them—they can determine this only through a process of trial and error. A considerable percentage of even college graduates discard their specialized training to enter other vocations.

Such a method of selection obviously leaves much to be desired,

[23] See Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 3-57.
[24] Melvin, Bruce L., "Age and Sex Distribution in Relation to Rural Behavior," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1928, vol. xxiii, pp. 93-103.

for it produces waste, displaces individuals through no shortcomings of their own, and permits misfits to retain their positions under protected circumstances. An element of chance—the proximity to opportunities, incidental suggestions, the models supplied by acquaintances, etc.—rather than the possession of special capacities may determine assignment to a vocation; and forces beyond the individual's control, such as change in tastes, a depression, or the introduction of new machinery, may have a bearing upon his permanence in a vocation. Success or failure, therefore, gives no specific indication of ability in general nor of the person's usefulness to society; it merely records the results of this selective process under the given circumstances.

In spite of its defects, competition assigns individuals to positions as effectively as did the hereditary system which prevailed in western civilizations until a few centuries ago, and which still persists to some extent in portions of the old world and the orient. Furthermore, a more rational method of selection is beset by many difficulties. In the first place, there is no generally accepted criterion as to what traits will succeed or fail. Secondly, there is no visible external sign which unerringly indicates the qualities a person possesses. Thirdly, even if there were such criteria, their practical application would be difficult in so far as individual preferences would be ignored.

(3) COMPETITION AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION.—The individual's attainments are rated according to the standards of success prevailing in his group, for every society has its unique scale of values and symbols of achievement. This may be seen by the following description contrasting such objectives in two cultures.

> The net result [of a commercial expedition by the Melanesians of New Guinea] will be the acquisition of a few dirty, greasy, and insignificant-looking native trinkets, each of them a string of flat, partly discoloured, partly raspberry-pink or brick-red discs, threaded one behind the other into a long cylindrical roll. In the eyes of the natives, however, this result receives its meaning from the social forces of tradition and customs, which give the imprint of value to these objects, and surround them with a halo of romance. It seems fit here . . . to attempt to grasp its real significance.
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> It may help us toward this understanding to reflect, that not far from these scenes of the Kula, large numbers of white adven-

turers have toiled and suffered, and many of them [have] given
their lives in order to acquire what to the natives would appear
as insignificant and filthy, as their bagi do to us. . . . In the
Trobriand Lagoon there are found valuable pearls. In olden days,
when natives on opening a shell to eat it, found a *waytuna* as they
called it, a "seed" of the pearl shell, they would throw it to their
children to play with. Now they see a number of white men strain-
ing all their forces in competition to acquire as many of these
worthless things as they can. The parallel is very close. In both
cases the conventionalized value attached to an object carries with
it power, renown, and the pleasure of increasing them both. In the
case of the white man, this is more complex and indirect, but not
essentially different from that of the natives.[25]

When the primary object of subsistence is secured and a surplus
remains, success begins to take on a symbolic character. The objec-
tive comes to be more and more that of producing some effect on
others—to secure respect, honor, power, or reputation for benef-
icence. Thus, display which secures prestige tends to consume the
wealth attained in competition, as is suggested by the time-honored
maxim, "It is three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves."
But wealth is also a symbol of the advantages into which it is con-
vertible. The contempt which rich and successful men sometimes
show for the "moral sentiments of the people" is, in reality, a con-
formity to the approbation which their own circle or even the
majority bestow on wealth as a symbol of success.

Other societal facts, such as the degree of personal liberty and
the rate of social change, also have a bearing on the comparative
elevation or depression of individuals, that is, on social differentia-
tion.[26] Democracy and personal freedom permit, or rather compel,
the individual to determine his own position; a hereditary caste
system determines it for him. The freer the individual to choose
and the wider the range of choice, the more active must be the
process of assigning him a place. This may be seen by the in-
tensity and rapidity of "vertical mobility" in societies with open,
as opposed to closed, class systems. Whereas in oriental countries,
notably India, the majority of people remain in the same occupa-
tions as their parents, in America this is rarely true of 50 per

[25] Adapted from Malinowski, Bronislaw, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 351.
[26] Cooley, Charles H., "Personal Competition," pp. 86-90; Ross, E. A., "The
Passing of the German Middle Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1924, vol.
xxix, pp. 529-538.

cent in non-professional vocations. In 1909, 90 per cent of the state governors and 70 per cent of the United States senators were the sons of farmers or others of similar economic status.[27] In general, vocational inheritance ranges from 20 to 60 per cent; but it is even less in some occupational groups, and, according to various detailed studies, it is still decreasing.[28]

A limited, non-representative sample of changes in occupational status is supplied by the fact that about 48 per cent of the presidents of the United States came from poor families, while 38.8 per cent of the captains of industry and finance in the past generation rose from lower familial economic ranks. A similar vertical mobility has occurred in other open societies, as, for example, among the Franks where, during the Merovingian rule, even the highest ranks of the nobility were open to anyone having the requisite energy or ability. An analogous shifting from one rank to another has occurred in present-day Japan, many of the fifteen premiers in the past half-century being children of poor parents.[29] For example, one of these men toiled in America as a farmer and a domestic servant; the father of another was a porter. Other data of a similar nature are supplied by statistics of shifts in the occupations of American immigrants. The study made by the Immigration Commission in 1910 showed that the leading occupation of 1,812 immigrant heads of families was that of "laborer," and that "driver" and "teamster" held second place. On the other hand, only 4.2 per cent of immigrant children were engaged in general labor, the most popular occupations being manufacturing and mechanical pursuits (50.4 per cent), trade (18.1 per cent), and transportation (15.1 per cent).[30] In 1920, these children of foreign-born and mixed parentage stood still higher in the occupational scale; for in manufacture, transportation, trade, public service, and professional service they constituted, respectively, 22.5, 20.7, 24.4, 24.1, and 22.8 per cent of the gainfully employed persons.[31] Although corresponding data are

[27] Spillman, W. S., "The Country Boy," *Science*, September 24, 1909, pp. 405-407.
[28] Sorokin, P. A., *Social Mobility*, p. 419; "Changes in Occupation and Economic Status of Several Hundreds of American Families during Four Generations," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1925, vol. xx, pp. 236-240.
[29] Beard, Miriam, *Realism in Romantic Japan*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930, p. 365.
[30] Cressey, Paul F., *The Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago*, unpublished doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930, pp. 192-194.
[31] Carpenter, Niles, *Immigrants and Their Children*, Census Monographs VII, 1920, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1927, p. 273.

not available for 1930, there are indications that this upward trend in the functional scale has continued, at least until the onset of the present economic depression. "This shifting and sorting process undermines old associations, takes individuals out of their inherited racial groups, breaks up families, loosens all ties, in fact."[32]

In seeking their own profit individuals are not led, as Adam Smith believed, by an invisible hand to promote the welfare of others, for injuries may result; neither is the opposite extreme usually true—that no good follows. But the myriad choices of people in the quest for utilities and status do nevertheless contribute to the formation of the reviewed aspects of society and changes in the social structure. The results are produced without prior design, for each is affected by his environment (the social organization) more than it is affected by him alone.

Although our discussion has referred mainly to individual competition, it is clear that organizations are likewise subjected to a selective process.[33] Competition and rivalry help to determine which cities, markets, churches, schools, lodges, and amusements shall survive, and the forms they shall assume. Accordingly, the life of an institution, like that of an individual, must be viewed from the standpoint of the interrelations of functions in the competitive cooperative social organism.

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[32] Park, R. E., "Sociology," p. 14.

[33] Shideler, E. H., *The Chain Store,* unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1927; Jameson, S. H., "Indices of Status among Social Welfare Organizations," *Social Forces,* 1931-1932, vol. x, pp. 550-556; *Status-gaining Behavior among Social Welfare Organizations,* unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1929. See also Vincent, G. E., "The Rivalry of Social Groups," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1910, vol. xvi, pp. 469-484.

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# THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

# CHAPTER XV

## The Ecological Organization of Society

Competitive cooperation, together with other associative and dissociative relations, involves a spatial, as well as a ranking and functional, plan or pattern of social organization. The spatial pattern consists of a localization of various functions, individuals, organizations, and groups with reference to one another. People not only live together; they also live apart[1] for reasons of convenience or prejudice. This relative position is the *locus* in social, as well as in geometric, space; for the community organization is partly an adjustment to the geographic resources (see the definition of competition in Chapter XIV), and partly the result of interdependence and attraction or repulsion between individuals or groups (see Chapters XIII and XVI).

The study of the adjustments whereby communities are formed and their parts arranged in space is known as human ecology. Haeckel defined general ecology as the study of the adjustment between organisms living in one locality and of their adaptations to their surroundings.[2] This twofold emphasis—the relations of individuals to their physical environment and to one another in the same habitat—is the subject matter of plant and animal ecology. It supplies a useful approach to the study of human society as well, for people must make some kind of adjustment to the terrain and to one another in respect to their spatial arrangements. "Human ecology is fundamentally interested in the effect of position . . . upon human institutions and human behavior. . . . These spatial relationships of human beings are the products of competition and selection, and are continuously in process of change as new factors enter to disturb the competitive relations or to facilitate mobility. . . . As these spatial relationships change, the physical basis of social relations is altered, thereby producing social and political

[1] Park, R. E., "The Concept of Position in Sociology," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1925, vol. xx, pp. 1-14.

[2] Haeckel, Ernst, *The History of Creation*, H. S. King and Company, London, 1876, vol. ii, p. 354.

problems." [8] However, the ecological aspect of society is not independent of the other aspects already reviewed; for it is but one phase of the functioning social organization which acquires also a spatial adjustment between its parts and between these and the natural environment.

We shall consider first the adjustments to the geographic environment (Chapter XV), and, second, the spatial framework of the community (Chapter XVI). Such a division of the subject matter of ecology does not overlook the fact that it is often impracticable to try to separate the cultural and the geographical elements, for both may be involved in determining the spatial structure of a society. Of the many aspects of these subjects, only those pertaining most directly to the question of social organization will be reviewed. In connection with the first of the two main topics we shall discuss the relation between the geographic environment and culture, and local specialization.

### GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND CULTURE

(1) GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS ARE PRECONDITIONS RATHER THAN SPECIFIC CAUSES OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA.—Every population is ultimately dependent upon a geographic environment for its means of subsistence. Were these means to fail, mankind would obviously cease to be. Furthermore, it is clear that the conditions of this environment make some activities, customs, institutions, and economic pursuits easier or more satisfying than others. These commonplace, yet important, facts have led some writers to ascribe an undue importance to the geographic environment as a determiner of cultural forms. Early writers—Montesquieu, Taine, Buckle, Ratzel, and others—as well as more recent writers, of whom Ellsworth Huntington is a representative, treat the geographic conditions too much as an independent cause of institutions and other social phenomena. The following statement by Miss Semple is characteristic of this implied geographic determinism:

> Geographic conditions influence the economic and social development of a people by the abundance, paucity, or general character of the natural resources, by the local ease or difficulty of securing the necessaries of life, and by the possibility of industry and commerce afforded by the environment. . . . These influences also

[8] McKenzie, R. D., "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," in *The City*, by Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., pp. 63-64.

permeate national life, determine or modify its social structure, condemn it to the dwarfing effects of national poverty, or open to it the cultural and political possibilities resident in national wealth.[4]

But because the same geographic environment may be associated with both wealth and poverty and with many unlike social and cultural facts, a favorable terrain cannot be supposed to be an independent and sufficient cause of national prosperity and cultural advancement, however clearly it is a necessary precondition for their existence. The geographic environment usually permits of alternate practices and adjustments; it is limiting and permissive rather than mandatory, and it is only one of several elements involved in social organization. Although some social and cultural facts depend on suitable material conditions, they do not necessarily appear whenever these conditions are present; and still other social facts are not in any pertinent sense referable to the geographic environment. Thus we must conclude, (a) that different social conditions may be associated with the same environment, and (b) that similar customs may be found in unlike environments.

(a) The first of these conclusions may be illustrated by comparing the practical arts and institutions found among the American Indians with those of the present inhabitants of the United States. Coal and iron deposits, waterfalls, fertile soil, and plants or animals mean very different things to people having different cultures.

The same principle is also seen from a comparison of the varied practices pertaining to architecture, recreation, religion, farming methods, etc., even now existing side by side in the United States. One of the so-called model communities of the present, located in the Piedmont region of Maryland, was in much the same state of ruin as the rest of the Tobacco Belt, when in 1840 some thrifty Quakers and a few college graduates moved into it. They built stone roads, established good schools, and were among the first in the country to install rural telephones.[5] That different societal conditions may be associated with the same environment is also illustrated by the fact that while islands or indented coast lines may

[4] Semple, Ellen Churchill, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1911, p. 43.

[5] Smith, Russell, *North America*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1925, pp. 194-195.

lead to maritime enterprise, this does not always follow under like geographic conditions. The development of maritime activities by England and Japan came relatively late in the history of these countries, and so may be attributed to various societal factors without which the favorable location would have had comparatively little, or at least unlike, influence upon navigation.

Equally great differences are found among preliterate people inhabiting the same or similar areas. The Eskimos build houses of snow; the Chukchi, another arctic people dwelling just across Bering Strait in an environment which is practically identical, rely on meager tents for shelter.[6] The Hopi Indians are strict monogamists, but their neighbors—the Navajos—are permissively polygamists; the Hopi men do the spinning and weaving, while among the Navajos, the women practice these arts. The Hopi ceremonies for rainmaking are used by the Navajos in curing sickness; the latter have a mother-in-law taboo, but the former regard this as a mere idiosyncrasy.[7]

Great differences in occupations are often found in the same environment, providing the habitat supplies the possibility of alternates. The choice between such alternates rests not on convenience alone, but also on complex bodies of beliefs and habits supplied by tradition. The physical environment merely provides the material; it does not determine which of the possible modes of livelihood or artistry will be followed, or whether a given material will be used at all. The presence of stone or timber makes possible the building of houses from these materials but does not determine the specific form of construction. The Hopi Indians build terraced sandstone houses, with rectangular cells, while the Navajos in the same district construct conical, earth-covered huts. Although the Hopi are skilled in pottery making, the Navajos made little progress in that craft. Marble is necessary for marble sculpture, but this art does not always develop where such material exists. Deposits of tin in Bolivia made possible the independent invention and use of bronze by the people of that region, but similar deposits in the Guianas, failed to produce the same results.[8] The iron ore which abounded in America was not used by the aborigines

[6] Goldenweiser, A. A., *op. cit.*, p. 295.

[7] Lowie, Robert H., *Culture and Ethnology*, pp. 50 ff.

[8] Dixon, Roland, *The Building of Cultures*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928, p. 17.

or by early settlers; only within the last century were the rich ore and coal deposits at Birmingham, Alabama, utilized extensively.[9] Some polar Eskimos do not hunt reindeer or fish for salmon, although these are abundant in the environment. On the other hand, the lack of material in a given locality does not preclude its use there if transportation has developed. Thus, the presence of any material is no guarantee that it will be used, or, if used, that it will be employed in an invariable manner.

The relative non-dependence of a specific culture trait upon the environment is also indicated by the fact that a technique or custom may develop where one least expects it. For example, some peoples are known to construct dwellings out of materials secured from a distance with great difficulty or cost, instead of utilizing those near at hand. Again, inhabitants of relatively cold climates do not always dwell in caves or build effective shelters, whereas others, even of the same race, who live in a milder climate may do so. These facts indicate that persons and groups with their cultural equipment, rather than the geographic environment, are the active agents. The same conclusions follow from the fact that an art may disappear in an environment where one would least expect it, as did canoe-making among certain island dwellers of Melanesia.[10]

(b) The second principle—that identical social traits may exist in dissimilar environments—although applicable to both the material and the non-material culture, is especially observable in the latter. According to Le Play, "Place determines work and work determines social organization." But there are, in fact, wide variations in the form of a given institution in similar environments, just as the same form obtains in very unlike environments. Although found in almost every society, the fundamental social structures—the state, the family, and the interest groupings—show great diversities of detail in similar geographic regions and close similarities in different and unlike regions. For example, some writers assert that large empires are characteristic of people who live in a plains region, as illustrated by the Russians and Arabs. But similar political forms are lacking in other plains regions, such as those of South America and Australia.[11] Furthermore, either democratic or autocratic states may exist in any kind of terrain. The same con-

[9] Smith, J. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
[10] Lowie, Robert H., *Culture and Ethnology*, pp. 61 ff.
[11] Dixon, Roland, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

clusions hold for other institutions. With reference to the family, for example, the form known as polyandry, which still survives in arid Tibet, was once widespread in other parts of Asia where very different geographic conditions exist. Monogamous marriage is prevalent alike in arid and humid and in barren and fertile regions. So, too, slavery, peonage, wage contract, communism, and private property vary irrespective of climate, topography, and type of soil. In many such instances the environment is not involved, even as a restrictive or permissive factor.

(2) CULTURE AS THE USE OF ENVIRONMENT.—When some techniques and customs are much better suited to a given environment than others are, the environment may be said to act as an *inducive* agent among alternate arts and modes of living. Nevertheless, it is the individual or group which does the choosing and adjusting within the conditions supplied by the environment. From this it also follows that the less convenient alternate may be chosen because some belief or the lack of knowledge of a feasible alternative blocks a judicious choice. This adaptive utilization of the environment is best described by saying that the culture and the environment are involved simultaneously in the life organization of the group and mutually condition each other. Many of the culture traits would be pointless except for the surrounding resources and climatic conditions; their significance to a group depends upon its traditions, which in many ways determine how the environment will be used and what further inventions will be made for its control. Thus the usability of an environment depends on the existing culture.

In fact, when an adjustment has been made to a feature of the environment, the latter thereby becomes an element in the social organization, or at least in the material culture of the group. "Climate, as it actually touches us, may be said to be a social institution, of which clothes, shelter, artificial heat, and irrigation are obvious aspects. And so with our economic 'environment.' What are deposits of iron and coal, or fertility of soil, or navigable waters, or plants and animals capable of domestication, except in conjunction with the traditional arts and customs through which these are utilized? To a people with one inheritance of ideas, a coal-field means nothing at all; to a people with another, it means a special development of industry. Such conditions owe their importance, like anything else, to the way they work in with the

process already going on."[12] In a word, when the elements in the environment are utilized by a group, they constitute, to a certain extent, the material culture of that society.

This functional relation, as we may also call it, between geographic environment and social organization is well illustrated by (a) the size of a population, (b) the mode of settlement, (c) the line of migration, and (d) culture areas.

(a) The size of a population in defined areas increases with the improvement in the arts and sciences, and with the elevation of the peaceful pursuits and humanitarianism. The primitive Australian horde is said to number not more than fifty or sixty people;[13] and even smaller units of association comprising one, two or three families are reported among primitives in the lowest—the collectional— stage of economy. Among the Amerinds there was less than one person per square mile. But in similar environments peoples with a superior culture are able to support large populations. In the United States there are 40 persons per square mile of the total area, and in Europe there are 125. In Belgium the average number of people per square mile of tilled land is 438, and in Japan, 1077.[14] Therefore, an increasing density of population roughly measures the improvement in the methods of control over, and the utilization of, the resources. These methods may be roughly classified as hunting, pastoral, agricultural, and industrial. Although many practices of the lower stages are found in the higher, an approximate characterization of these methods of control is nevertheless feasible.

*The hunters* may be subdivided into lower and higher. The lower hunters live largely by gathering fruits and nuts, digging roots, and collecting shellfish, reptiles and insects. They have no permanent dwelling, but live in caves or put up very light and temporary shelters. The higher hunters get their living more from the chase than the mere collection of food; they have houses or tents of a substantial character, and they practice weaving, pottery making, and often some domestication of animals.[15]

People in the *pastoral stage* rely more on the care and use of

[12] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Process,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1922, p. 46.

[13] Hobhouse, L. T., Wheeler, G. C., and Ginsberg, M., *op. cit.,* p. 46.

[14] Duncan, H. G., *op. cit.,* pp. 241 ff.

[15] Cf. Dittmer, C. G., "Density of Population and the Standard of Living in North China," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1924, vol. xix, pp. 196-199.

domestic animals, but in other respects they are not necessarily more advanced than the upper hunters. The lower pastoral people, like the hunters, have only a little, if any, agriculture. The higher pastoral peoples are on about the same level as the lower agriculturists.

*Agricultural economy* presents many stages of progress. People in the lowest stage depend considerably on hunting; they are nomadic, and in other respects parallel the hunters in the refinement of their arts. However, in the middle and upper stages of agriculture, the cultivation of the soil becomes the main source of the food supply, and herding or dairying assumes a subordinate, although still important, position.[16] Handicrafts also improve with the permanence of abode, and houses of timber or other durable materials are constructed, but trade is relatively absent. In the highest stage of agriculture, draft animals are used in tilling the soil; and irrigation, rotation of crops, and metal and textile industries, as well as trade, are expanded.

The *industrial era* is an elaboration of this division of labor and exchange of goods between the urban and rural portions of a population, with the result that, although people are dependent upon the resources of the geographic environment as much as ever, they are no longer solely dependent upon the land on which they dwell, for, in an attenuated way, they may now rely on any portion, or on all, of the land throughout the whole range of the market which has developed with the division of labor and the growth of trade and money economy.

Although not all societies pass through these four stages or go through them in the same sequence, the order indicated, in the main, represents an increase in the degree of control over the environment and an improvement in the standard of living. But such progress involves some anti-social by-products, especially in those societies that have made the greatest technological advance. Although the way in which people get their living exercises an immense influence on their other institutions, it does not determine all their ideas of right or wrong, for the "mores of maintenance" (those practices and beliefs which are an expression of the struggle for subsistence) are not imposed solely by the material surroundings, but are subjected to various other cultural factors, such as those discussed in connection with competition. The sub-

[16] See chap. xiii for some examples of exceptions.

sistence mores are as much the effect as the cause of the other social institutions and ideas accepted in a group, as Chapters X-XIII indicate. Therefore, to argue economic determinism because of the obvious importance of material goods, overlooks the equally numerous facts which prove the contrary, so far as the in-group relations are concerned. The naïve economic determinism contained in such statements as "We have not made America; America has made us," overlooks not only the functional relation between environment and culture but also the fact that the geographic conditions are usually permissive rather than mandatory.

(b) The reciprocal influence of environment and culture is also illustrated by the forms of settlement upon the land, of which there are two general types: first, dispersed or scattered, and second, compact or grouped. Various natural conditions such as topography, soil composition, and water supply are concerned in discouraging one type of settlement and encouraging the other. However, both types existed in primitive and ancient societies and are still found in modern societies. The same type may exist in different environments, and unlike types are found in identical environments, due to such non-geographic factors as customs, the prevailing form of agricultural economy (communal or private landholdings) and the need of defense against enemies. In communal ownership, the settlement is usually compact, while in private holdings the residences are more likely to be scattered over the arable land. In countries where great estates prevail, the proprietors have at times decided the location of the dwellings of the peons or laborers. Thus, in Italy, Russia, the Balkans, and Mexico, to mention a few examples, the land barons ordered the houses to be built in compact villages in order to facilitate the supervision of the workers. Elsewhere the dwellings were scattered and the size of the household was limited in order to prevent political combinations and to secure the more efficient care of the land,[17] a policy which was adopted by the Germans after their conquest of the Letts in the thirteenth century.[18] It thus appears that where natural conditions permit alternates, traditions and personal choice determine the form of the social aggregates.

[17] Sorokin, P. A., Zimmerman, Carl, and Galpin, C. J., *A Systematic Sourcebook in Rural Sociology,* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1930, vol. i, pp. 266-304.

[18] Bittner, Christopher J., *Social Heritages of the Latvian Immigrants in the United States,* unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Iowa, 1924.

(c) The connection between the geographic environment and societal data just described is seen further by the way topographical features are involved in the direction of expansion and the line of migration of peoples. Unlike the migrating plant, human migrants have a body of traditions which affects their selection of an abode and their mode of adjustment to the soil and climate. Therefore the same geographic factors may serve as barriers in one stage of advancement and as attractions in another. Changes in culture, such as the invention of the steamship, the use of hydro-electrical energy, and motor vehicles affect the distribution and aggregation of a population, even under constant natural conditions.

(d) Culture areas[19]—regions in which distinctive institutions, material arts, and customary responses to the environment prevail—develop as the result of, first, the spontaneous growth, or imitation of, an institution or a culture trait; second, the adjustments of techniques and habits to the environment; and third, migrants' selection of environments that are compatible with the culture they had developed in another region. Examples of the first are seen in the geographic distribution of styles in garments, forms of the family, religion, etc. Illustrations of the second are found in the obvious fact that there is a rice culture only where rice will grow; and that a salmon, buffalo, bee, corn or maple-sugar culture is originated only where the environment provides the facilities. Examples of the third (the selection of a compatible environment —the so-called "magnet of migration") are supplied by the fact that immigrants tend to settle in regions approximating the climatic and agricultural conditions of their home land and to avoid those which in their past experience were found undesirable. Obviously culture areas of the first type cannot be ascribed to these adjustments to the geographic environment. Indeed, most of the religious and familial institutions, forms of etiquette, artistic tastes, etc., with which we are familiar, have no immediate connection with the

[19] Eubank, Earle E., (*Concepts of Sociology:* A Treatise Presenting a Suggested Organization of Sociological Theories in Terms of its Major Concepts, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1931, pp. 372 ff.) compares the terms *culture area, district, natural area,* etc.

See also Wissler, Clark, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1929, pp. 303-355; *The American Indian,* D. C. McMurtie and Company, New York, 1917, and *Man and Culture,* Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1923, pp. 55-61.

See also Redfield, Robert, "The Regional Aspect of Culture," in *American Sociological Society, Papers and Proceedings,* 1929, vol. xxiv, pp. 33-41.

geographic environment in which they exist. Nevertheless, the region in which any one of them prevails constitutes a culture area, even though no problem of adjustment to geographic conditions is involved. The other types of culture areas imply such adjustments.

### LOCALITY SPECIALIZATION

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the localization of various cultural and social phenomena is due to their dependence upon one another, as well as to adjustments to the habitat. This is seen even more clearly in interdependent occupations. The vocations which people in one location follow are due not merely to the resources in that place but also to the degree of specialization in other localities, whereby different areas are made dependent upon one another. The localization in response to geographic conditions which invite specialization may be called the *site*, and the position with reference to competitors or to the market or to other persons and groups may be designated the *locus*.

The first source of local specialization is illustrated by the location of mines and stone quarries, fishing, and agriculture requiring special climatic conditions. Natural monopolies such as salt, flint, or clay deposits resulted in some specialization, even in primitive economies. In recent times, ore deposits and waterfall power sites have attracted mills, factories, and populations, as is illustrated by Fall River, Rochester, Niagara, Minneapolis, and many other cities in the United States.[20] When within a given area the environment provides no alternate sites for a given function, the place of specialization may be ascribed to the geographic condition. However, when there are equally feasible sites, the choice between them rests on the societal factors, among which are (1) the cumulation of techniques, traditions, and facilities in a given locality; and (2) the adjustments made to other pursuits in a given market area, with the consequent community types.

(1) CUMULATION OF LOCAL CULTURE.—Locality specialization does not, in the beginning, develop through the segregation of persons having a given type of skill, but rather through the participation of group members in a common pursuit. It is maintained by weight of custom, preference for the familiar, and the tendency for

[20] Ross, E. A., "The Location of Industries," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, X, 1895-96, pp. 247-268.

associates to learn the same arts.[21] This is easily traceable, even among simpler people. When a village secures the lead in producing certain wares or services, a division of labor between it and a few neighboring settlements follows. For example, one of a group of African villages may carry on fishing, while a second engages in trade with outsiders, and a third restricts its craft to the making of weapons, utensils, etc. At least under primitive conditions, the fact that one locality engages in a given pursuit raises inhibitions against competition by neighboring settlements—a concession of vested interests and a taboo against competition protect the "infant" industry. Other villages not only refrain from encroaching upon the speciality but may even discriminate against unfamiliar occupations in marriage selection.[22] In China at the present time, entire villages may follow a given occupation which is handed down from generation to generation; thus the residents of one village may act as well-diggers for the environing section, while others devote themselves to spinning, weaving, making paper and firecrackers, etc.[23]

Similar tendencies appear in the specialized techniques developed by some New England villages early in their history. Connecticut's preeminence in the production of brassware is ascribed to the fact that early itinerant merchants congregated there; the fact that Troy, New York, produces nine-tenths of the collars and cuffs manufactured in the United States is due to its early start in this industry. In 1827 a retired minister devised the detachable collar and cuff, and the business he initiated has supplied most of the rapidly expanding market. The concentration of the textile industry in New England has a similar history of cumulating traditions and techniques which have been handed on from one generation to the next. Some mills have been managed by the same family since 1840.[24] The mechanical skill developed in one region tends to be handed on from father to son, and the shop talk supplies an intellectual background that increases proficiency. Similar advantages accrue wherever any local specialization gets well under way.

The cumulation of equipment in one locality is also of advantage

[21] Bücher, Carl, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[22] Sanderson, Dwight, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[23] Swen, W. Y., "A Study of Types of Farming, Costs of Production and Annual Labor Distribution in Weihsien County, Shantung, China," *Chinese Economic Journal*, August, 1928, p. 648.

[24] Smith, J. R., *op. cit.*, p. 85.

in preempting the market. Thus, in some instances the presence of wagon shops determined the location of automobile manufacturing plants because skilled mechanics were already concentrated in the community and material equipment was at hand which could be adapted to the new uses.

(2) COMMUNITY TYPES AS A RESULT OF SPECIALIZATION.—As transportation facilities improve, local specialization is increased because each function can be located according to its need for labor, its access to the market, cheap land, etc. Most of the great national industries have been concentrated in one or a few districts. For example, in Great Britain, Lancashire became the center of the textile industry; Glasgow, of the shipbuilding industry; Sheffield, of cutlery. In the United States, New York has led in finance; Detroit in the production of automobiles; Minneapolis and St. Paul, in flour; Pittsburgh, in steel; Chicago, in meat-packing; New Orleans, in cotton; and Akron, in rubber. Other sections have specialized in the production of dairy products, wheat, corn, and (at the margin of cultivation) beef-cattle. Each specialty requires a distinct routine and skill and tends to produce or attract a suitable population as a labor force or as patrons,[25] but these local characteristics are possible only because the local group is an integral part of a larger social system.

In consequence of this specialization, community types develop which owe their major occupation and population composition to the place—the locus or ecological position—they occupy in the whole scheme of functions found within the range of the market. On the basis of their line of specialization, McKenzie has identified the following four general types of local communities:[26]

(a) *The Extractive or Primary Service Type.* This is illustrated by the agricultural, fishing, mining, or lumbering town with its environs. Such a community serves as the first step in the collection of the outgoing basic commodity and as the last step in the distribution of the merchandise from other localities. The so-called "rurban"[27] community is a village with a trade area of scattered

[25] Vance, Rupert B., "Cotton Culture and Social Life and Institutions of the South," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1928, vol. xxiii, pp. 51-59.

[26] McKenzie, R. D., "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," in *The City,* by R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, pp. 66-68.

[27] Galpin, C. J., "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," *Research Bulletin No. 34,* Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1915.

farmsteads, and is typical of the mode of settlement in most of North America. Its function is the collection and shipment of agricultural products and the retailing of incoming wares.[28]

(b) *The Commercial Town.*—The function of this type of community is to collect the basic materials from the surrounding extractive communities for shipment to the wider markets of the world, and to assemble goods for delivery to the smaller communities.

(c) *The Industrial Town.*—Its characteristic function is manufacturing, although usually it also performs commercial and even some collectional functions. Like the two foregoing types, it tends to have a local trade area and it may be a distributing center for the surrounding hinterland as well.

(d) *The Special Institutional Center.*—Examples of such towns are recreational resorts, political and educational centers, communities of defense, and penal or charitable colonies. Although these communities are not subject to precisely the same laws of competitive cooperation as are the other types, they are nevertheless affected by the success of the productive and distributive communities; and, like these, they may perform subsidiary functions, as is seen by the mercantile or even manufacturing processes located in the college town, the political capital, or other special non-economic centers.[29]

Whatever its type of specialization, a community tends to attract subsidiary pursuits which supplement, without interfering with, its major occupation. The presence of a steel mill or a mine gives a potential labor supply of women and children, the men being employed in the major pursuit. This subsidiary labor supply permits needle industries, canneries, or other "light" industries to be established in the vicinity of the leading occupation. An educational center like Leipzig may gain prominence as a book market.

Although the sites of the extractive communities are chosen with reference to the geographic resources, it is clear that even this local specialization is possible only because the population can draw upon other places for the fruits of other labors. All are interdependent, and the location of one function is affected by the spe-

[28] Hoffer, C. R., "Commodity Distribution in Rural Communities," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1924, vol. xix, pp. 186-188.

[29] For full bibliography concerning these and other types, see Wirth, Louis, in *The City,* by Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., pp. 175-187.

cialization already existing in other localities and by the facilities
for transportation and marketing.

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CHAPTER XVI

The Community Framework

Every local community presents a spatial pattern which is the result of complex forces operating both within and outside of its own borders. This spatial plan or framework is the result of successive adjustments in which every significant change in one locality or part sooner or later affects the functions performed in every other. Aside from the adjustments to the terrain (as noted in the preceding chapter), this spatial pattern results from the needs of collective action, competitive cooperation, and the symbolic significance (prestige or prejudice) attaching to a given locality or its inhabitants as a consequence of class and other criteria of ranking. But the general plan is the result of competitive cooperation in particular, whereby the various extractive, manufacturing, and distributive functions are adjusted to the centers of population, the transportation facilities, and the other societal factors already discussed. Because these forces combine in various ways and intensities, spatial structures also differ, but nevertheless some abstract uniformities are observable when communities are considered as separate units. We shall consider, first, the community structure, including the center and its hinterland or supporting area; and, second, the ecological center or urban area.

THE COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

(1) THE SIZE AND COMPLEXITY OF THE COMMUNITY vary according to several factors,[1] chief of which are the means of communication, the modes of gaining a living, the degree of functional differentiation, locality specialization, and the various causes of attraction and repulsion among individuals and groups. The inter-

[1] Sanderson, Dwight L., "Factors which Determine Area and Structure in the Rural Community," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1929, vol. xxiv, pp. 189-192; Gehlke, C. E., "Some Economic Factors in the Determination of the Size of American Cities," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1925, vol. xx, pp. 113-117.

relation of these factors in producing the spatial aspect of society will now be considered.

In so far as the distribution of a population is due to adjustment to the land and to the methods of competition and cooperation, community organization varies with the methods of gaining a livelihood. In a hunting economy, the subsistence community is small and usually of temporary duration, so far as a given habitation is concerned. When agriculture with only a little trade becomes the main source of subsistence the size of the population increases, the density of settlement augments considerably, and the spatial structure assumes a more permanent character. The size of the community grows also when transportation is improved (see Chapter IX), for the range of competitive cooperation depends upon the means of indirect contact and reciprocities, especially those due to regional specialization with the resulting trade. However, various obstacles, such as tariff or other political barriers, may interfere with this quest for gain. In the absence of such interference the ecological organization is conditioned chiefly by the facilities for exchange and communication, as is shown by the fact that the subsistence community of the present usually reaches across many political territories, whereas under simpler conditions the reverse was more often true.[2]

The complexity of the community increases as society passes from the segmented to the differentiated type of organization. This is implied in the fact that such organic relations presuppose an increase in contacts for purposes of bargaining, exchange, and management or coordination in direct proportion to the degree of specialization, volume of communication, etc. Since these functions require position in space and since there are advantages in concentrating many of them at one place, the community acquires a center which, as a result of the compact settlement of the personnel required, becomes a city. The ecological center of a community as defined in Chapter II is therefore necessarily an urban aggregation.

Every community, however large or small, has both a center and a periphery, which are more or less clearly distinguishable, not merely in terms of spatial position but also in terms of function and the amount of dominance exerted by one part over an-

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[2] For a discussion of the international aspects of this question, see chap. xviii below; for a consideration of regionalism and local government see, for example, Cole, G. H. D., *op. cit.*, chap. x.

other. The center, which is usually a village, city, or other urban aggregation, is a focus of attention and of various directive activities. Within successive zones between the center and the outer boundaries different activities, organizations, firms, and, at times, culture groups (such as immigrants) find locations which more or less reflect their competitive abilities and their needs or preferences. An ecological center and its hinterland or supporting and trade area are cause and effect of each other. The size and complexity of each varies in proportion to those of the other. Thus the small community is relatively homogeneous both in its center and in its supporting area; the large community is complex and diversified, and comprises several (or even many) lesser communities with their respective centers and zones; and the metropolitan community consists of hundreds and even thousands of these smaller constellations.[3]

(2) ECOLOGICAL DOMINANCE.—Although the ecological center and its hinterland or trade area are interdependent aspects of one and the same social structure, the former holds a position of dominance and prestige. The influence exerted by such a center may be political, as in the ancient empires where tribute defined the relation of the subject regions to the victor. Again, the dominance may be due to the control of trade connections, as has been increasingly true since commercial and financial centers arose. Indeed, some writers hold that cities originated because of trade,[4] but this cannot be asserted of all urban centers, for many other factors may be involved in producing them. In some instances dominance may be solely psychic, as is illustrated by the prestige of such cities as Paris, New York, and London in dictating fashions. In other cases it depends upon the control of information and the diffusion of news, which now travels much more swiftly than goods or persons, thereby giving the city a unique advantage over the rural areas.

The zone over which dominance is exerted by a given center varies not only with the size of the city but also with the type of function it performs. Thus, the zone for produce collection is usually smaller than that for financial credit, which in the world community hitherto centered in London. In recent centuries England has been the control center of Europe and America for much of the

[3] Taylor, Graham, *Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1915.

[4] Gras, N. S. B., *An Introduction to Economic History,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1922, pp. 105-121.

trade and commerce with Asia and Africa. Chicago, Winnipeg, and Liverpool outdistance other cities in the wheat trade; New Orleans, New York, and Liverpool hold a preeminent place in the cotton trade; and London and New York are the world's financial centers. Wall Street, a little strip of land thirty feet wide and less than a mile long, is known by hearsay throughout the civilized world because of its concentration of financial control.[5]

However, the same forces which produce any one type of dominance may cause a shift from one locality to another, thereby reversing the fortunes of the respective ecological centers. The dominance of urban centers constantly changes as new factors enter to disturb the equilibrium. This is seen by the recent trend toward decentralization in various industries, simultaneously with an increasing centralization of management.

The growth of city populations is an approximate measure of the degree of urban dominance and of the concentration of functions in these centers during recent centuries. Although there were large cities in olden times (some investigators believe that ancient Rome attained probably a million inhabitants), the unprecedented growth of the urban population, especially in the past fifty years, marks a new era in social organization. This increase is due to improvements in communication and transportation, the machine process, and the attendant relocation of specialized functions. Modern means of transportation permit the concentration of people in compact areas because food and raw materials can be collected in these centers and products can be disseminated widely, just as the use of power machinery makes it profitable for many people to be employed in one establishment. Thus the greater demand for labor and the quest for the superior opportunities imputed to the city have led to unprecedented migrations from rural to urban areas, the range of the attraction and therefore the heterogeneity of the migrants varying with the size of the city.[6] Since the size of a center is proportional to the area served, the points of trans-shipment, such as the great seaports and the inland metropolitan centers, have had the most phenomenal growth, for their trade area is, in some respects at least, international. The greater the number of

[5] Smith, J. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[6] Ravenstein, E. G., "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society,* 1885, vol. xlviii, pp. 167-227.

functions and the volume of transportation of goods, people, and news, the larger will be these ganglia in the social organism.

The importance of these ecological centers is illustrated by the rate of the growth of cities. The percentages of the urban population in the United States for a few selected dates are: 1800, 4.0; 1850, 12.5; 1890, 29.0; 1900, 40.0; 1910, 45.8; 1930, 56.2. Between 1850 and 1920 the urban population of England increased from 50 to 79 per cent of the total population; of Belgium, from 61 to 78; and of France, from 25 to 46. There has thus been a relatively steady increase in the degree of urbanization for three-fourths of a century. But recently the pace of city growth has slackened in those countries where urbanization began early. In the orient, on the other hand, a new era of city growth is beginning, due to the introduction of modern methods of transportation, communication, and production, whereby the ecological organization necessarily changes from the segmented to the organic type. The rate of growth also varies with the size of the urban aggregation. Between 1910 and 1920 the percentages of growth for American cities of 2,500 to 25,000 population, 25,000 to 100,000, and 100,000 and over, were, respectively, 23.0, 33.0 and 24.9.[7]

The recent slackening in the growth of cities in the older industrial nations (notably England, Belgium, and Germany), as well as the unequal rate of growth of the above three classes of American cities, is due to the principle already stated—that the growth of an urban area depends upon its ability to expand its hinterland. Consequently an equilibrium tends to be reached in the size of the two dependent parts of a community. Other obstacles to the indefinite growth of great cities are: the difficulties of transporting supplies and goods, the increasing congestion of population, the waste of time in the long journeys between the workshop and the home, increasing overhead political and industrial costs, etc. A saturation point is thus reached, after which the birth rate rapidly declines and relatively fewer newcomers from rural and village sections are attracted, so that the larger cities—those above 100,000— show a lessening rate of growth as compared to those between 25,000 and 100,000. The relatively slight growth of cities below 25,000 population (except those in the vicinity of metropolitan centers) is due to the fact that their zone of dominance is narrow,

[7] Tylor, W. R., "The Exodus from Rural America," *Current History*, December, 1931, vol. xxxv, pp. 404-408.

and consequently they usually share the fate of the rural area: they are dominated by the larger constellations in which the small community plays an insignificant commercial or industrial rôle.[8]

These natural community processes carry with them many by-products in the form of practical problems, such as crowded and inadequate housing, remorseless competition, industrial conflicts, artificiality of environment, corrupt municipal politics, degeneration of an unusually large portion of the population, crime, social disorganization, and the rapid breakdown of mores and traditions.

### THE URBAN AREA

(1) How FUNCTION, RANK, AND SOCIAL DISTANCE ASSIGN SPATIAL POSITION (SEGREGATION).—The city, like the urban-hinterland community, is an unplanned product of forces operating both within and outside of its borders; and like the latter, it also has undergone an evolution as society passed from the segmented to the differentiated type of organization. No city of itself is a complete community in the sense given in Chapter II. However, in a more limited way, every city constitutes a social unit, especially in so far as it pertains to a territorial group possessing a public opinion and a complex of integrated activities. Like the larger community of which it is a part, it has a center and a periphery, within which various functions and population types find a natural habitat as a consequence of their competitive ability, need of cooperation, prejudices, and preferences.

Just as a city is a center of gravity of a trade and prestige area, so the civic center is the focus of attention and dominance in the urban zone. The character of this center varies according to the size of the urban population and the degree of specialization; for, as already stated, interdependency requires a comparable interchange between the units composing a society, as measured by the volume of communication, transportation, and exchange (see Chapter IX). In the primitive village the chief's dwelling, the men's lodge, the medicine man's tent, or the ceremonial house may be the communal point—the center of attention and activities of public concern. The "town square," "community forum," "town hall," and

[8] Carpenter, Niles, *The Sociology of City Life,* Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1931, pp. 157-160; Gillette, John M., "The Rate of Growth of Cities of a Certain Class in the United States," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1925, vol. xx, pp. 129-132.

"the loop" have their counterpart in the primitive village platform and market place where the collective and economic life of the local folk group centered. Sometimes the village center became the market place, or, conversely, the mart gathered about it political and other activities, acquired prestige, and became the point of convergence for roads and other routes of travel.

The relatively small degree of local functional differentiation in segmented societies, as illustrated by old Asiatic cities,[9] such as Hangchau and Foochow, produces an urban uniformity which is in sharp contrast to western cities. In the former there is no clearly marked center, but a point of gravity, at least for some activities, is found at the outer edge of the city or near the city wall where trade has sprung up.[10] Under these conditions, activity is likely to decline as one goes inward toward the geographic center of the urban area. In the western type of city, on the other hand, the structural center, in the absence of disturbing factors, tends to approximate the geographic center of the business and residential areas. This center is highly differentiated and varies in significance with the diversity and concentration of functions and the attending volume of patronage attracted from the city and its hinterland. In Chicago, for example, a fifth of a million people enter and leave the loop daily,[11] and it is estimated that 223,000 vehicles and 2,850,-000 people enter Manhattan Island south of 59th Street during the twenty-four hours of a typical business day.[12] In some places, as, for instance, in London, the term "city" is applied not to the urban area as a whole, but only to the small part which is the focal point of finance and economic administration.

In such a center, competition for space is keen and land values are high, the population being distributed with reference to the activities carried on there. But only a portion of the recreational, financial, industrial, religious,[13] political, and other activities find expression in a common center, for each of these has more or less distinctive needs and competitive ability and seeks a location

[9] Gamble, Sidney D., *Peking: A Social Survey,* Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., New York, 1921.

[10] McKenzie, R. D., "The Concept of Dominance and World Organization," *American Journal of Sociology,* July, 1927, vol. xxxiii, p. 31.

[11] Burgess, E. W., "The Growth of the City," in *The City,* p. 61.

[12] Smith, J. Russell, *op. cit.,* p. 141.

[13] Holt, Arthur E., "The Ecological Approach to the Church," *American Journal of Sociology,* July, 1927, vol. xxxiii, pp. 72-79.

suited to its own purposes. Consequently the urban pattern becomes highly complex, as is seen by the distribution of the arteries of communication and transit, factories, banks, hotels, mercantile establishments, office buildings, and many other specialized physical structures. Every city presents a unique constellation of forces, and consequently of ecological organization, with central and minor trading centers and other functional localizations.[14] Nevertheless, under similar conditions—functional differentiation, freedom of competition, absence of cumulated traditions, ancient physical structures,[15] and non-interference by political measures (such as zoning laws)—comparable spatial patterns are produced by the forces involved. These general similarities may be seen by comparing the following description of Poznan, Poland, with cities in other western nations.

> The common activities of the municipality of Poznan have a material foundation in the territory of the city which constitutes the field of physical control exercised by the group. The main center from which physical control radiates is the city hall; it is also a center of physical convergence for members, to which they come or address their mail in any contacts they may have with the highest authorities of the municipal group. Secondary centers of physical control and convergence are the various offices and business buildings in which special public functions of the municipal group are transacted. These centers taken together constitute the main instruments for municipal activity and represent the collective property of the group. The society of Poznan, as distinct from the municipality, is constituted by the many hundreds of various non-territorial or superspatial groups of which city inhabitants are members. These also have their physical centers of convergence—meeting-places and offices—on city territory. The third social complex is the "community," for example, the vaguely organized individuals inhabiting the territory of Poznan and its close neighborhood considered with regard to their participation in the formation of a unified public opinion and to the control which this opinion exercises upon them. The community possesses a permanent center of physical convergence in the area where the business of the city concentrates, and changing subsidiary centers in recreation areas. Its centers of mental convergence are those of

[14] Shideler, E. H., "The Business Center as an Institution," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1925, vol. ix, pp. 269-275.
[15] Fleure, Herbert John, "Some Types of Cities in Temperate Europe," *Geographic Review*, 1920, vol. x, pp. 357-374.

prominent persons, groups, and organizations that everybody in the community knows either by direct social contact or by hearsay. Within this community are many smaller communities, partly separated either by space (districts) or by divisions of class, occupation, religion, nationality. These also have centers of physical convergence (market-places, churches, theatres, factories, restaurants, etc.) and centers of mental convergence in persons, groups, and institutions that interest only the limited public in question.[16]

Within the urban territory the location of various agencies, business and manufacturing concerns, and culture groups is determined by the topography, the physical structures (for example, the arteries of communication and transportation), competing and cooperating groups, and (so far as pertains particularly to other than economic pursuits) the degree of prestige or aversion attaching to the various districts or their inhabitants.

When unregulated by civil laws, business locations are chosen with respect to the greatest net economic returns.[17] But prestige or prejudices and social distance may produce a segregation of functions quite aside from competition for a given location. This is known to have been true in ancient, as well as in mediæval and modern, times, and in both oriental and occidental towns. In the cities of ancient Egypt, members of the same craft formed one neighborhood. In mediæval European cities it was customary for persons of a given trade or craft to congregate in the same streets, some of which owe their present names to these early occupations. Thus, Paternoster Row is so named because makers of rosaries lived there, while Lombard Street was the abode of the Lombard brokers.[18] "Baxter-Gate" signified "the street of the bakers"; in Bruges, the "Rue des Bouchers" was the habitat of the butchers.[19] In India, also, crafts were associated exclusively with certain streets, which still bear these names.[20]

Other segregations occur with the passing of the handicrafts, and the spatial patterns are complicated to somewhat the same degree

[16] Adapted from Znaniecki, Florian, "Group Crises Produced by Voluntary Undertakings," in *Social Attitudes*, edited by Kimball Young, pp. 268-273.

[17] Shideler, E. H., *The Chain Store*.

[18] Abram, A., *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages*, George Routledge and Sons, London, 1913, p. 93.

[19] Harland, O. H., *Some Implications of Social Psychology*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928, p. 15.

[20] Sanderson, Dwight, *The Rural Community*, p. 306.

as the growth in social differentiation and stratification. Although in non-mobile societies such local differences seem to be due to the fact that associates develop vocational and cultural likenesses, under present-day conditions other factors are added: namely, the segregation of people because of their similar skills, attitudes, or need of access to materials and a market, and their equal abilities to meet the costs of land or rent within a given street or district. Heavy and light industries, wholesale and retail trade, hotels, missions, "social settlements,"[21] schools, cheap lodging houses, and pawnshops tend to be located in environments which are suited to their respective functions.[22]

Although firms which carry on similar businesses are competitors, they may nevertheless find it profitable to settle together where they are most accessible to patrons; but in other types of business, competitors find it more profitable to locate apart from one another. This depends on the type of specialization, wholesale and retail trade, mercantile and manufacturing pursuits, professional services, etc.

People also select an environment with a view to the status or other comparative advantages conferred thereby. The separation of persons into areas because of prejudices and social distance or because of distinctions in wealth, is known as *segregation*. Although segregation has at times been enforced by legal measures, the chief factors in this process seem always to have been competition and social distance expressed in terms of space. Especially in large cities where mobility is high, competition is keen, and the ranking is minute, great significance is assigned to the place of residence and the type of surroundings as criteria of status. "Scarcely any city-reared child goes through his first ten years without reproof from his elders for playing with a child who lives 'in the wrong part of the city.' Before he has passed adolescence he has become aware that his own immediate territory is surrounded by a dozen other districts, all of them fascinatingly and perhaps fearsomely different from his own. . . . He knows that acquaintances from the X sec-

[21] Tibbits, Clark, "A Study of Chicago Settlements and their Districts," *Social Forces*, March, 1928, vol. vi, pp. 430-437.

[22] For a discussion of techniques for recording urban ecological data, see Young, Earl Fisk, "The Social Base Map," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1925, vol. ix, pp. 202-206; Palmer, Vivien M., *Field Studies in Sociology: A Student Manual*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928.

tion are not socially acceptable, no matter how charming or plausible they may appear."[23]

Position serves as a rating device not only because of the unequal prestige of localities or their inhabitants, but also because residence in a certain environment symbolizes the amount of wealth commanded by the given residents. Thus, under free mobility and competition, class and prestige districts tend to coincide. Those who succeed economically move into the esteemed areas of high land and rental values, while those who fail are compelled to live in areas of low prestige. But segregation is also based in part upon the fact that people of similar culture prefer to dwell near one another, and this tends to obscure somewhat the segregations based on wealth.

It is from various combinations of these tendencies that the "quarters" and "districts" found in all but the simplest local community result. In ancient Rome, the palatial homes of the rich were located on the hills, while the many-storied tenements of the poor were found in the valleys; the strangers or immigrants were even compelled to live outside the city walls or in the low-prestige margins of the town. London has its Limehouse, Whitechapel, and Soho, settled respectively by Orientals, eastern European Jews, Italians and Frenchmen. Oriental cities have their special sections for Occidentals. Approximately one hundred such cultural areas have been identified in Chicago, and more than two hundred in New York City. Districts in St. Louis[24] have been graded in the following order: Negro slums along the river front; low-grade rooming-house districts; the better furnished-rooms—the abode of porters, waiters, cooks, servants, and professional card sharks; workingmen's homes in residential zones; a residential section of former high-class dwellings acquired by Negroes; a good apartment-building area; a bungalow district where postal clerks, mail carriers, and other salaried men dwell; and a suburban zone.[25]

The personality type and the segregated habitat exert a reciprocal effect, for eventually each section and quarter of the city takes on something of the character of its inhabitants and in turn puts its own stamp on the residents. With the exception of the

[23] Carpenter, Niles, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[24] Cf. Street, Elwood, "Community Organization in Greater St. Louis," *Social Forces*, December, 1927, vol. vi, pp. 248-252.

[25] Burgess, E. W., "Residential Segregation in American Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 1928, vol. cxl, pp. 105-115.

slum—which is a section with no standards of conduct—a district tends to acquire public opinion and to accumulate traditions. But in modern industrial cities such areas are constantly changing because of the shifting of urban growth[26] and of industrial and business sections, the deterioration and obsolescence of property, and the pressure of the various groups for more room or better locations. In the vicinity of encroaching industries or low-ranking groups or races, the depreciation of residential property is especially rapid because the owners wish to avoid the expense of repairs in view of the declining prestige of the area and the uncertainty as to the future uses of their land. Furthermore, such residences can be rented at low rates to people whose economic condition compels them to dwell in these sections or whose lack of class standards imposes no obstacles upon their place of residence. The most rapidly changing and deteriorating districts are known as *"areas of transition,"*[27] and here cheap lodging houses, pawnshops, and the most disesteemed functions (rummage sales, rag-picking, junk-dealing, etc.) find their usual habitat. In the successive zones lying outside of this area, property, the status of the inhabitants, and the functions they perform tend to improve in rank and efficiency.

(2) OTHER ECOLOGICAL PROCESSES.—In a highly mobile, competitive, and differentiated society, these city zones are constantly being modified, due not only to the deterioration described and the changes in the use of property and land, but also to the encroachment of one culture group,[28] race, or social class upon another, with the attendant withdrawal as a means of maintaining social distance. However, encroachments may arise from the mere growth in numbers in adjacent congested areas as well as from the attempt to improve status by moving into the more esteemed zones. Accordingly, there is an incessant process of ecological *invasion* and *recession,* and one culture type and function follows another—a process known as *succession.*

(a) In ecological phraseology, *invasion* means that there is an intrusion in an area possessing some degree of equilibrium, and that

[26] Woods, Robert A., *The City Wilderness: A Settlement Study of South End,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1898; Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro in Chicago,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932, pp. 86-116.

[27] Carpenter, Niles, "Urban Growth and Transition Areas," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1929, vol. xxiv, p. 254.

[28] Cressey, P. F., *op. cit.*

the entering individual, group, or function (and land use) produces a disturbance in the previously existing organization in the given area. Although such an invasion is most frequently made from a lower into a higher ranking zone, the reverse may also occur; for when an area improves in property values and prestige, the lower-income groups or trades may be forced to recede into districts with lower land values.

Two types of invasion may be distinguished: (1) pioneer invasion—the incoming of individuals in small numbers so that any displacement which occurs is gradual; and (2) mass invasion—the movement of large numbers following the pioneers. In international migrations the pioneers are most frequently the young adult males, but a greater proportion of females and children are added later. The pioneers in the transition from one urban district to another are usually the individuals who have achieved greater economic success than their fellows and who desire to improve their status, or, in some instances, to escape from the old associates. For example, the first Negroes who moved southward in Chicago were members of the professional class who had made enough money to purchase homes in that section.[29]

When the newcomers are of the same racial and cultural stock but of lower economic status, aloofness may be maintained; but if they are of a despised racial or cultural group, violence, bombings, or other terrorism occurs at times. Usually, however, the encroachment merely hastens the depreciation of property, or checks an advance which might otherwise have been made. This depreciation facilitates invasion, as do also other factors, such as suitable means of transit, attractive economic or cultural conditions, new industries, sudden changes in the wealth of different elements in the population, and planned promotion, such as real estate booms which cause a sudden change in the demand for a special location.[30]

(b) The correlative of invasion is *recession*—a waning in the relative importance of the types or functions formerly present. In plant communities the old types may simply cease, whereas in human ecological areas they may move out and encroach upon

[29] Cressey, P. F., *op. cit.*, pp. 197-199. Cf. Hayner, N. S., "Ecological Succession in the San Juan Islands," *Publication of the American Sociological Society,* 1928, vol. xxiii, pp. 81-92.

[30] McKenzie, R. D., "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," pp. 63-79. See also Allison, Thomas W., "Population Movements in Chicago," *Journal of Social Forces,* 1924, vol. ii, pp. 529-533.

adjacent groups. When a residential section is invaded by "undesirable" climbers, or when factories and unwelcome businesses encroach, the residents who can afford to do so move away. In thus receding, they may invade adjacent zones or go through a neighboring territory and enter one at a greater distance.

To be sure, a new factor may produce changes in the organization of an area without actually disintegrating it, as when increased numbers aggravate competition or improve the efficiency of a community. But when the old personnel, agencies, or functions recede and new ones take their place, the group or the factor which is responsible for this reorganization is said to be *dominant,* even though it may actually be a despised function or group. Thus, when the encroachment of the Negroes in a section of a city leads the white people to recede, the former constitute the dominant factor, within the area in question. In the same way, a business or function which, by thriving in one section, induces some land uses to decline and others to increase, may be characterized as dominant. So, also, a prominent family or individual (or the dwelling place of a high personage), a public building, a recreation center, or whatever exercises a selective influence upon the personal types and businesses which gravitate to the environment so produced, is dominant. Thus, when a prominent family moves away or dies out, or when a major industry fails, new readjustments and new forms of social organization may ensue.

(c) A typical case of the joint process of invasion and recession, that is, of *succession,* is as follows:

> *A* was a poor and congested foreign community; *B,* four miles to the west, a middle-class residential community. A car-line was constructed on the street connecting the two. The people in community *B* protested but other influences prevailed, and the line was built. People from community *A* began to shift their homes westward along the traffic street towards the more desirable community *B.* As fast as they approached, community *B* was evacuated until finally it was completely populated by former occupants of community *A.*[31]

This process of succession is most pronounced in large western cities because of the cultural, racial, functional, and ranking diversities of the population and the keenness of competition, with the

[31] Anderson, Nels, and Lindeman, Eduard G., *Urban Sociology,* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928, p. 149.

attendant rise and fall in fortunes and the mobility of the residents. Aliens and disesteemed races are usually at the bottom of the socio-economic scale and therefore occupy the low-prestige districts; as their economic condition improves, they tend to move into the more esteemed areas. Sometimes whole colonies move into an adjacent zone. Thus the order of succession in one part of St. Louis was Irish, Germans, Poles, Jews, and Italians;[32] and a similar succession has been noted in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, and other cities. In St. Louis, the older Negro settlement moved in mass from the east side toward the more esteemed western section of the city, thus making way for new Negro immigrants. This movement has gone on for two decades. In the districts east of Grand Avenue, two out of every three colored children were born outside of St. Louis, whereas those west of that thoroughfare, two out of every three were born within the city. Regardless of race or cultural antecedents, the prestige attaching to the westward movement carried the population farther in that direction than economic pressure alone would have done.[33] Accordingly, a promotion or an increase in wages means a movement westward, whereas failure in business or employment is followed by a movement to the east. "A middle-class family living half-way to the earthly paradise of the West End finds its fortunes suddenly improved and moves out a mile farther."[34] The space thus vacated invites some pioneer from the lower zone to move in. This ingress deteriorates property and makes it possible for additional "undesirable neighbors" to move into the area. Incidentally such succession helps to relieve the congestion in the worst housing zones settled by the lowest-income groups.[35]

The mobility of organizations, such as local churches, supplies a valuable, although an understated, criterion of the population mobility. The following description of the westward movement of churches in St. Louis will serve as a sample of similar studies in other American cities.

> The First Presbyterian Church erected its first building in 1827 at the foot of Market Street, close to the river and the levees. Soon after St. Louis' boom period in the decade ending with 1850,

[32] Douglas, H. P., *The St. Louis Church Survey*, Doubleday, Doran Company, Inc., New York, 1924, p. 65.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[35] Cf. Frazier, E. F., "Occupational Classes among Negroes in Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1930, vol. xxxv, pp. 718-738.

it moved four blocks uptown. As the city grew, the descendents of the early American settlers moved westward, separating themselves from incoming foreign groups. The First Presbyterian Church responded to the westward pull and moved, in 1890, to the site on Locust and Fourteenth Street. By 1912 the block on Locust and Fourteenth Street was submerged in the business district. The church, accordingly, erected its fourth building at Sarah and Washington Streets, where it now stands, and where already its permanence is menaced anew by Negro migration into the district. The length of each of these three migrations reflects the accelerating expansion of the city. In 1850 the church moved four blocks, in 1890 twelve blocks, and in 1912, nearly two and one-half miles.

Sixty-nine migrations similar to that of the First Presbyterian Church have been studied by the Survey for the period of 1871-1921. All of them, whatever their conscious motive, were carried along on a general tide that bore westward the kind of population to which the older Protestant churches were accustomed. Up to 1870, the churches moved short distances in the river districts. During the period from 1870 to 1890 occurred the virtual abandonment of the "downtown" section by the English-speaking churches. . . . The older populations fought a continually losing battle against the invasion and often moved their institutions barely in time to escape the encircling movement. Between 1910 and 1920, the struggle had shifted west of Grand Avenue, and to-day the Protestant churches are menaced by population changes as far west as Kingshighway Boulevard.[36]

While an invading group thus encroaches upon higher prestige groups, it, in turn, tends to recede in the same way from the later comers who occupy a lower place in the socio-economic scale. On the north side of Chicago the main line of succession has been along Clark Street, a highway traversed first by Germans and Scandinavians, with Hungarians and Italians at a respectable distance behind. On the northwest, the march of the Poles along Milwaukee Avenue crowded fast behind an earlier German and Scandinavian movement; the Italian expansion outward, following the winding of Grand Avenue, extended even beyond the city limits into Maywood; the extension of the cosmopolitan rooming-house district proceeded westward on Madison Street; the Czech journeyed along

[36] Douglas, H. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71.

Cf. Queen, Stuart A., "The Segregation of Population Types in the Kansas City Area," *Publications of the American Sociological Society, 1925*, vol. xx, pp. 230-232.

Twenty-Second Street from Pilson through South Lawndale to Cicero and Berwyn. On the south side of the city the Polish settlements expanded toward the southwest along Archer Road, and the Negro invasion has proceeded approximately five miles along South State Street.[37] All but the most recent immigrant groups have shown more or less the same tendency to change their abode as their economic conditions improved.

Stabilization in the use of land and in the economic conditions of a population, the attainment of maximum growth by urban centers, and the slackening of immigration by culturally or racially distinct groups are usually accompanied by a decrease in mass invasions and recessions. Accordingly, a more stable ecological organization may be expected to obtain in American cities in the future.

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[37] Burgess, E. W., "Residential Segregation in American Cities," p. 110.

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# CONFLICT AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Individual and Conventional Aspects of Conflict

The social structure finds expression not only in the functional, spatial, and competitive relations, but also in conflict, the forms of which vary in turn with the type of the social organization itself. The major forms of opposition or negative relations—to use these as generic terms—are competition, rivalry, and conflict. Competition, as previous examples have shown, is often indirect and unconscious and presupposes that the subjects do not obstruct one another, save that the success of one shuts out the other from the same advantages. As the struggle for existence, competition is persistent and universal. Rivalry, like competition, implies non-obstruction. It is the most controlled form of negative action and may even be an attempt to outdo others in rendering benefits to a third party or in promoting public welfare. Conflict, on the other hand, is intermittent and implies obstruction and frustration.[1] It also involves the awareness of each opponent by the other. Because of its obtrusive character and the questions of policy and control to which it gives rise, it has always been one of the major practical and theoretical problems confronting society. But conflict is not older or more fundamental than cooperation, and, moreover, it cannot be distinguished solely on the basis of its biophysical characteristics. Its significance is derived largely from the existing culture; in fact, some of its specific forms are institutionalized and are therefore subject to regulation, as are other social relations.

Conflict may be classified in many ways, depending upon the points of view. Some of these viewpoints, aside from the mere cataloguing of acts,[2] are: the number or the autonomy of the agents involved (whether they are individuals or groups, or belong to an inclusive group); the types of groups (racial, national, class, family,

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[1] Hayes, E. C., "Some Social Relations Restated," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1925-1926, vol. xxxi, pp. 333-346.

[2] For an example of such a classification without a frame of reference, see Carver, T. N., *op. cit.,* p. 85.

clan, sectarian, occupational, sectional, etc.) ; the means employed (blows and grapple, long-range battle, polemics, etc.) ; the mediacy of the hostilities (whether the subjects aim their efforts directly at one another or at a third party or at material objects and an impersonal market) ; and the objective (extermination, coercion, deciding a dispute, determining the relative skill and thereby the status of the subjects). From the standpoint of the injury inflicted or the obstruction imposed, conflict may be distinguished from rivalry and competition. From an ethical or evaluative standpoint conflict is constructive or destructive, good or bad, depending upon the point of view. In addition, it may be considered on the basis of the conventional regulations governing the method of beginning, conducting, and ending the contest. As a means of orientation, we shall discuss the individual and conventional sources of antagonistic relations (Chapter XVII) ; the relation of conflict to the social group, or the collision of social structures (Chapter XVIII) ; and the functions (the intended and unintended consequences) of conflict (Chapters XIX and XX).

The familiar, although often fruitless, division made between the individual and his environment has supplied the basis for many theories of conflict. Those who wanted to justify warfare and duels or who began with the premise of biological determinism, declared conflict to be due to inborn nature and therefore inevitable. Those who observed the conditions of living with which individuals and groups are faced asserted that these conditions are the source of hostilities. The solution of this dilemma is not a compromise be-tween the two—not the assumption that the explanation is some-times one and sometimes the other—but an attempt to see the in-born equipment functioning in given situations, including not only the wants of individuals but also the various cultural and social factors involved in conduct. This functional relation will be seen in the subsequent analysis of the individual equipment—so-called human nature—as related to conflict, and of the conventional or institutional factors involved in antagonisms.

### HUMAN NATURE AND CONFLICT

Individual variations in mental and physical equipment affect the outcome of a hostile encounter ; they do not necessarily initiate it. The same equipment may be used in either antagonistic or coopera-tive efforts. Neither does the possession of superior strength by one

subject necessarily lead to an attack upon others who are weaker, for the weak are as often as not protected. Thus the possession of the necessary equipment is not sufficient to explain the occurrence of conflict apart from culture, established social relations, and individual and collective attitudes. Pertinent aspects of these propositions can be made apparent under the following captions: (1) theories of social Darwinism, (2) the process of conditioning, (3) the interest in problem situations, (4) the relaxation theories, and (5) emotional bases for conflict.

(1) SOCIAL DARWINISM is the term applied to the theories which hold that hostility is impelled by inherent drives and is consequently inevitable. These beliefs were given systematic expression by Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes, and others, who helped to justify the imperialism of aristocracies and thus contributed to the later popularity of a distorted application of Darwinian theories to human society.[3] Bagehot's statement is typical: If A were able to kill B before B killed A, then A survived, and the race became a race of A's inheriting A's qualities.[4] William James asserted: "We inherit the warlike type. . . . Our ancestors have bred pugnacity into our bone and thousands of years of peace will not breed it out of us."[5] Prudhon and Gumplowicz considered war as a duty, the highest form of judicial action, the necessary condition of civilization. With equal dogmatism, Hobbes asserted that the "natural state was one of struggle of all against all."[6] Montesquieu regarded war as the "first law of nature." Kidd opined that "the law of life has always been the same from the beginning—ceaseless and inevitable struggle."[7]

By way of corroboration, the supporters of this theory draw various analogies from nature. The struggles of the lower species are compared with man's behavior; and the fangs, talons, and protective coverings of shells or quills are likened to his weapons and

[3] Nasmyth, George, *Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1916, p. 39.

[4] Bagehot, Walter, *Physics and Politics,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1873, pp. 61 ff.

[5] James, William, "The Moral Equivalent of War," *International Conciliation Pamphlets, No. 27,* American Association for International Conciliation, New York, 1910, p. 6.

[6] Brinton, D. G., *Races and Peoples,* David McKay, Philadelphia, 1901, p. 76.

[7] Kidd, Benjamin, *Social Evolution,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1895, p. 41.

armament.[8] The theories of the ancient physicists that "inherent" antipathies exist between certain substances led to comparisons, after the manner of Empedocles, between human behavior and the action of inanimate forces. Conflict and sympathy were likened to contrarity and equality of action and reaction in physics. Negative (hating, dissociating, disintegrating) and positive (loving, identifying, binding) social attitudes were compared to centrifugal and centripetal forces.[9] In the words of one writer: "As the cosmos requires love and hate, attraction and repulsion, in order to have a form, society likewise requires some quantitative relation of harmony and disharmony, association and dissociation, liking and disliking, in order to attain to a definite formation."[10]

That the balance between positive and negative attitudes helps to give form to a society is true, but the language employed by the authors cited suggests a metaphysical antagonism between members of the human race which does not exist in fact. The conclusions concerning planets or amœba do not shed light on the source of human conflict any more than poetic license explains astronomy and physics. Each set of phenomena must be analyzed in terms of its own elements. Because antagonism varies with time and is subject to learning and unlearning, it cannot be explained in *a priori* terms, whether of cosmic forces or instincts.

(2) CONDITIONED ANTAGONISMS.—Although the complex antagonistic behavior of adults is not directly ascribable to instincts, it may, theoretically, be traced back to the unconditioned reactions of infancy. The infant is equipped with unlearned tendencies to resist, to remove irritating objects, and to show tensions when feeding is interrupted; and this equipment supplies a ready basis for subsequent conditioning. For instance, if the infant regularly heard someone speak when irritations were felt, the speaking would soon call out the same reactions as the irritation, thus determining negativistic personality traits. But while theoretically there is an unbroken series between the first unconditioned reaction and all later reactions, the steps in the process of conditioning usually cannot be

[8] Holmes, John H., *New Wars for Old,* Dodd, Mead and Company, Inc., New York, 1916, p. 20.

[9] Tarde, G., *Social Laws,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1899, pp. 68-77.

[10] Simmel, Georg, "The Sociology of Conflict," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1903-1904, vol. ix, p. 491.

Cf. Bodenhafer, Walter B., "Charles Horton Cooley's Theories of Social Conflict," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1930, vol. xxv, pp. 18-24.

traced in the later years of life. Furthermore, culture and the social situation are major factors in determining the habits thus formed.

Discrimination, the directive influence of established customs, and the effects of immediate social situations soon become operative. For instance, the negative behavior of young children in the presence of strangers cannot be traced back to unconditioned reactions but must be supposed to rest on discrimination. In several studies of such resistance, as measured by crying, kicking, etc., this type of negative behavior was found to appear at the age of six months and to increase gradually. The high point of resistance for males was found to occur somewhat above the second year, and for females somewhat below this age.[11] These tests imply that opposition rests on the discernment of the strange and consequently disturbing situation, or is a gesture directed at the mother who is present rather than at the stranger. Increasing discrimination may also be seen in the changes which take place in children's conflicts. Taking away a toy from a child of school age usually arouses a fighting response, but this response seldom takes primitive forms such as biting, striking, or scratching; instead, it finds such substitutes as crying, telling teacher or parent, slandering, or even hitting the offender's smaller brother or sister. Still other forms are employed in the adult, and the influence of convention is even more definite.[12]

Thus, although, as Crile asserts, "The most powerful activation of man today . . . is his fellow man,"[13] this cannot account for the fact that a stimulus is followed in one case by a hostile response and in another by flight, acquiescence, or even aid. The process of conditioning and forming habits helps to explain how an attitude of opposition is built up, but it does not tell why the conditioning occurs with reference to one type of act rather than another. This depends upon the directive influence of individual experience and especially upon customs and variable situations, as these are viewed by the subjects. If it be supposed that conditioning for cooperative behavior is more difficult than that for hostilities—a theory which is unsubstantiated—it is nevertheless recognizable that the directive influence of the group upon the individual is the same in both cases.

[11] Levy, D. M., and Tulchin, S. H., "Resistant Behavior of Infants and Children during Mental Tests," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1925, vol. viii, pp. 209-224.

[12] Weiss, Albert P., *op. cit.*, p. 373.

[13] Crile, G. W., *A Mechanistic View of War and Peace*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925, p. 50.

(3) THE GAMING INTEREST.—Conflict is evidently facilitated by the fact that attention is most easily given to situations whose outcome is problematical. This gaming interest (W. I. Thomas calls it the "gaming instinct")[14] is suggested by various facts. For example, most languages are rich in metaphors referring to warfare. A few current examples are: "captain of industry," "corporal's guard," "free lance," and "salvation army." The amusements of all peoples have centered very largely around combat, pursuit, flight, concealment, and other problem situations. The sports familiar to modern civilization have analogies in other cultures. Contests involving personal injury, gladiatorial and pugilistic performances, etc., are prevalent. Furthermore, animals are pitted against each other in some groups. For example, the Javanese match hogs and rams, the buffalo and the tiger; the early East Indians were amused by combats between elephants; the Chinese, by fights between quails or crickets; and the Russians, English, and Americans, by combats between geese or roosters.[15]

As already implied, this gaming interest is aroused by other tension situations which have little, if any, resemblance to conflict—games of chance, hunting, business, etc. The weightier the issue at stake, the greater is the fascination; and this gives a clue to the popularity of sports, gambling, speculation, rivalry, trials, and their portrayal in dramas, recitals, etc. But the same interest may be associated with intellectual, æsthetic, altruistic, cooperative, and other types of pursuits. Therefore, in assuming such a natural tensional facilitation of conflict, we must understand that this trait of human nature does not predetermine one specific form of expression rather than another, and that it may be directed upon cooperation as well as opposition.

Moreover, conditioning, culture, and discrimination may lead even to an aversion for overt conflict, as is clear from the fact that many people are repelled by the sight of prize fights, duels, battles, and other forms of combat. "Peoples have always gone to war with various degrees of relish or repugnance," say Sumner and Keller, "but such sentiments have been in their traditions, and not in any inherited instinct, one way or the other."[16] The impulse to struggle

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[14] Thomas, W. I., "The Gaming Instinct," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1900-1901, vol. vi, pp. 750-763.

[15] Pitt-Rivers, A. Lane-Fox, *The Evolution of Culture and Other Essays*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1906, p. 58.

[16] Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 369.

is thus directed, if not created, by experience, culture, and the social situation.

(4) THE RELAXATION THEORY makes conflict, including war, a means of escape from labor, monotony, and the responsibility for one's own conduct. Patrick believes that war "brings rest to the higher [nervous system], relaxation, and release from the tension which is the condition of progress. . . . It is by no means sure that what man wants is peace and quiet and tranquillity: These are too close to *ennui*, which is his greatest dread. What man wants is not peace, but a battle. He must pit his force against some one or some thing."[17] Other writers have declared that "It is conflict which gives zest to life,"[18] and feuds, wars, and duels are said to arise where other forms of relaxation are lacking.[19] These specious arguments attempt to convert the incidental by-products of conflict into causes, and in part rest on the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy. In addition, they ignore the contrary facts which by far exceed the corroboratory incidents. Although a general exhilaration does result from collective action, this feeling-state is not peculiar to conflict and therefore cannot be taken as an adequate cause for its existence. Any other conclusion would betray us into inferring that opposite results are produced by a single and identical factor.

(5) EMOTIONAL BASES OF CONFLICT.—Fear and anger are not adequate explanations for various types of antagonistic relations. Although a visceral condition arising from anger can be eliminated by fighting, it can also be "worked off" by exercise, by the removal of the offender, or even by merely thinking of him as insignificant or as humiliated.[20] Conflicts often occur in spite of fear, and one cannot say that because fear accompanies wars it causes them; for men may fear something else more than they do war. Conflicts also occur where hatred is not the inciting cause. The British General Strike is said to have been conducted without any bitterness, strikers and volunteer strike-breakers fraternizing in full agreement concerning the unfortunate miners on whose behalf the suspension was

[17] Patrick, G. T. W., *Psychology of Relaxation,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1916, pp. 248-249.

[18] See quotations listed by Bogardus, E. S., *A History of Social Thought,* pp. 401 ff.

[19] See Ross, Edward A., *Principles of Sociology,* p. 150.

[20] Bagby, English, *The Psychology of Personality,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1928, pp. 72-73.

called.[21] Indeed, men may even go to war without any hatred for their opponents, just as they formerly killed each other in duels, without rancor.[22] The victor in a duel during the reign of Queen Anne is quoted as saying: "I come to relate my sorrow, a sorrow too great for human life to support. Know that this morning I killed in a duel the man whom of all men living I loved best.[23]

Although imprecations and songs of hate do arise when nations are at war,[24] the statements of observers as well as participants indicate that men may engage in battle without a feeling of anger. After about sixteen months of fighting, one soldier wrote concerning the World War: "The bombardment is heavy. I can picture the scenes in the trenches, too awful to contemplate. I am truly as sorry for the German poor devils, as for English infantrymen. No man can hate his enemy while he is being bombarded in the trenches; even the apostles of hate who are there leave that to Fleet Street for the time being, and if I have to practice my ghoulish art of bombing in actual battle, I shall do my best to kill—that I know from experience—but it will be entirely without malice. That is the tragedy and comedy of it all."[25]

That anger or other emotions are insufficient to account for conflict is further indicated by the fact that these states must often be aroused by artificial means. In order to get men to fight, it may be necessary to employ complex devices, called by Tolstoy the hypnotization of the masses.[26] A military strategist writes: "Anger and hatred to be most potent need to be personal. Modern war prevents this and it is not easy to keep an impersonal anger at high pressure, since there is no individual to serve as an excitant. Under such conditions, indifference develops. . . ."[27] But some combatants

[21] Sharp, Clifford, "The Comedy of the Great English Strike," *New Republic,* July 7, 1926, p. 194.

[22] Nicolai, J., *The Biology of War,* The Century Company, New York, 1918, p. 377.

[23] Ritter, W. E., *The Natural History of Our Conduct,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1927, p. 280.

[24] LeBon, Gustav, *The Psychology of the Great War,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1916, pp. 141-158.

[25] Keeling, Frederick, *Letters and Recollections,* G. Allen and Unwin, London, 1918, pp. 253-254.

[26] Novicow, J., *War and Its Alleged Benefits,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1911, p. 92.

[27] Munson, Edward L., *Management of Men,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1921, p. 127.

have asserted the reverse, that a close view of an opponent's face arouses inhibitions against firing upon him.

Even in the undeveloped and unmethodical warfare of the lower savages, as in the highly technical combats of more advanced peoples, music and songs have been utilized to stimulate zeal for battle.[28] Rehearsals of the anticipated struggle may help to prepare for action without any dependence upon emotions, or, like modern propaganda, they may stimulate anger and revengefulness. In the Chippeway war dance, for example, the warriors imitated the actions of surprising the enemy, tomahawking, and scalping him. Before a war expedition the Algonquins held a dance, in which they brandished their tomahawks and struck the post around which they stood, as if they were killing and scalping a foe. Natives of South Australia, when about to attack, beat their weapons together, threw dust in the air, spat, and made gestures of defiance.[29] The tribes on the coast of New Mecklenburg were habitually hostile and cannibalistic, but they met peaceably by agreement one day in the year and, at the close of the day, they deliberately and painstakingly insulted one another, apparently with the intention of stirring up enough anger to last another year.[30]

Revenge for injuries received depends largely upon social expectation. Among savages who regard every death as the result of machinations by some one, even a death due to disease or old age is followed by retributions visited upon the supposed offender. The Yakuts expect a man's murder to be avenged by his descendants even to the ninth generation.[31] Some North American Indians —the Nootka, for example—are said never to forget an injury, and to perpetuate private, family, and tribal feuds from generation to generation.

However, in other cultures, the absence of resentment under similar circumstances indicates that such apparent emotions do not inevitably accompany conflicts. Among preliterate, as well as advanced, peoples a murder is not always met by retaliation. In various tribes the bereaved family may adopt the murderer in the place of the fallen member of the family. The Plains Indians

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[28] Hirn, Yrjo, *Origins of Art,* Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1900, p. 263.

[29] Crawley, E., *The Mystic Rose,* Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1902, pp. 289-290.

[30] Thomas, W. I., *The Gaming Instinct,* p. 754.

[31] Sumner, William G., "The Yakuts," p. 72.

formerly held an annual celebration in which they gave presents to, and honored, an opponent, even if he had helped to slay a member of the family, thereby signifying that the fight was fair and that no ill feeling remained.[32] The intertribal raids among the Arabs are said to cause singularly little personal resentment, the injured party even defending the integrity of his assailant.[33]

Such facts imply that so-called "pugnacity" and "revenge" apparently operate largely as "moral indignation"[34] when they are culturally prescribed. In fine, the occurrence of conflict depends upon the possession of the requisite capacities, but this is also true of cooperation, flight, and gestures of pride and humility, as well as other forms of social conduct. Dewey says: "History does not prove the inevitability of war, but it does prove that customs and institutions which organize native powers into certain patterns in politics and economics will also generate the war pattern."[35] Bodily structure and the emotional reinforcements facilitate conflict but they do not account for the contradictory customs or for the choice of the antagonist. A's attack upon C may be for the purpose of protecting B. Hostility is not universal but particular—a mode of relationship under specific circumstances.[36] Accordingly, the "impulse to opposition" may show itself even in quite harmonious relationships and in persons of a yielding nature.

### CONVENTIONAL INCENTIVES TO CONFLICT

If therefore it be said that conflict, instead of being instinctive, arises because of "a set of life conditions demanding adjustment,"[37] the view that is held by a group as to the adjustments to be made is colored by the established relations and by its customs and traditions. These affect conflict in at least three specific ways: They (1) prescribe occasions which demand hostilities, (2) perpetuate attitudes of antagonism, and (3) link conflict with other values.

[32] Eastman, Charles Alexander, *The Indian Today,* Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., New York, 1915, p. 9; Rivers, W. H. R., "Sociology and Psychology," *Sociological Review,* 1916, vol. ix, pp. 4-11; cf. Veblen, T., *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1917, pp. 245 ff.

[33] Harrison, Paul, *Arabs at Home,* Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1924, pp. 157-158.

[34] Cf. McDougall, William, *An Introduction to Social Psychology,* Methuen and Company, London, 1924, p. 73.

[35] Dewey, John, *Human Nature and Conduct,* p. 115.

[36] Small, A. W., *op. cit.,* p. 204.

[37] Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *op. cit.,* vol. i, pp. 353 ff.

(1) Occasions and Aims of Aggression Vary with the Type of Civilization and Social Organization.—That there are persistent and recurrent occasions of aggression is well known, but they depend upon the level of civilization and the organization of a group. The desire for territory or goods, for securing sacrificial victims and captives, avenging injuries to "honor," defence of dynasties, winning renown or a place in the sun, and many other so-called causes of war, vary with time and place.[38] Among tribes who get their living from herds, cattle-lifting may be a usual and recurrent source of war[39]—in Sanskrit the word war meant "We want more cows." According to one primitive proverb, land is the root of war.[40] But the desire for wealth does not everywhere lead to war and raids. For example, Eskimos regard fighting over land as sheer greed, and express surprise that Europeans have not learned better manners. It would be well, they think, to send missionaries to teach the Europeans more humane ways toward one another. The Greenlanders do not, as a rule, fight to reclaim articles which they know to have been stolen.[41] If an Eskimo loses or breaks an article he has borrowed, the owner usually comforts him, but if the latter shows resentment the borrower remains quite calm in the belief that only one person should be annoyed at a time.[42]

Some wars have been carried on—ostensibly at least—for doctrines. "If you want a war," says Sumner, "nourish a doctrine."[43] Slogans, such as "the reconquest of the Holy Sepulcher," "the fight for Democracy," "the throne and the altar," and "the war to end war," have been powerful factors in mobilizing for aggression. But nations no longer battle over religious tenets, dynastic succession, or other questions which once led to warfare, but rather for natural resources and economic advantages.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 368; Davie, Maurice P., *Evolution of War*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1929, pp. 1-159; McLeod, T. B., *The World War and the Road to Peace*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1918.

[39] Davie, Maurice, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Livingstone, David, *Missionary Travels*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1858, p. 526.

[40] Tregear, E., *The Maori Race*, A. D. Willis, Wanganui, New Zealand, 1904, p. 325.

[41] Nansen, Fridtjof, *Eskimo Life*, Longmans, London, 1893, pp. 101, 112, 117, 158.

[42] Nelson, E. W., "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *18th Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1896-1897, vol. i, p. 294.

[43] Sumner, W. G., *War and Other Essays*, p. 36.

Customs prescribe not only objectives but also occasions or causes for conflict. In the continental military caste, a fixed stare by one man at another was accepted as a challenge. In both Europe and America during the past century, "giving the lie" to another was considered adequate cause for a duel. This saying was formerly current: "Call a man a liar in Mississippi, and he will knock you down; in Kentucky, he will shoot you; in Indiana, he will say, 'You are another.' "[44] Concerning his own times, Mark Twain related: ". . . Whenever you said a thing about another person that he didn't like, it wasn't sufficient for him to talk back in the same, or a more offensive spirit; etiquette required him to send a challenge."[45] The rules of the former student dueling corps in Germany named sixty-three points on which a member might be required to fight for the defense of his honor.[46] In Morocco it is an insult to stretch out the middle finger or the five fingers of either hand toward another person.[47] According to Dudley Kidd, a Kafir boy will incur a fight by kicking at a mound of sand and saying to another lad: "That is the grandmother of So-and-so," "I am kicking your old grandmother." The insult is doubly strong if it is accompanied by the words, "Point out to me the direction of the hut in which your mother's brother was born."[48] One of the greatest insults to a Morocco Berber is the charge, "Your father died in his bed,"[49] and among the Trobriand Islanders, calling a person "a man without food" is likely to precipitate a quarrel.[50]

In the United States, courts have held that the speaking or writing of certain words which are considered injurious to a person in his business and social relations makes the offender liable for slander; and damages are recoverable even if it cannot be proved

[44] MacClintock, S. S., *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[45] Twain, Mark, *Autobiography*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1924, vol. i, p. 355.

[46] Hall, G. S., *Morale*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1920, p. 7.

[47] Westermarck, Edward A., *Ritual and Belief on the Morocco Coast*, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1926, vol. i, p. 486.

[48] Kidd, Dudley, *Savage Chi'dhood*, pp. 198-200.

[49] Meakin, J. E. B., "The Morocco Berbers," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1895, vol. xxiv, pp. 7-8.

[50] Malinowski, B., "The Primitive Economics of the Trobriand Islanders," *Economic Journal*, 1921, vol. xxxi, pp. 1-16.

that injury was actually inflicted. Among such statements are im-
puting an infamous crime or a loathsome disease.[51]

People in the Warri area of Africa, according to one traveler,
believe that anyone who argues with them is angry.[52] The Japanese
deem it a gross breach of decorum to make a reply which may dis-
please, to show anger or annoyance, or to ask a favor which will
make necessary a blunt refusal; even the children's play is re-
markably free from quarreling and bullying.[53] They consider an
adverse criticism of another's work or actions a matter of personal
insult; and a direct offering of fees to a business intermediary is re-
sented. On the other hand, perseverance in revenge is highly es-
teemed.[54] Clearly, such diversities of practice must be ascribed to
the customs and traditions of the people concerned.

While various acts may be offensive in themselves, others elicit
a negative response because a positive or friendly one was antici-
pated. Thus, the neglect of a courtesy is likely to produce a nega-
tive attitude, as is shown by the following illustrations. It is said
of a Siamese tribe that unless a visitor eats all that is set before
him and drinks through his bamboo tube out of the common cup,
he is likely to be knifed.[55] Of another people it is said that if a
canoeing party, in passing through another district, fails to lower
the sails in front of the chief's house, war follows unless satisfaction
is given.[56] Preliterate peoples are known to have gone to war be-
cause another group to which they were bound by formal ties of
friendship refused to give the customary feast.[57] Similar principles
are found in the resentment aroused by the neglect of the conven-
tional punctilios governing diplomatic intercourse, and by disre-
spect shown to the flag, national officials, their uniform, or other
symbols of national honor.

(2) ATTITUDES OF ANTAGONISM are perpetuated as are other
traditions. They commit individuals to combativeness, and are em-
bodied in policies, opinions, and subtle inclinations and preferences.

[51] Stephenson, G. G., *Race Distinctions in American Law,* D. Appleton and Com-
pany, New York, 1927, pp. 26 ff.
[52] Granville, R. K., *et al., op. cit.,* p. 109.
[53] Gulick, Sidney L., *Evolution of the Japanese,* Fleming H. Revell & Company,
New York, 1905, p. xiv.
[54] Allen, G. C., *op. cit.,* pp. 15, 18.
[55] Parsons, E. C., *Fear and Conventionality,* pp. 23-24.
[56] Gardiner, J. Stanley, *op. cit.,* p. 471.
[57] Hutton, J. H., *The Sema Nagas,* Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London,
1921, p. 167.

Two groups come to regard each other as foes merely because they have traditionally been in conflict and because the old grievances are perpetuated, as is true of the vendettas of Corsica, the family feuds of our mountaineers, the former chronic strife between the Scotch clans, and between the villages of northeast Afghanistan today. Indeed, hostilities may be perpetuated by their own momentum, as long as new conditions do not intervene. The Formosan head-hunters formerly killed brunette strangers because in the past, as traditions recorded, people of this type "came up out of the sea" and killed some of their ancestors and carried others away to the sea.[58] Similar tenacity of conflict traditions is illustrated by the following examples.

> The embittered Virginian in his last will and testament bequeaths to his children and grandchildren and their descendants throughout all generations, that bitter hatred and everlasting malignity of my heart and soul . . . to instill in the hearts of their children and grandchildren, and all future descendants, from childhood this bitter hatred and those malignant feelings against the aforesaid people and their descendants throughout all future time and generations.[59]

> The quarrel over a sheep walk worth six pence had descended to them from their fathers, and neither of them would yield an inch for his life. I talked in vain of "forgive as ye would hope to be forgiven"—I brought down the terrors of the next world, but without the least effect—when at last the old woman rose suddenly, shouting aloud, "Mun I see ye go to be burnt eternally before my very eyes, ye dour man," and he surlily gave consent to have his enemy summoned to his side. When the hereditary foe, a rather young man arrived, we went straight to the old man's bedside. Claudsdale looked at him fiercely. "Jock, the' say ah's goin' to dee. Wag hands!" He reached out his own, and the ceremony of reconciliation was solemnly accomplished. I was rejoicing over the success of my efforts, when the penitent, falling back upon his pillow, ejaculated sternly, while his eyebrows nearly met, "Bit if ever ah get up agen, mind yerself."[60]

> I once knew a gentleman in whose veins ran the blood of Indian

[58] McGovern, Janet B., *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[59] Odum, Howard, *Southern Pioneers*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1925, pp. 8-9.

[60] Verney, Lady, *How the Peasant Owner Lives*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1888, p. 215.

chiefs. He used to tell me traditions learned from his grandfather, which illustrated what is difficult for a white man to comprehend —the Indian habit of thought, the intense but patient blood thirst of the trail, and the fortitude of the stake. From the way in which he dwelt on these, I have no doubt that under certain circumstances, highly educated, civilized man that he was, he would have shown traits which would have been looked on as due to his Indian blood; but which in reality would have been sufficiently explained by the broodings of his imagination upon the deeds of his ancestors.[61]

"In reality," says Novicow, "civilized peoples today conduct wars simply because their savage ancestors did of old. . . . Since neither the people nor the monarchs desire war, it would seem that the nations could disarm and form the United States of Europe. Why do they not? There is only one reason, but that a powerful one— routine, convention."[62]

Among warlike peoples the force of public opinion serves to fire ambitions for renown in war. In Amerind communities the early lodge teachings, religious rites, and harangues of notables at public assemblies are said to have been designed for this purpose,[63] and similar incitements are voiced in modern nations: "I do not advise you to work but to fight; I do not advise you to conclude peace but to conquer."[64] Labels of honor—from the tattooing of the Polynesians and the animal-skin ornaments of the Abyssinians, to the medals,[65] statues, and emoluments of present-day western civilization—are bestowed upon military heroes. Song and story—the narratives of the Old Testament, the sagas of the Norse, and the Greek epics—incite warriors to achieve glory in battle, and history preserves the memory of famous soldiers. Jewish maidens danced and sang that Saul had slain his thousands, and David his ten thou-

[61] George, Henry, *Progress and Poverty,* Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York, 1912, p. 491.

[62] Novicow, J., *op. cit.,* pp. 77, 100.

[63] Carr-Saunders, A. M., *The Population Problem,* Oxford Press, London, 1925, p. 151.

[64] Quoted by Nasmyth, George, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

[65] In England forty different types of war medals are used for honoring military heroes. Germany formerly led all other countries in the number of war medals, having had 580 in all. In France the most coveted honor is the Cross of the Legion of Honor, with five grades. The croix de Guerre, recognized by military commanders as one of the most powerful incentives to gallantry in action, bestows honor upon the recipient's entire family.

sands. To the Aztecs, as to the Greeks of Aristotle's time, facing death in battle was the greatest and noblest adventure. Choctaw women followed their husbands on the warpath, stimulating them to action by words of encouragement.[66]

When knighthood made war "a fashionable accomplishment," Europeans, like the ancient Romans, esteemed the vocation of arms above "trade." According to Machiavelli, "A prince is to have no other design, nor thought, nor study, but war and the arts and discipline of it, for indeed, that is the only profession worthy of a prince."[67] War with France was once the favorite means by which English gentlemen acquired wealth and position,[68] accomplishment in other lines being met with less acclaim. No heterogeneous English gathering, one writer asserts, is known to have applauded the name of Spencer, nor a German gathering, that of Goethe.[69]

Where such conditions obtain, it is considered disgraceful not to fight. One of the chief grievances of the New Caledonians against the Christian religion is that it forbids raids. "We are no longer men," they say, "since we do not fight."[70] In New Guinea the women abuse the men who do not rush into war, as in other cultures popular disfavor is directed against the "slacker." Until the middle of the last century, Englishmen who refused to fight a duel were dishonored, as is true today among the more isolated Balkan people. One traveler relates:

"When I was in Dushmani, the bairaktar had failed to take blood and was an outcast. He tried to speak at a tribal council at which he should have presided, was refused a hearing, and told not to come back till his honour was clean. . . . Nothing is too bad for the man who fails to set at rest the soul of his kinsman."[71]

Among the Chinese, however, duels are unknown, and surrender in battle was formerly not considered a disgrace. War was long regarded with disfavor, and peace was bought with money when

[66] Featherman, A., *op. cit.*, p. 166.

[67] Machiavelli, Niccolo, *The Prince*, The National Alumni, New York, 1907, chap. xiv.

[68] Robinson, Edward W., "War and Economics in History and Theory," in *Sociology and Social Progress,* edited by T. N. Carver, Ginn and Company, New York, 1906, p. 151.

[69] MacCurdy, John T., *The Psychology of War,* William Heineman, London, 1917, pp. 30-31.

[70] Letourneau, Charles, *Sociology,* Chapman and Hall, London, 1881, p. 189.

[71] Durham, M. E., *op. cit.*, p. 170.

commercial interests were at stake.[72] Only when their isolation
and the traditional regime were broken did warfare become preva-
lent among them. Since military leaders testify to the bravery of
Chinese soldiers, it must be concluded that "Chinese pusillanimity
indicates not the want of natural grit but the fact that the bold,
manly qualities [sic] have not been stimulated among them as they
have been among us, by social appreciation."[73]

(3) CONFLICT LINKED WITH OTHER VALUES.—From these facts
it is clear that warlike behavior is connected with various values
as they are regarded by a social group and inculated through its
culture. To cite an extreme case, head-hunting in Melanesia, Assam,
and elsewhere is linked with such apparently unrelated elements as
the desire for slaves in the next world, the protection of the people
from disease, the increase of soil productivity, guaranty of food,
and continuation of heirs.[74] A New Guinea youth must have "fetched
a head" before he is regarded as an adult. An analogous linking of
conflict with other values is found in the connection between duel-
ing and the defense of honor, and between religious sanction and
war to extend the sphere of influence. The Venetians used the Fourth
Crusade to establish their commercial monopoly at Constantinople,
and later maritime powers warred for a monopoly of trade. Dynas-
tic interests were long associated with European wars.

Where military attitudes are fostered, other institutions tend to be
influenced thereby. In Europe, where war has long been imminent,
even the system of general education may be said to have had a
military stamp.[75] Nations build armaments and fleets, and the
numerous vested interests stimulate and perpetuate attitudes of
hostility.

Antagonisms are thus an expression of the morale of organized
groups. This point of view is well expressed by a participant in the
Spanish-American War: "Our surrender and the bloody battle pre-
ceding have left in our souls no place for resentment against the
men who fought so nobly and valiantly against us. You fought in
compliance with the same call of duty as we did, for we all repre-

[72] Brinton, D. G., Basis of Social Relations, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York,
1902, p. 176.

[73] Ross, Edward A., The Changing Chinese, p. 308.

[74] Hutton, J. H., "The Significance of Head-Hunting in Assam," Journal of the
Royal Anthropological Institute, 1928, vol. lvii, p. 403.

[75] Cooley, Charles H., Social Process, p. 245.

sent the power of our respective states."[76] In fact, individuals, as is commonly known, are drawn into the struggle, even against their own personal inclinations. Marcus Aurelius, Emperor of Rome in the closing years of the second century A.D., the "noblest Roman of them all," who dreamed of peace as few other men have done, spent fourteen of the nineteen years of his rule in waging some of the bloodiest wars in the history of the Empire.[77]

In view of these facts and others subsequently to be recounted, we have no ground for saying that man's inherited nature uniformly compels our conflicts, whether feuds, debates, or wars.[78] Like all social behavior, conflict must be viewed as containing whatever native attributes the subjects possess (their physical and mental qualities, including the tensional and emotional reinforcements discussed) and the discerned objectives (defence, acquisitiveness, resistance to aggression, desire for status, aid to a third party, or gaining some supernatural merit or advantage). The group conflict involves all of these individual elements and, in addition, supplies justifications, incentives, organized strength, and opportunities for altruistic conduct or, at least, for acting in crucial situations with one's fellows. This, according to Simmel, has been a most potent cause of wars as well as of other conflicts.[79] Whatever the factors involved in conflict, they must be viewed not as separate entities but as aids in functioning.

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[76] Quoted by Cooley, Charles H., "Personal Competition," p. 147.

[77] Holmes, John H., *op. cit.,* pp. 56-57.

[78] Bentley, Arthur F., *Relativity in Man and Society,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1926, p. 199.

[79] Simmel, Georg, "The Sociology of Conflict," p. 505.

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# CHAPTER XVIII

## Collisions of Social Systems

That negative attitudes are generated and directed by traditions is now clear. This is true of antagonisms both of individuals and groups. In addition, ethnocentrism is also a major incitement to conflict. We shall discuss, first, conflict as related to ethnocentrism, and, second, group expansion or the growth of positive relations and its effect upon the form of conflict.

### CONFLICT AND ETHNOCENTRISM

Although there are many potential sources of group hostilities, we may, by way of emphasizing the significance of utilitarian factors, agree with the assertion that groups of all types, from a race down to the smallest clique, are always in conflict of some kind with their competitors,[1] and that:

> War arises from the competition of life, not from the struggle for existence. In the struggle for existence a man is wrestling with nature to extort from her the means of subsistence. It is when two men are striving side by side in the struggle for existence, to extort from nature the supplies they need, that they come into rivalry, and a collision of interest with each other takes place. This collision may be slight and unimportant if the supplies are large and the number of men small, or it may be harsh and violent if there are many men striving for a supply. This collision we call the competition of life.[2]

In compactly settled areas this competition is inherent in the situation and is therefore persistent; but the point in the social relations at which the most violent collisions occur is determined not by the scarcity or abundance of goods, but by the group arrangements. Divergent interests do not inevitably produce overt strife; they may lead to efforts to increase, or to share peacefully,

[1] Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1915, p. 56.
[2] Sumner, W. G., *War and Other Essays*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1911, p. 9.

the available commodities. Even savage tribes are known to avert strife with their neighbors by designating portions of the hunting grounds to be used by each tribe and otherwise regulating the conditions of competition. If peacefulness is supposed to be due to the lack of crowding or competition for food and resources, this supposition agrees with the point before us—that a partisan interpretation of interests as reflected in warfare or feuds is a manifestation of the ethnocentrism found in all relatively autonomous groups. It will thus be seen that the manner of responding to such friction is related to the way people are grouped.

Friction between two groups, especially between those which have lived long in isolation from each other, may involve not only antithetical interests but also differences in doctrines and manner of living, which by their incompatibility repel each other. Such antagonisms rest on the fact that the two groups are "mentally unlike, their minds having been prepared . . . to seize upon different views and to cherish opposing convictions."[3] Each group's system of life and thought attracts those who are already conditioned to it and repels those to whom it is strange. Accordingly, when two such rival systems of civilization, morals, religion, manners, customs, or laws come into contact, a clash for self-determination is likely to follow. In theory, Islamites are at war with all outside the faith, just as for two hundred years Christian ministers encouraged crusades against unbelievers. The belief held by the Romans and other early people, that war is a special device for destroying the heathen and barbarians, finds a parallel in the ethnocentrism of most other groups.

Those within the group more or less subordinate conflict to their common sentiments or interdependency and need of cooperation. Members of a cult group in conflict with outsiders address one another as "friends" and "brothers," and their salutation is "Peace." This behavior is the antithesis of the depredations toward outsiders; and inasmuch as each group is surrounded by competitors it organizes for aggression and defence. Struggle against the out-group and mutual aid within are opposite aspects or poles of the same social situation. Just as one set of relations (in the family, neighborhood, benefit society, clan, or class) tends to encourage cooperation and

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[3] Giddings, F. H., "Are Contradictions of Ideas and Beliefs Likely to Play an Important Group-making Rôle in the Future?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 1907-1908, vol. xiii, pp. 784-791.

to discourage violent forms of conflict among the associates, so the out-group relationships tend to involve members in hostilities with other groups. Consequently if A, who is a member of an autonomous group, inflicts injury upon B, who belongs to another similar group, A's group shields him from retaliation, while B's group supports his claim for compensation or revenge, according to their customs. In a similar manner, competition for the possession of goods leads to groupal alignments and collisions. Thus far, the clash of interests is a result of the group organization; for if A and B, belonging to different autonomous groups, become incorporated into a larger group, their conflict will now be regulated and subordinated to the needs of cooperation.

In general, therefore, it may be said that peace within and conflict without are the laws of group life, the only variation being the intensity or the form of the antagonism, depending on other relations of the groups to one another. In this sense alone may we subscribe to Immanuel Kant's assertion that the state of peace between men who live near one another is not the state of nature, the natural state being rather one of war.[4] This proposition is true only when contact between autonomous groups which lack all positive relations is in question, or when the dependence of individuals upon a single group is so complete as to exclude collaboration with members of other groups; for when needs are supplied through one association, this tends to limit similar dealings with people in other groups.

However, the existence of this ethnocentrism does not mean that it always expresses itself in violent conflict, or that the collisions at a given point are not subject to control; for, inasmuch as the line of division between groups is subject to change, the point of conflict varies accordingly. This will be noted in greater detail with reference to (1) the shifting of the conflict of interests with changes in the individual's group alignment, and (2) the expansion or contraction of the scope of conflict with the changes in the size of the social system.

(1) MUTATIONS IN CONFLICT DUE TO CHANGES IN GROUP MEMBERSHIP.—The close connection between the social structure and conflict is seen by the fact that when people change their group alignments, their point of view and conduct are likewise modified. Migrants conform to the point of view of the receiving nation, as

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[4] Kant, Immanuel, *Perpetual Peace*, Sweet and Maxwell, London, 1927, p. 24.

is shown by the loyalty of the foreign-born in many lands. Kinsmen who have migrated to different sections of a country eventually assume the viewpoints of their respective groups, and may even fight on opposite sides in a conflict, such as a civil war. The individual who changes groups through marriage conforms to the point of view and shares in the conflicts of the adopting group, providing this is prescribed by the culture of that group. Among some primitives, where matrilocal marriage is customary, the husband identifies himself with his wife's people and becomes one of her family; and if war expeditions are made against his own blood relations, he will fight against them. One ethnologist relates: "I have seen a father and son fighting under these circumstances, and the son would most certainly have killed his father if others had not interfered."[5]

Wage workers who become employers adopt the views of other employers and ally themselves with them against their erstwhile comrades. The former alignment between workmen and employers has undergone changes, with corresponding shifts in the point of conflict. Although in theory an antagonism of interest between employers and employees existed prior to the Industrial Revolution, it did not lead to strikes and lockouts until suitable groupings had formed. In the early American industries, workers from different factories were known to engage in fights to assert the superiority of their own firm over others. At the present time loyalty to the firm is competing against loyalty to workers in competing firms. When the lines of social cleavage are drawn at new points, the conflicts of interest vary accordingly; and, conversely, persistent and open clashes of interests supply division lines in the formation of new social groups. However, when persons change from one social system to another, mutations in their sentiments do not usually take place instantly. Furthermore, customs prescribe different rules as to where loyalties shall be placed.

(2) CONFLICT AREAS SHRINK OR EXPAND WITH THE DIMENSIONS OF AUTONOMOUS GROUPS.—In so far as conflict is a function of the social organization, the area within which strife occurs shrinks or expands with changes in the size of the inclusive group. At each step in the enlargement of the area of cooperation—which may be said to have been, roughly, the horde, clan, tribe, federa-

[5] Tylor, E. B., "Marriage Laws and Descent," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1888-1889, vol. xviii, p. 250.

tion of tribes, nation, and empire—the scope of warfare has widened correspondingly; for even if these integrations were most frequently formed by conquest, when the consolidation was once produced, war was usually kept at the margin of the enlarging zone of regulated peace. The group, whether large or small, "has always obtained a larger sum of total benefits from a struggle *en masse* than it has obtained by lesser struggles of its component groups against one another, or from still more minute struggles of its individual units against one another."[6] Thus the expansion of the group and the increase of the peace area are functions of each other. The Iroquois League expanded the area of peace and mutual aid among its confederates but sharpened the opposition to outsiders;[7] and in the same way the expanding European nations in past centuries absorbed local warring groups into a larger forced peace-pact and socio-economic unit. The degree to which war could be controlled has always depended upon the size of the population which, under given conditions of communication, could become a cooperating, interdependent, sentiment-bound, and administrative unit.[8] Indeed, the chief function of the state has been the regulation of conflict among the interest groups within its boundaries. The same sociological principle is observable in connection with non-territorial groups. For example, the growth of employers' organizations and of wage earners' unions, although producing large-scale conflicts, tends to prevent small local quarrels, in so far as these organizations can control their own members in preventing "outlaw" strikes and boycotts.

On the other hand, this expansion of territorial groups has not clearly lessened wars, for the growth of the in-group does not necessarily diminish its ethnocentrism, and contacts with out-groups continue to occur. Furthermore, opposition to war has not kept pace with the increasing complexity of societies. This is seen by the absence of any consistent diminution of warfare in the present era (although this varies considerably among the different nations), or in civilized, as compared to preliterate, groups. Great differences in belligerency are also found among preliterate peoples. Savagery

[6] Giddings, F. H., *Democracy and Empire,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1900, p. 355.

[7] Morgan, L. H., *The League of the Iroquois,* Dodd, Mead and Company, Rochester, 1904, pp. 8-10.

[8] Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *op. cit.,* vol. i, p. 395; Tarde, G., *Social Laws,* p. 110.

is not a state of *bellum omnium contra omnes*. This contradicts the thesis formerly held by Spencer, Steinmetz, Huxley, Bagehot, and many others, who believed that primitive groups are in a state of perpetual warfare. Such assumptions have no more validity than the belief current in the eighteenth century that the original condition of man was one of Arcadian peace.

From such facts the conclusion must follow that neither the peaceful nor the warlike people are obviously higher in the scale of civilization[9] in other respects. Of the twelve tribes without any or only rare warfare noted by Hobhouse and associates in their study of 298 simpler peoples, ten were in the hunting and lowest agricultural stages and the other two were in the higher pastoral and agricultural stages.[10] Many savage tribes, including some Asiatic jungle peoples and some Australian tribes, are known to have been in a state of almost constant peace.[11] Hennepin says that the peace alliances among the Indians of Illinois should put the whites to shame; and an observer relates of another savage tribe: "I have seen a camp of three hundred live for three months without a quarrel—in strange contrast to the formation of a township where, before the European population reaches fifty, it is necessary for the Government to send out a sergeant of police and a constable to keep order."[12] Some preliterates are said to know nothing of methods of warfare, and nothing of weapons except those washed ashore.[13] One Eskimo language has no word for war.[14] While such conditions are the exception, rather than the rule, they nevertheless refute the above erroneous conceptions as to the relative amount of peace and war among primitives and more advanced peoples.

Compared to the wars of civilized nations, those waged by savages are relatively simple. They are frequently devoid of mass play, resembling rather a series of duels.[15] In some groups they are restricted to a single combat between representatives, and at times are merely attempts to terrify the opponent by masks, dis-

[9] Marett, R. R., *Psychology and Folk-Lore*, Methuen and Company, London, 1919, pp. 27, 44 ff.; Bernard L. L., "War and the Democratic State," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1917, vol. xxii, p. 193.

[10] Hobhouse, L. T., Wheeler, G. C., and Ginsberg, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 228 ff.

[11] Ellis, H., *Philosophy of Conflict*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1919, p. 48.

[12] Bennett, M. M., *op. cit.*, p. 404.

[13] Davie, Maurice, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

[14] Nansen, Fridtjof, *op. cit.*

[15] Eastman, C. A., *op. cit.*, p. 8.

guises, helmets, grimaces, tattooing, dances, mutual abuses, shouts, and din.[16] Ratzel observed that hostility among the Polynesians was expressed chiefly by words rather than battles. Their threats and boastings are terrifying enough, but their real fights are often comparatively bloodless and free from danger.[17] The natives of New Guinea are said to abandon the field when one of their numbers is killed in battle. "Savage warfare," in the words of one writer, "is in some respects a genial occupation."[18] It differs from modern warfare as the bow and arrow differs from the gatling gun, or the stone axe from heavy artillery and poison gas.[19]

As compared to primitive combat, the warfare of advanced peoples shows the destructive results of enlarged groups and mechanical proficiency. Although the territorial groups which have been incorporated into the larger modern nations have become cooperating elements in these larger systems, the latter continue to be involved in frictions at their periphery, as the smaller groups were formerly. This is illustrated by the fact, as reported by Novicow, that annually about five million days of work are devoted to the displacement of boundary lines.[20]

In 1894 the annual *cost* for the maintenance of the European armies was estimated at a billion dollars, and the capital involved in equipment, at twenty-nine billions.[21] In 1924, the military and naval equipment of the United States alone was valued at approximately a billion dollars.[22] The direct net cost of the World War to the belligerents is estimated at $186,333,637,097; and the indirect costs at an additional $151,612,542,560.[23] (The inflation of currency, of course, greatly increased the nominal cost.) The average daily cost was more than $215,000,000, or nearly $9,000,000 per hour. *Casualties* have shown a corresponding increase in modern

[16] Hirn, Yrjo, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[17] Dundas, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 505; Thomson, Basil, "Note upon the Natives of Savage Island, or Niué," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1901, vol. xxxi, p. 142.

[18] Marett, R. R., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[19] Powell, J. W., "From Barbarism to Civilization," *American Anthropologist*, 1888, vol. i, p. 103.

[20] Novicow, J., *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[22] Sims, N. L., *Society and its Surplus*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1924, pp. 94-95.

[23] Bogart, Ernest, *Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1919, p. 299.

warfare, although the total and the average daily loss has varied with the circumstances attending the war. The loss of life in the Napoleonic Wars (1790-1815) was more than two millions; in the Crimean War (1854-1856), 785,000; in the Civil War, 700,000. The fatalities in the World War were 9,998,771; an additional 2,991,800 were missing, supposedly dead; and 81,190 died subsequently from wounds—a total daily average of more than 8000. Injuries completely incapacitated 624,244 and reduced the ability of 10,554,-726 others.[24]

Such facts as these have led some writers to conclude that there is not only little improvement in, but even a decay of, "scruples" and humane feeling in civilized men.[25] "War," according to Bancroft, "is a barbarism which civilization only intensifies."[26] But surmises as to changes in individual cruelty are superfluous, for a more plausible explanation is found in the principle already stated, that behavior is determined by the social system in which the individual is placed and the forces which are put at his disposal. Violence being implied in war, it will occur when the group has once entered upon hostilities; consequently, no inference can be made as to individual scruples. "In war the conscience of the commander is inhibited. 'The commander who lost a battle through the activity of his moral nature,' once cynically declared United States Senator Ingalls, 'would be the derision and jest of history.' "[27]

In methods of warfare, as in other social situations, conduct is therefore determined by the network of relations by which the individual is surrounded and by which his behavior is affected—the industrial organization, inventions, the improved technique acquired by peaceful labor, the weight of inculcated traditions which encourage violent coercion, and customs which prescribe the methods to be used in warring. An example of the last is the fact that, according to W. J. Perry, the use of a specific type of weapon depends upon the linking of the two independent culture traits (warring and, for example, using metals or explosives).[28] Resistance was

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 270 ff.

[25] For opinions that scruples are not improving, see Hobhouse, L. T., *Social Development,* p. 294; Kidd, Benjamin, *The Science of Power,* Methuen and Company, London, 1920, pp. 296 ff.

[26] Quoted by Farrer, J. A., "Savage and Civilized Warfare," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1879, vol. ix, p. 358.

[27] Myers, Philip, *op. cit.,* p. 377.

[28] Perry, W. J., "Peaceful Habits of Primitive Communities," *Hibbert Journal,* 1917-1918, vol. xvi, p. 43.

offered against the use of various inventions in warfare, such as the bayonet, rifle, torpedo, and others; and only gradually did these more destructive weapons become recognized as a regular part of military equipment. The readiness with which an invention is adopted depends upon the perception of its "usefulness" as well as upon moral considerations; but when a new device is adopted, increased havoc follows, irrespective of the changes in moral ideas. Nevertheless, the changed material condition may modify the warlike behavior, in keeping with the point of view frequently stated, that the elements of culture mutually condition one another. For instance, previous to the arrival of the Whites among the Maoris and the introduction of firearms, wars were relatively infrequent and not highly destructive. But later they became incessant so that the natives, according to one observer, "at last believed a constant state of warfare to be the natural condition of life." Their sentiments and maxims gradually conformed to their practices.[29]

Although the controls over cruelty (aside from the slaughter in battle) certainly show improvements from ancient to modern times, and from the practices of preliterate tribes to those of civilized nations, there is no continuous upward trend.[30] However, expansion of social structures and the enlarged areas in which violent forms of struggle are largely inhibited, mark an unmistakable improvement; and the process of building larger peace groups seems to be constantly under way.

### THE GROWTH OF POSITIVE RELATIONS

This expansion of positive relations proceeds independently of the violent incorporation of one group into another, for the peace group expands with the growth of common interests. Cooperation cannot prosper until a moral order has been established: until hostility has been removed and confidence has developed. But when friendly reciprocities are once under way they increase good will or, at least, dependency, and inhibit conflict to a corresponding degree. Of the various positive relations which overlap territorial groups we shall note in particular (1) trade relations, (2) personal peace relations, and (3) peace treaties and federations.

[29] Holsti, Rudolph, *The Relation of War to the Origin of the State,* New Printing Co., Helsingfors, 1913, pp. 94-95.

[30] Conner, J. E., *The Development of Belligerent Occupation,* University of Iowa Press, Iowa City, 1912, p. 32.

(1) TRADE RELATIONS, such as barter, although often leading to war because of each nation's desire to extend its markets, also tend to produce dependency between autonomous groups and thus to foster peaceful relations. Among some primitive peoples, individuals, even those belonging to habitually hostile tribes, are freely admitted on errands of trade. Sometimes professional intermediaries perform this function because they are immune to attack. In other cases, persons in quest of minerals are permitted to pass through tribal territory, the immunity being effective as long as they give adequate evidence of their peaceful mission. The bonds between "trade friends" which were formed by a ceremonial union, such as eating together or performing some rite, supplied protection and a point of positive relations between groups which were otherwise hostile.[31]

It was prescribed in some cultures that trade routes and traders who kept to these routes should be free from molestation.[32] According to Herodotus, the Aggripeans had a sacred market in the midst of the territory of the lawless Scythian herdsmen, where their unarmed inhabitants were protected; and Caere, a port in the midst of sea nomads, was another such place of peace.[33] Markets presuppose neutral districts within which violence must be subordinated to friendly exchange.

"Silent barter," in which the parties deposited their wares at some designated spot, and returned later to take the goods left in payment, has been supposed to mark a very early stage of reciprocity—a stage of minimum positive dealing in which hostilities were too great to permit bargaining at close range. This form of barter was even carried on between tribes which were at war. If the gifts pleased both groups, a basis was laid for a truce in strife and for reliance upon each other through a division of labor.[34]

All exchange implies a compromise in coming to terms as to the quantity to be given in exchange and in making payment instead of robbing. Thus, it is a substitute for non-intercourse or obtaining goods by force; furthermore, as in "silent barter," it presupposes

[31] Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 155.

[32] Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 157; Horne, G., and Aiston, G., *Savage Life in Central Australia*, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1924, p. 20.

[33] Oppenheimer, Franz, *The State*, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1914, pp. 138-139.

, p. 132.

some degree of fidelity to a mutual trust, and creates dependency because of the division of labor and the advantages secured by the exchange. In this way remote peoples may become relatively indispensable to one another, as is particularly apparent in the present system of world trade. The mutual dependence between nations supplies positive inducements to maintain peaceful intercourse, especially if a territorial division of labor develops in consequence of exchange. Disturbances in remote portions of a world community affect all the other parts. American merchants, for example, are affected by political and economic disturbances in the orient and South America, just as English merchants suffered losses from the interruption in the cotton trade during our Civil War.

This web of mutual interests has been enlarged by the growth of a money economy and, more recently, by a credit economy and international investments. Before the World War there were less than half a million buyers of foreign securities in the United States; in 1930 there were several million, the average subscription being about $3000. Between 1914 and 1927 the foreign investments of American citizens increased from $2,500,000,000 to $14,500,000,000.[35] The sudden rise in the price quotations in the stock market after President Hoover's announcement concerning the proposed moratorium gives concrete evidence of international interdependency. Depressions and disorganization in Europe involve the rest of the world,[36] and consequently it is a matter of self-interest for other countries that a debtor nation be saved from bankruptcy. As a result of these dependencies, both internal and external pressure is brought to bear upon any nation contemplating war as an expression of its partisan interests.

(2) PERSONAL PEACE BONDS develop independently of utilitarian transactions. Such are the guest-host and other forms of assumed obligations. The house-peace or hearth-peace contains taboos against violence in the house and requires care and protection for the guest and the inviolability of the host. To many people the guest-host relation was sacred, even in the case of enemies, as is shown by the Biblical injunction: "If thine enemy be hungry give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty give him water to drink." In

[35] Boeckel, Florence B., *Between War and Peace,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928, pp. 128-129.

[36] Keynes, J. M., Pribram, Karl, and Phelan, E. J., *Unemployment as a World Problem,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, p. 260.

various cultures these injunctions or the customs upon which they are based impose effective obstacles to the use of force. According to Reclus, members of a defeated Bengalese clan, who were driven out of their homes, came to the enemy to claim asylum as guests, but they proved so expensive as guests that the conquerors found it preferable to restore their lands and goods.[37] One Arabian story —probably intended for didactic purposes—relates that an enemy who intended to kill a prince accidentally touched salt with his lips in the prince's tent, thereby becoming a guest, ceremonially, of his intended victim; accordingly, the assailant left the tent without committing the proposed crime.[38] To be sure, such customs are rare, but they nevertheless illustrate the fact that institutions may provide for personal peace relations.

Some cultures prescribe that one person may give a guarantee for safe conduct to a stranger, thereby guarding against violence by fellow tribesmen. Such a custom still exists in modified form among the Berbers of Morocco—a survival from olden times when a member of the tribe would give an outsider his spear, marked by some emblem recognizable by his fellow tribesmen, as surety that the stranger's life and property were safe, or at least that his sponsor would avenge any injury to him. Among the American Indians the bearer of the calumet was welcomed by allies and given safe passage even by enemies.

Peace relations may develop out of adoption, slavery, and intermarriage. For example, adopted captives are admitted directly into a place in the tribal life and are assigned the duties associated therewith. Slavery likewise incorporates the conquered by assigning them to an intermediate position between friend and foe. Some South American tribes who intermarry are said never to war upon each other.[39] Marriages of European monarchs were often arranged for state reasons, including the preservation of peace. That customs may require neutrality on the part of blood kin is illustrated by the fact that some primitives do not expect those who have relatives among the enemy to fight. When two tribes of the Mortlock Islands go to war, each combatant selects as his antagonist someone

[37] Reclus, M. E., *Primitive Folks,* Walter Scott Company, London, 1891, p. 261.
[38] Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* vol. i, pp. 588 ff.
[39] Markham, Clement, "A List of Tribes of the Valley of the Amazon," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* 1910, vol. xxiv, p. 281.

who is not a close kinsman.[40] In one Arctic tribe, such relatives remain neutral when their communities are at war. A kinsman has the right to restrain combatants and the one with the highest prestige may stop the fighting by a command or by raising his hand; even his mere presence may be sufficient to end a skirmish.[41] But opposite customs prevail in other groups; for, as we have previously noted, the party to an exogamous marriage may be expected to act with the group in which he resides. In every case the established customs and the type of social organization account for these varying facts, which would be irreconcilable if they were viewed from the standpoint of individualistic theories of antagonisms.

Religion may serve as a peace pact, as is illustrated by Islamic codes. The spread of the Ghost-Dance religion among the Utes, Cheyennes, and other Amerinds was followed by a cessation of hostilities between the converted tribes.[42] In the Euro-American culture, on the other hand, the territorial group takes precedence over religious and sectarian bonds, as is seen by the fact that in recent wars coreligionists fought against one another; moreover, some sects are still confined within national boundaries, as is true of so-called "state churches."

(3) ORGANIZATIONS of various types—secret societies, scientific congresses, trade associations, international religious bodies, peace conventions, and leagues of nations—represent a corresponding number of common interests which are supposedly independent of territorial groups.[43] Secret societies of primitives, as well as those of more advanced people, by means of their esoteric language, signs, and vows of mutual helpfulness, theoretically extend positive relations even into the practice of warfare.[44] Scientific and humanitarian points of view particularly can be isolated from partisan lines, as is illustrated by the attendance of Russian and Japanese delegates at the international scientific congress in 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War.[45] International organizations interested in science, religion, the press, labor, insurance, education, sports, fine arts, etc.,

[40] Sumner, W. G., *War and Other Essays*, p. 20.

[41] Holsti, Rudolf, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[42] *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1896, part two, p. 783.

[43] For a discussion of the application of international machinery to the problem of unemployment, see Keynes, J. M., Pribram, Karl, and Phelan, E. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 191-215.

[44] Webster, Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[45] Reinsch, P. S., *Public International Unions*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1911, p. 185.

are rapidly increasing. The total number of congresses held by such organizations between 1843 and 1910 was 1977; and their frequency is increasing, as is indicated by the fact that during the successive five decades beginning in 1861 and ending in 1910, their numbers were, respectively, 69, 150, 295, 645, and 790.[46] In the year 1927 alone, there were 367.[47] More definite efforts are exerted by international peace societies and conventions. Peace treaties, leagues, and world courts are affirmations, at least, of intentions to refrain from hostilities. In 1926 there were no less than 285 treaties between pairs of nations regarding the arbitration of disputes.[48] However, such movements have been notoriously ineffective, as is shown by the fact that between 1500 B.C. and A.D. 1860, more than 8000 treaties of peace were concluded, which, on the average, remained in force only two years.[49] Such facts do not necessarily indicate that these alliances are without effect, but, rather, that the territorial social structures still remain partisan and that resolutions succumb to ethnocentrism. The treaties do not at once change traditions or remove the competition of life.

Accordingly, wars have been recurrent. Between 1496 B.C. and A.D. 1861, there were only about 227 years when no wars were in progress in some of the nations.[50] The average time spent in warfare by certain European nations from 1450 to 1900 was 48 per cent, as compared to 52 per cent in peace.[51] A comparison of the years of warfare per century for the several European nations shows that while there has been a considerable tendency toward a decline in this respect during recent centuries, this tendency is not uniform. Of the larger nations, Austria, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark show a very pronounced decrease during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; England and France show no decrease, and during the last two centuries their war years have increased as compared with several earlier centuries.[52] Bodart's study of Austria-Hungary[53] shows

[46] Krehbiel, Edward B., *Nationalism, War and Society,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1916.

[47] *Information Service,* January 15, 1930, number 102, p. 2.

[48] Stratton, George M., *Social Psychology of International Conduct,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1929, p. 296.

[49] Novicow, J., *op. cit.,* p. 14.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Woods, Frederick A., *Is War Diminishing?* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1915, p. 43.        [52] *Ibid.,* p. 31.

[53] Bodart, Gaston, *Losses of Life in Modern Wars,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1916, p. 4.

that this country has been second only to France among Continental nations with regard to the number and significance of the wars in which she was engaged during the past three centuries, but that the number of years she spent in warfare per century has decreased; in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries the number of her wars was, respectively, 12 and 21, and the years of warfare, 77 and 25.

However, as we have already noted, the groups involved in war have in the main been increasing in size, and the area of peace has increased correspondingly, whether for reasons of compulsion, advantages, or sentiments. Although in segmented societies the area of interdependency was usually smaller than the administrative territorial unit, the reverse is now increasingly true. Accordingly, an expansion of peace areas may be expected to follow as a logical development.

When the various associative factors coincide they reinforce one another. Thus, when the exchange of goods or services, religion, and nationality are coterminous, that is, are restricted to one isolated and autonomous group, the bonds within the group and the hostilities toward those outside are likely to be relatively absolute. But when positive elements overlap the boundaries of several groups, hostilities tend to be limited. The people in a given nation today are identified with so many different associations that they necessarily have similar interests in some relations and a conflict of interests in others, thereby lessening the intensity of the antagonisms, whether by individuals or groups. In such a network of relations, people are largely in agreement on fundamental questions of daily importance, and they live in outward harmony, maintaining habits of non-aggression as far as violent combat is concerned. Although they carry on intense commercial, industrial, and intellectual struggles, these are mostly in keeping with existing rules of civil organization.[54] Thus, even though conflicts continue to occur within a peace group, they are largely restricted to rivalry, competition, legal contests, non-participation, passive resistance, and polemics. The opinion is widely held that there is a like progression between nations from violence to competition. One writer observes that, "As society becomes civilized, exchange develops faster than competition . . . and internationalism faster than mili-

[54] See Giddings, F. H., *Democracy and Empire,* p. 356.

tarism."[55] But changes do not develop consistently in one direction, and frequent reversions have occurred.

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[55] Tarde, G., *Social Laws*, p. 138.

For similar opinions, see Walter Bagehot, *op. cit.*, pp. 156 ff.; Cooley, Charles H., *Social Process*, p. 251; Vincent, G. E., *op. cit.*, p. 471.

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# CHAPTER XIX

## Composition of Differences Through Conflict

We have seen that hostilities arise in connection with the contacts of persons and groups under various conditions of life, and that traditions prescribe and perpetuate antagonisms. Although some conflict is carried on as an end in itself or in deference to a custom, most conflicts occur because of a partisan point of view in reference to an advantage which can be enjoyed by only one party; and when such antagonisms have once arisen, one method of removing or ending them is through a trial by battle. It is thus no paradox to say that war makes peace, although we may not agree with the opinion that "peace makes war."[1]

Whether or not conflict is begun with the avowed purpose of settling a dispute, it may serve this purpose, providing the decision reached by this method of adjudication is accepted as final or is enforced by the victor. According to an ancient belief, fate presides over the contest and gives victory to the "deserving" and the "wronged" side. For example, the Norsemen regarded war as a just means by which the strong might gain title over the weak—a visible sign that God had intended one to rule over the other. They gave the name of Divine Judgment both to judiciary combat and to battles of all kinds.[2] Similar views have been expressed in various circles within the last half-century. A second belief is that the ability to force a concession is *ipso facto* a merit which deserves the award—in other words, that "might is right."

Conflict between parties which lack other means of adjudication offers one method, however crude, of maintaining a balance between incompatible interests. Settlement is sometimes effected by exterminating one contestant, and, at other times, by wearing him down or outwitting him. But because struggle is wasteful of energy, of resources, and even of life, the perception of comparative strength

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[1] Sumner, W. G., *War and Other Essays*, p. 11.

[2] Mallett, Paul Henri, *Northern Antiquities*, translated by Bishop Percy, Henry C. Bohn, London, 1847, p. 138.

may be substituted for an actual test—counting noses takes the place of breaking heads. But violent conflict is still widely accepted, as is shown by its prevalence and by the customs and rules for its regulation. Thus three types of conflict may be noted: first, trial by battle; second, tests of attrition, and, third, litigious and ceremonial conflict.

### TRIAL BY BATTLE

(1) INTER-GROUP STRUGGLE.—Extermination by warfare occurred among the ancient Hebrews and Aryans, as well as among savage tribes. According to the Bible, in some instances the Hebrews even destroyed the domestic animals along with the enemy. In accordance with an early Roman custom, no quarter was given after the head of the battering ram touched the walls of the besieged city. The entire population was exterminated when Vacco was conquered by Metellus, as was true also of various towns in Gaul in Cæsar's campaigns. The Polynesians, the Sea Dyaks of Borneo, and some other primitives are said to spare none of their enemies in war.[3]

However, such methods of resolving differences are the exception, rather than the rule, so far as the records of both preliterate and more advanced people in ancient and modern times disclose. Kant declared that every war in which the belligerents do not exercise control over assassination, treachery, and instigation of treason, must become a war of extermination; for unless such limitations are observed, the opponents destroy confidence, which is a necessary condition for peace.[4] Most peoples, including preliterates, have customs or positive rules which impose limitations upon destruction; and in general, two types of regulations may be distinguished: (a) those pertaining to the use of force between combatants, and (b) those relating to distinctions between combatants and noncombatants.

(a) Rules of warfare may be designed to lessen the waste of life. Thus, it is reported of the Kitui that certain people who had medicine which they smeared between their thumb and forefinger to make their aim unerring, were often not allowed to go to war because of the damage they inflicted on the enemy.[5] This peculiar view of warfare indicates that the object of the fighting was not so

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[3] Davie, Maurice, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Letourneau, Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-192.
[4] Simmel, Georg, "The Sociology of Conflict," p. 499.
[5] Dundas, Charles, "History of Kitui," p. 505.

much the destruction of the opponents as winning status, maintaining traditions, etc.

An ancient Aryan rule—the "blameless law for the warrior"— required the fighter to refrain from the use of barbed or poisoned weapons, or weapons concealed in wood, or weapons with blazing points; to spare the opponent who flees, who joins his hands in supplication, who says "I am thine," or who is sleeping, disarmed, or wounded.[6] In theory, at least, modern rules of warfare likewise prohibit superfluous injury and enjoin sparing a combatant enemy who is wounded, lacks means of defence, or has surrendered.[7] Substitutes for slaughter—adoption, liberation, exchange, and slavery— appear even in the lowest stages of culture and are somewhat more frequent among the higher hunters, the pastoral, and primitive agricultural peoples.[8]

Rules of "fair play" which insure some equality in the conditions under which the fighting is carried on are found among many people. The codes of the ancient Hindus declared that only warriors armed alike and placed in similar circumstances were to fight each other in fair and open combat: a king should fight a king, a car-warrior with one of his own class, a soldier on an elephant should encounter only those similarly mounted, a cavalry officer should engage a cavalry officer and a foot soldier one of like rank.[9] The ancient Greeks and Romans, during some periods of their history, are likewise reported to have conducted their battles according to certain rules of "fair play." An early American traveler relates that when a mounted war party of Cheyennes came upon some Mandans who were on foot, they dismounted to make the chances of combat equal;[10] and the Arkansas Indians are said to have given a share of their powder to the Chickasaws so as to equalize the fight.[11]

(b) Distinction between combatants and non-combatants is also general and appears in most, if not all, stages of civilization. Not only women and children, but also aged men and various func-

[6] Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* vol. i, p. 342.

[7] Burns, C. Delisle, *Morality of Nations,* University of London Press, London, 1915, p. 161.

[8] Hobhouse, L. T., Wheeler, G. O., and Ginsberg, M., *op. cit.,* pp. 232 ff.

[9] Viswanatha, S. V., *op. cit.,* p. 88.

[10] Maxmillian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, *Voyage in the Interior of North America,* Arthur Clark Company, Cleveland, 1906, vol. iii, p. 80.

[11] Hobhouse, L. T., *Social Development,* p. 294.

tionaries—priests, smiths, medicine men, and others—are by custom and rule immune from attack among many savages as well as among more advanced peoples. Cyrus, in his campaign against the Babylonians, limited his attack to combatants and permitted the unarmed to pursue their peaceful occupations.[12] Abu Bekr enjoined his troops to refrain from disturbing the monks or hermits,[13] and Henry V of England, after the Battle of Agincourt, forbade the robbing of merchants and interference with industry. These early practices are paralleled by the elaborate regulations of present international law pertaining to non-combatants.

Frequently even persons contributing directly to military operations, but not designated as combatants, are exempt from violence. Among the ancient Aryans, for example, animals, charioteers, carriers of weapons, drummers, and conch blowers, were not to be attacked or slain.[14] In most civilizations envoys of either sex are also protected. Because of their immunity from attack in feuds and warfare, women and children often act as intermediaries between savage tribes. Modern warfare limits hostilities to properly authorized agents, who are distinguished from non-combatants by uniforms and military organization. A non-uniformed assailant, when captured, may be treated as a criminal.[15] Such rules rest on the premise that war is not a conflict between states but between their armed representatives, but this ceases to be strictly true in an industrial age.[16]

(2) INTRA-GROUP TRIAL BY BATTLE.—Intra-group disagreements, likewise, may be settled by the elimination of one party, as is shown by the reference to *trial by battle, duels,* and *feuds*. The first of these was approved by moral and civil laws during the Middle Ages. In the reign of Louis le Debonnaire, the appellant began action by a declaration before the judge that the appellee was guilty of a certain crime; if the appellee answered that his accuser lied, the judge required a duel. Trial by battle might also decide an issue when legal precedents were lacking. For example, during the reign of Otto I (962-973), the question arose as to whether orphaned

[12] Conner, J. E., *op. cit.,* pp. 7-8.

[13] Condé, José A., *History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain,* Henry Bohn, London, 1854, vol. i, p. 37.

[14] Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* vol. i, p. 343.

[15] Conner, J. E., *op. cit.,* p. 6.

[16] Burns, C. Delisle, *op. cit.,* p. 162.

children should share equally with their uncles in the property of their grandfather. None of the lawyers being able to solve the question, it was submitted to the ordeal of battle. Two champions were chosen, one for the grandchildren, and the other for the uncles. Since the latter's champion was unhorsed and slain, the right of the grandchildren was established to be the same as the father's would have been.[17] Natives of the Malay Archipelago and of some parts of Borneo have until recent years followed this method of adjudicating disputes.[18]

In the form of the *duel*, the wager of battle was also used by various peoples as a means of vindicating their "honor." The laws of the Lombards stated that when one man called another an *argu*, the insulted party might challenge the other to mortal combat. Ancient Swedish laws declared that if one man said to another, "You are not a man's equal," and the other replied, "I am a man as good as you," they should fight a duel. Among the pagan Norsemen, anyone who wished to acquire property might do so by challenging the owner and worsting him, with or without mortal results.[19] A veritable frenzy for fighting swept over western Europe during the seventeenth century. Quarrels were championed by friends and relatives of the injured one, and the duty of revenge was handed on to his descendants. During the first years of the reign of Louis XIII, duels became so common that the ordinary conversation of people meeting in the morning was: "Do you know who fought yesterday?"[20] It was estimated that in twenty years, 28,-000 letters of pardon were issued to those who had killed others in combat. Between 1601 and 1609 in France alone, approximately 2000 men of "noble" birth fell in duels.[21] Severe regulations by the governments against the practice gradually lessened its popularity. But dueling was a recognized custom in some European countries until recently; and it persisted in the United States until the second half of the past century. One writer, describing conditions in St. Louis, Missouri, in the early decades of the nineteenth century,

[17] Mackay, Charles, *Memories of Popular Delusions,* Office of the National Illustrated Library, London, 1852, vol. ii, p. 270.

[18] Westermarck, Edward A., *op. cit.,* vol. i, p. 504.

[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 498 ff.

[20] Mackay, Charles, *op. cit.,* vol. ii, p. 280.

[21] Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* vol. i, p. 508.

said: "Duels were continually occurring and all was confusion and uproar."[22]

If a code of combat is thoroughly inculcated, and especially if some element other than sheer revenge or rage is at stake—for example, a test of fighting ability, or the defence of "honor"—we find that rules are everywhere laid down to equalize or regulate the conditions of the battle. "Men, reasonable in the main," Montesquieu says, "reduce their very prejudices to rule. Nothing was more contrary to good sense than those combats; and yet when once this point was laid down, a kind of prudential management was used in carrying it into execution."[23] French rules of judicial combat demanded that when there happened to be several accusers they should agree among themselves that the action might be carried on by a single champion; and if they could not agree, the person before whom the action was brought appointed one of them to prosecute the quarrel. The magistrates ordered three bans, the first of which commanded the relatives of the parties to retire; the second warned the people to be silent; and the third prohibited giving assistance to either party.[24] According to French law, when a "gentleman" challenged a "villain" he was obliged to present himself on foot with buckle and baton; but if he came on horseback and was armed like a "gentleman," his accusers took his horse and arms away and compelled him to fight as a commoner. Similar codes existed among the American Indians, as is shown by the narrative concerning the chief who, when his opponent's powder-horn was shattered, threw his own gun and powder-horn away, both warriors then having recourse to their bows and arrows.[25]

*Feuds,* which, like duels and trials by battle, are in some cultures formally sanctioned methods of settling disputes, are likewise conducted according to specified rules. The ancient Greeks, Romans, Jews, Arabs, and Persians, as well as most European peoples, formerly sanctioned this private warfare; and among the highland clans of Scotland the saying prevailed, "All is dishonor where there

[22] Kirkpatrick, John Erwin, *Timothy Flint,* Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1911, p. 97; Twain, Mark, *op. cit.,* pp. 355-361.

[23] Montesquieu, Baron de, *The Spirit of Laws,* George Bell and Sons, London, 1905, vol. ii, p. 213.

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 214.

[25] Catlin, George, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians,* George Catlin, London, 1841, vol. i, p. 153.

is not an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth."[26] According to Arabian law and the mandates of the Koran, anyone shedding the blood of another owes a debt of blood to the family of the one slain, and this was true even of death in open battle.[27] An Albanian mountaineer is said to live constantly in the midst of a blood feud.[28] Blood revenge was customary in Japan until recently.

Where retaliation is permitted, customs determine those to whom retribution is due and who shall impose it. In minor injuries the aggrieved individual himself may be expected to take revenge;[29] but the rules of retribution for mortal injuries vary considerably. For example, in the time of Confucius a minor official was required to avenge the death of a superior.[30] Some customs impose this duty on the nearest relative. Thus, among the Scandinavians, a son could not secure his inheritance until he had avenged his father's death.[31] Among the primitives of Central Victoria, the murderer's elder brother or his father is slain in revenge; or if these relatives are not available, the murderer himself is the victim. Early Saxon kings declared that a slayer's kinsmen need not take up his quarrel, and that if they chose to forsake his cause they were not liable to vengeance.

In other groups the obligation of retaliation devolves upon all members of the tribe. The Dyaks, for example, scrupulously keep account of the number of lives one tribe "owes" another.[32] When the idea of credit and debit is present in feuds, hostilities will continue until the accounts are squared. The life of a chief may require more than one death in expiation.[33] Only rarely are women and children included in blood feuds, although among some Balkan peoples a boy, according to ancient usage, was liable for blood as soon as his head was shaved, that is, at about two years.[34] In the feuds formerly waged by American mountaineers, the "enemy" was

[26] Sutherland, A., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 162.

[27] Davie, Maurice, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, p. 155.

[28] Jenks, Albert, "The 'Half-Breed' Ascendant," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1917, vol. xii, p. 109.

[29] Davie, Maurice, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Haddon, A. C., "The Ethnography of the Western Tribes of Torres Straits," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1890, vol. xix, p. 314.

[30] Stratton, George M., *Social Psychology of International Conduct*, p. 247.

[31] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, p. 502.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 501.

[33] Weeks, Rev. John, "Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1909, vol. xxxix, p. 431.

[34] Durham, M. E., *op. cit.*, p. 165.

not attacked if he was accompanied by a woman or if he carried a child in his arms. However, some Bengalese tribes wreak vengeance on women and children, as well as on adult males.

Some people, by custom, may delay revenge for years, the avenger meanwhile showing no resentment; the offender is allowed to live in peace until he may be suddenly dispatched at an unexpected moment, or challenged to a wrestling match and put to death if defeated.[35] The laws of King Alfred of England stated that men attempting to avenge the death of a kinsman must surround the house of the murderer for seven days, thereby giving him an opportunity to surrender or to take a chance of repelling his foes. It is said of some higher preliterate peoples that if an individual belonging to a group in which a blood feud exists is received as a guest in the home of the "enemy," he is protected and in due time accompanied to the margin of his host's territory, but is warned to beware henceforth.

It is thus seen that even mortal contests are institutionalized, and that an element of good form surrounds violence. These contests, like all other institutions, undergo growth and decline and must be viewed not as instinctive behavior but as products of associated living.

### THE TEST OF ATTRITION

The outcome of the ordeal may be the exhaustion, rather than extermination, of one or both participants, in which case the endurance or resources of the contestants are balanced against each other and the one who can resist the longer or inflict the heavier loss dictates the terms of peace. This attrition assumes varying forms and degrees of violence. The Malays, like American school boys in "cutting jackets," settle disputes by beating each other with sticks until one or the other cries enough, the victor then claiming the right for which he contended.[36] Disputants among other simple tribes scarify each other on the back until one desists and thereby ends the contest. The western Eskimos hold boxing matches for a similar purpose.

Likewise, the outcome of wars and other weighty struggles is not determined solely by fatalities but by injuries and economic

[35] Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, p. 414.
[36] Crawley, A. E., *op. cit.*, p. 293.

losses, by display of superior force, intimidation, and disorgani-
zation of morale. In strikes, employers count upon the "battalion
of hunger" to weaken the resistance of their striking employees.
Strategists regard endurance as the decisive factor in warfare. Cle-
menceau voiced more than a platitude when he "prophesied" that
"The side that holds out for the last quarter of an hour will win."[37]

Aside from testing relative strength, attrition produces changes
in the subjects themselves. When the alternates to struggle are
very onerous the contest will end only at the point of the imminent
defeat or exhaustion of one or both participants, and after each one
has estimated the limits of his resources relative to his opponent's
or weighed his inevitable losses against doubtful gains. Exhaustion
of resources and the threat of disaster from continued struggle
"drain away pugnacity. . . . Men long exposed to the enemy suffer
depreciation of the will to fight."[38] General Ludendorff said, "The
results of the further fighting depend mainly on the maintenance
of the men's morale!"[39] In describing the relation of morale to the
duration of a war, Tolstoy said that "most nations are happy at the
beginning of war, especially if powerful and living long in peace.
There is pleasure in the unfolding of strength by the nation and
individual—yet no long-continued war is fought in this mood."

In time, fatigue, irritation, criticism, the desire for peace, accu-
sations of exploitation and hatred of superiors develop among both
soldiers and civilians. Desertions and other military offenses in-
crease, and in the end discipline may turn into complete collapse.[40]
Such changes were apparent during the World War and the
Russian debacle of 1917, which has been called "the most salient
instance in all history of the collapse of morale on a large scale."[41]

Attrition continues as long as the issue is of primary significance
to one or both subjects, but when the two contradictory motives—
to continue and to end the conflict—reach an approximate equi-
librium the conflict is ready to break. Thus peace comes into being
"at first in the form of the wish immediately parallel with the
struggle" and the willingness to forego victory and perchance to
assume a humble position thereafter. This subjective change is

[37] Munson, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[40] Quoted by Munson, E. L., *op. cit.*, p. 53.
[41] Hall, G. Stanley, *Morale*, p. 24.

called conciliation by Simmel,[42] and a change in attitudes by Park and Burgess.[43]

Peaceful intentions may be expressed in various ways. Some Central American people show their desire for the cessation of hostilities by throwing away their weapons or touching their fingers to the ground and then to their lips.[44] Others indicate it by waving green branches, shooting arrows into the air in sight of the enemy, exchanging betel nuts, sending bundles of red ocher, displaying a dove, presenting gifts of kumis, meat, fruit, and so on.[45]

### LITIGATION AND CEREMONIAL CONTESTS

Conflict in which the amount of injury to be inflicted is limited or even measured approximates litigation; and because the procedure is definitely prescribed, it may also be said to be ceremonial in character. Such a conflict pattern persists in various institutionalized forms, ranging from sham fights to polemics. The sham battles may be preliminary to settlement by discussion; or the outcome of the test of skill may itself serve as a decision between the disputants. For example, the aborigines of western Australia arrange for two persons who have private quarrels to throw a certain number of spears at each other until their honor is satisfied.[46] On the island of Sumba, hostile groups meet and engage in conflicts which are seldom bloody and are not really intended to be serious; the one receiving the first wound is defeated, and a palaver and festival follow.[47] Such contests are often the means of avoiding still greater violence, as when two tribes who are in controversy choose representatives who fight till one or the other is shown to be the weaker.[48] Quarrels are sometimes settled by duels between the chiefs, and the result is accepted as final. At other times, one or several representatives are chosen; these men, painted with red clay and dressed in war costume, step into the arena, taunt one another,

[42] Simmel, G., "The Sociology of Conflict," pp. 806 ff.

[43] Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 510.

[44] Davie, Maurice, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 186-188.

[46] Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. i, p. 500.

[47] Thomas, W. I., "The Gaming Instinct," p. 754.

[48] Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. i, p. 503; Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, p. 95.

exchange blows and wrestle together. The first wound ends the combat.[49]

Some groups require, as a substitute for feuds, that the accused, armed with a shield, shall confront the slain man's kin; they throw spears at him, and he parries their attack as best he can. When blood is drawn, the grievance is ended.[50] Other tribes require that when a man has given cause for complaint, he shall allow the wronged man to strike his head until blood flows. In some Australian tribes the culprit was provided with a shield, and the prosecutors hurled spears at him from a prescribed distance. If the accused succeeded in warding off the weapons he was discharged.[51]

Although some of these contests are based upon the idea that chance or an aleatory factor presides over the outcome, others are employed because of their usefulness or their long habituation. The first is illustrated by a test of skill such as that used by the Chukchi, who settle differences over boundary lines or possessions by means of a wrestling match, with the conviction that the wronged man will be victorious.[52]

The usefulness of such ordeals in settling disagreements rests on the fact that they place the decision upon the disputants themselves. This is illustrated by the ordeal by water practiced in several regions. If disputes are so doubtful that they cannot well be settled otherwise, the contestants go under water and the one who remains longest wins the suit. In some instances, seconds for the contestants stand by to pull them from the water at the first sign of drowning, lest they prefer death rather than acknowledge defeat.[53] Valentyn, the reverend author of a voluminous history of the Dutch Indies, argued with some Christian chiefs on the necessity of ending this "heathenish practice"; but his arguments had no effect, for the people were convinced of the wisdom of this custom. They said: "If, in a trial, the evidence is so equally balanced that we are at a loss to decide, and pass no sentence, the people will murder each other." To avert this, they utilized the ordeal by water.[54]

[49] Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. i, p. 497.

[50] Lowie, Robert, *Primitive Society*, p. 407.

[51] Crawley, A. E., *The Mystic Rose*, London, Macmillan Co., 1902, p. 293.

[52] Lowie, Robert, *Primitive Society*, p. 406.

[53] Lévy-Brühl, Lucien, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

[54] Yule, C. B., "Notes on Analogies of Manners Between the Indo-Chinese Races and the Races of the Indian Archipelago," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1879, vol. ix, p. 298.

Other means of settling disputes, although based on a test of skill, exclude the likelihood of injury to the litigants. For example, among several Indian tribes of British Columbia, litigants beat a rock or a tree with their staffs, the one who breaks his staff first being the victor.[55] A similar test is pressing a spear or lath into the ground, the one who sinks it farthest being the winner.[56] Purely ceremonial and symbolic also is the practice of burning the offender's house in effigy, as is done by some Sumatrans preliminary to settlement through a palaver.[57] The pattern of combat is contained in various other ceremonial and even magical purposes not directly connected with a conflict of interests and their composition.

Polemics also serve as a means of adjudication. Methods not unlike the personal derogations involved in our legal trials are found among some primitives. Among the Eskimos one way of dealing with offenses is for the aggrieved person to challenge the defendant to a contest of satire. The one whose derision receives the greater acclaim from the audience wins the point at stake and gains in social prestige. The complainant is supposed to be punished if the defendant wins the favorable verdict of the audience.[58]

### THE "SYMPATHY OF PERCUSSION"

From the elaborate regulations prescribing the way conflict shall be conducted, it appears that men who subject themselves to self-imposed rules do, to this extent at least, cooperate in carrying on conflict. The acknowledgment of the rules of fair play places the opponents in a common moral order where "there are some things that no fellow can do."[59] Agreements implying this community of thought, which Cooley calls the "sympathy of percussion," tend to arise in the midst of conflict.[60] Blows may be inhibited by one participant, in the expectation that the opponent will likewise withhold his blow; and concessions may be granted because of the perception of the injurious consequences resulting from disregarding

[55] Nicholas, F. C., "Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Columbia," *American Anthropologist,* n. s., 1901, vol. iii, p. 612.

[56] Hartland, Edwin, *Primitive Law,* Methuen and Company, London, 1924, pp. 175-176.

[57] Sumner, W. G., *War and Other Essays,* p. 20.

[58] Nelson, E. W., *op. cit.,* p. 347; Goldenweiser, A. A., *op. cit.,* p. 40.

[59] Burns, C. Delisle, *op. cit.,* p. 175.

[60] Cooley, C. H., *Social Process,* p. 39.

the interests of the opponent. This is illustrated by the following narratives concerning the World War.

> We perform our nocturnal tasks at the front of and behind the firing trench, amid a perfect hail of star-shells and magnesium lights, topped up at times by a searchlight, all supplied by our obliging friend the Hun. We, on our part, do our best to return these graceful compliments. The curious and uncanny part of it all is that there is no firing. During these brief hours there exists an informal truce, founded on the principle of live and let live. It would be an easy business to wipe out that working-party over there by the barbed wire, with a machine gun. It would be child's play to shell the road behind the enemy's trenches, crowded as it must be with the ration-wagons and water carts, into a blood-stained wilderness. . . . After all, if you prevent your enemy from drawing his rations, his remedy is simple; he prevents you from drawing yours. Then both parties will have to fight on empty stomachs, and neither of them, tactically, will be a penny the better. So unless some elaborate scheme of attack is brewing, the early hours of the night are comparatively peaceful.[61]

> Fighting as a matter of fact is becoming rarer and rarer along the line now (April, 1915) in comparison to what it was in the winter, when Mauser and Lebel sputtered at each other all through the night. I have no doubt that if we were to remain here much longer under the same conditions there would be a kind of tacit understanding not to fire at outposts and that there would even develop neutral zones and surreptitious commerce between the sentinels, as I have heard from veterans was the case in the later years of our Civil War. For the evolution of hostility is naturally toward chivalry, not toward unmitigated ferocity. The hymns of hate, the rancor and vindictiveness are the expressions of non-combatants whose venom has time to accrue in the quiet of studies far removed from the noise of the cannon.[62]

> While the proximity of the trenches has brought intensive fighting, it has also brought its counterpart—fraternizing between the opposing sides. The men hear each other talk and sing, one side signals, the other answers, and their representatives appear and exchange tobacco, food, and newspapers.

[61] Beith, Ian Hay, *The First Hundred Thousand,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1916, p. 247.

[62] Seeger, Alan, *Letters and Diary,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1917, pp. 100-101.

On Christmas day . . . the soldiers on each side agreed mutually to the cessation of hostilities . . . that until a stated hour they would shoot into the air. When that hour arrived both sides put on the mask of war, and resumed the business of killing each other.[63]

Such consensus tends to arise between combatants especially when they have a common culture, are equally matched, or in close communication during times of peace. As long as conflict is unquestioningly accepted as a method of settling disputes or of supplying amusements and other values, and is conducted according to rules, it arouses singularly little resentment. But unless struggles are decisive they do not "clear the atmosphere" of uncertainty,[64] nor do they settle differences. In fact, the rancor so produced is often perpetuated in traditions. However, when a coerced equilibrium becomes embodied in the social organization, grievances tend to be forgotten. Even though peace may be forced, the longing for tranquillity and the incorporation of discordant elements in a common social structure supply permanent means of settling differences.[65] Indeed, an incidental, and, at times, even designed, use of conflict is the determination of the terms of subsequent cooperation.

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[63] Crile, George W., *op. cit.,* pp. 15-16.
[64] Van Loon, Hendrik, *Tolerance,* Boni and Liveright, New York, 1925, p. 313.
[65] Novicow, J., *op. cit.,* p. 19.

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# CHAPTER XX

## Social Selection and Accommodation

Although hostilities are often begun for announced purposes, it cannot be said that the consequences are all foreseen or, for that matter, desired. Indeed, the by-products are often more important than are the attainments of the immediate and avowed aims. Among such purported or actual effects of conflict we shall note, first, the selection of individual and social types; second, the aiding of social alignments; and, third, the forcing of new working relations.

### SELECTION THROUGH CONFLICT

With regard to the effects of warfare upon the physical quality of the population, two contradictory schools of thought have long existed. One of these (represented by Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, J. Novicow,[1] D. S. Jordan,[2] V. Kellogg,[3] and others) holds that war, by withdrawing the physically superior from the general population, decreases this element during the contemporary and subsequent generations. An early expression of opinion on this subject was given by Benjamin Franklin who in 1783 stated that war diminishes not only the population but even the quality and the size of the human species, "for," said he, "the army in this and every other country is in fact the flower of the nation—all the most vigorous and well-made men in a kingdom are to be found in the army. These men, in general, never marry."[4] From his study of the effect of the Napoleonic Wars, Kellogg concluded that these wars reduced the stature and increased the infirmities and disease of the male population of France, while the cessation of military activities resulted in increased stature and decreased disabilities.[5]

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[1] Novicow, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 20-26.

[2] Jordan, D. S., *War and the Breed*, The Beacon Press, Boston, 1915; *The Human Harvest*, The Beacon Press, Boston, 1907.

[3] Kellogg, V. L., *Military Selection and Race Deterioration*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1916, pp. 157-202.

[4] Jordan, D. S., *War and the Breed*, p. 48.

[5] Kellogg, V. L., *op. cit.*, p. 200.

Napoleon caused the slaughter of 3,700,000 men. "Who," asks Novicow, "dares assert that those men had the poorest constitutions? Everybody knows they were the pick of Europe."

Substantiation for these arguments is supplied by data from many wars. As a result of the Paraguayan War, "the virile population disappeared almost completely, only the sick and disabled remaining."[6] The Wars of the Roses cost England the greater part of her nobility—supposedly the best-trained men in the kingdom. Jordan estimates that at least 40 per cent of the men in the South between 18 and 35 died without issue as a result of the American Civil War;[7] and as a result of the World War the birth rate in European countries dropped to a hitherto unprecedented low level.

Concerning the physiological effects of the World War upon the participants, Dr. Aleš Hrdlička in 1915 expressed the opinion that permanent injuries would result from the "extreme and prolonged tension that must be sustained in many cases by the soldier in the trenches, with maxima of excitation, fatigue, and depression," thereby producing a large class of invalids, affecting adversely the quality of their offspring, and interfering with the proper care of their progeny.[8] Another deleterious result of war is increased disease and death rates in the civil population. During the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) the death rate of the civil population in both France and Germany was higher than during the years immediately preceding and following. The period of the World War was marked by an increase of tuberculosis, influenza, and other communicable diseases. In January, 1916, the population of Germany declined, on the average, by 300 per week.[9]

Various writers call attention to the disorganizing effect of war, not only in the dislocation of capital and labor but also in the temporary or permanent personal disorganization of many men who are taken out of their normal place in society and who fail to find another or to adjust themselves to civilian life after their release from the army.

The protagonists of war, on the other hand, minimize its adverse

[6] Novicow, J., *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[7] Jordan, D. S., and Jordan, H. E., *War's Aftermath,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1914, pp. 2-5.

[8] Quoted by Jordan, D. S., *War and the Breed,* pp. 74-77.

[9] Nixon, J. W., "War and National Vital Statistics with Special Reference to the Franco-Prussian War," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society,* 1916, vol. lxxix, p. 418.

effects and recount its imputed benefits. One of its supporters argues that the reduced birth rate due to war is accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the quality of maternity, inasmuch as the more poorly endowed are excluded from parenthood.[10] Others assert that the mortality of the able-bodied in wartime is offset by the preservation of the incapacitated in times of peace;[11] that war preserves the stronger group while eliminating or suppressing the weaker; and that in the past, when fighting success depended on individual strength, the physically superior, rather than the weaker, survived. These statements apply only slightly, if at all, to modern conditions and do not fit all preliterate societies.

The beneficial effects of war upon culture and the social organization are thought to be due to stimulation of the imagination (as reflected by an increased output of poetry and fiction), the development of discipline and coordination of efforts, and the elimination of inefficient methods and mores. Without any reference to actual facts, Ruskin asserts, "All great nations learned their truth of word and strength of thought in war."[12] Prudhon, in his treatise on war and peace, placed war and the duty of waging it at the basis of all society. A more recent writer holds that: "Those societies which have gone to war and prevailed are the ones that have got ahead in the world. . . . Where group conflict has been persistent the path of evolution is strewn with discarded codes. . . . It is probable that the salient and characteristic features of all prevailing codes present the residue from such rude tests, involving the virtual extirpation of the losers with the resultant elimination of many inexpedient codes."[13]

However, it might be argued with equal validity that peace is followed by similar results. The statements cited show that their proponents share such traditions as those noted in Chapter XVII. Moreover, parts of both types of arguments are based upon the unexpressed premise that the qualities which are esteemed and transmissible are indicated by prowess, health, or stature. But geneticists do not subscribe to this opinion; and, furthermore, there is no

[10] Gini, C., "The War from the Eugenic Point of View," *Eugenics in Race and State,* Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1921, p. 430.

[11] Mallock, W. H., *Aristocracy and Evolution,* Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1898; Haycraft, John B., *Darwinism and Race Progress,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1908.

[12] Nasmyth, George, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

[13] Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution,* p. 64.

evidence whatever that the differences in the military efficiency of groups are due to inequalities of inherited nature. Indeed, the decisive factor in collective struggles is the quality of the respective cultures and social organizations. If any inherited differences exist, they are, of course, registered in the collisions of groups. But unless the conquered are destroyed, their qualities may be blended by intermarriage with members of the victorious group and the purported differences will thus be effaced.

Whatever the explanation of the differences in efficiency, one cannot say that they are necessarily desirable or undesirable from the standpoint of any test other than that of fighting; and therefore, as far as merit is concerned, the results must be distinguished from the theories. For instance, it cannot be said that efficiency in war is preferable to other traits which may be diminished or destroyed by this particular type of efficiency. The Spartans who fought better than the Athenians, at least on land, cannot for this reason be said to have been the more desirable stock; and, similarly, the Turks, who have been notable as hardy combatants, are not thereby proved to have correspondingly desirable qualities in other respects.[14] Fighting ability is more probably a result, rather than a cause, of other cultural qualities, and its beneficial effects are often negated by later results, as the present aftermath of the World War indicates.

### PRODUCING NEW ALIGNMENTS

Although the effect of war on the quality of the stock is doubtful, its influence on the social structure, including the age and sex composition of the warring population, is easily demonstrable. In reality, all weighty struggles, as well as rivalry, affect the social organization—the status, consensus, and working relations of the participants. Such results follow from the fact that conflict (1) accentuates contrasts, (2) forces new cleavages, and (3) cements the social structure by increasing morale, at least temporarily.

(1) CONTRASTS are emphasized through conflict because the animosity aroused is attached especially to an opponent's distinctive traits, such as language, customs, physical characteristics, wealth, etc.; and these become symbols of enmity just as collective representations become symbols of ethnocentrism. After the par-

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[14] Bryce, James, "War and Human Progress," *International Conciliation Pamphlets, No. 108,* 1916, pp. 3-27.

tition of their kingdom, the Poles made Catholicism a symbol of their own nationalistic aspirations because their enemies professed different sectarian affiliations. The Irish, the Czechs, and other peoples have likewise utilized their opponents' religion as a symbol of their antagonism. The Koreans, who for four thousand years had had no national religion, became ardent Christians and made their new religion a rallying point of opposition against Japan when the latter annexed their country in 1910 and attempted to enforce assimilation.[15] The following narrative describes the way in which racial differences serve as an *isolation* device under existing prejudices.

> When white men first appeared in South Africa, the natives seemed to have had no consciousness that they formed a class opposed to the white men. One tribe regarded the next tribe as its eternal enemy. The natives were intensely conscious of the tribal bonds, but it never occurred to them that they had a bond of "color." The effect of civilization and education has been to draw their attention to this racial conflict; the antithesis of black and white has had a most potent effect in awakening a sense of racial, as opposed to tribal, solidarity. . . . Distance no longer keeps the natives apart, for railways facilitate travel and supply focus-points where tribe meets tribe. . . . In addition to this, semi-civilized Kafirs of all tribes meet in Mission schools and Mission churches with new and common bonds, and set to work to hatch a common grievance. Since nothing draws people together like a common grievance, large centers, such as Johannesburg and Durban, become hot-beds of Ethiopian discontent, and the pernicious seed of race-hatred, like thistledown in a wind, is carried away to the remotest kraal in the country. The very massing of tens of thousands of natives in one district teaches the Kafirs their power. Civilization also gives the natives a press of their own, which not only spreads discontent but also hastens on the dawn of national self-consciousness.[16]

(2) CLEAVAGES may be stimulated by agitation, but they arise in particular from differentiating factors (see Chapter III) and new forms of competition. Every situation representing irritations and rivalries is characterized by slogans and recriminations—such as "pig eater," "wop," "greaser," "rube," "hayseed," "prig," "viper,"

[15] Miller, H. A., *Races, Nations and Classes,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1924, pp. 57 ff.
[16] Arranged from Kidd, Dudley, *Kafir Socialism,* pp. 156-157.

"parasite," and others of like intent—which thrive under racial, sectional, and class frictions and aid in drawing lines more sharply. Slogans articulate the dissociative attitudes of such self-conscious groups and supply a "protective philosophy" of self-imputed merits and of derogation of the antagonist or rival.

However trivial the points of disagreement, when once the clash is initiated, it tends to spread, successively drawing into the factions, the supporters of those already committed to one or the other side. Onlookers are brought into alignment by a complex selective process, and neutrality becomes reprehensible. In early American politics, contempt for a non-partisan voter was voiced by the term "mugwump," and even today the party zealot will not "scratch" his ticket lest he be classed as "doubtful" with reference to his party affiliations. In this way groups in conflict, much more than those in peaceful enterprises, draw to themselves large numbers of persons who would otherwise have but little in common and who would not have formed an alliance without such a crisis.[17] This may be seen even in local quarrels, for a labor strike, a personal disagreement between school officials, or a minor difference of opinion concerning the location of some public building has been known to mobilize a whole community into two opposing factions. And in international relations the murder of a Serbian archduke was followed by the greatest alignment of warring nations in all history.

Such alignments, even those produced by non-violent conflict, may be permanently embodied in functional and personal relations: Social classes emerge through competition for favored occupations and the cumulative advantages of prestige and capital. Overt conflict helps to draw the lines more sharply, as is true, for example, in the case of wage earners and employers during strikes and lockouts. Cleavages may also be forced, as is apparent from the violent changes in social alignments resulting from civil wars and revolutions. In such upheavals, new stratifications are formed and old ones acquire a new personnel, for some individuals are elevated and others are debased in the social scale.

(3) CEMENTING THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE.—At the same time that conflict differentiates groups, it binds them into an efficient unit, especially during the period of unfolding energy and initial exuberance. Minor differences between the members are, for the time being, overlooked in deference to the common objectives. "A large

[17] Simmel, Georg, "The Sociology of Conflict," p. 688.

proportion of mankind," one writer observes, "can be brought to cooperate only when resisting or attacking a common enemy."[18] Alliances are usually produced in this way; for, just as antagonism against the outsider and cooperation within are correlatives, so hatred for the enemy and affection for compatriots are functions of each other.[19]

Patriotism and other positive attitudes are most in evidence during the initial stages of active hostilities. According to a Dutch historian, periods of peace are times of the greatest internal disintegration, but it is not always clear whether this is cause or effect.[20] Although only half true, Ruskin's statement that nations are born in war but expire in peace, emphasizes the fact that conflicts, especially those which are successful, weave a group together, at least for the time being. The petty and impotent tribes of Arabia were transformed into a powerful combination through the struggle to extend the Mohammedan faith.[21] Italy became united against Austria and the pope; Germany, against Napoleon; the American colonies were welded into a nation as a result of the Revolutionary War. Although the internal differences in the south were so great that the Confederacy came near splitting, the factions were held together by the greater conflict in which they shared.[22] The World War is said to have aroused among the colored people of the world á race consciousness and a solidarity of sentiments which would otherwise have required generations to produce.[23] Jews in America forgot their own dissensions in their attachment to their coreligionists in Europe who were likewise subjected to discrimination.[24] The rival factions and religions in India buried their differences for the time being under Gandhi's program of resisting occidental aggression. Strikes notably produce a spirit of brotherhood among wage workers, arousing such sentiments as self-sacrifice, heroic decisions,

[18] Russell, Bertrand, *Why Men Fight*, The Century Company, New York, 1917, p. 113.
[19] Cf. Ratner, J., *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1928, p. 463.
[20] Sumner, W. G., *War and Other Essays*, p. 15.
[21] LeBon, Gustav, *The Psychology of Revolution*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1913, p. 46.
[22] Stephenson, N. W., "The Confederacy Fifty Years After," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1919, vol. cxxiii, p. 750.
[23] Clark, J. L., "The Effect of the World War upon the National Spirit of the Colored Peoples," *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*, 1924, vol. iv, p. 134.
[24] Miller, H. A., *Races, Nations and Classes*, p. 49.

sympathy for those in need, comradeship, and unselfishness. According to one enthusiast, they "have engendered in the proletariat the deepest sentiment that they possess."[25]

But the solidifying effect of conflict which is often so potent during the "heat of the fray" does not always persist, even when the objectives have been attained; and defeat is typically registered in dissensions within the group. When, at the end of a struggle, attention and effort are again redistributed among a variety of objectives and allegiance is once more transferred to factional interests, dissensions appear with pronounced intensity, as is illustrated by the recriminations and political strife frequently following in the wake of war. The victories of Montrose in 1689, according to Macaulay,[26] proved fruitless because of local jealousies among his Highland followers—the Gordons deserted him because they fancied he neglected them for the MacDonalds, and the latter left him because they wanted to plunder the Campbells; and, as a result, the force which had once seemed sufficient to decide the fate of a kingdom melted away in a few days. Furthermore, conflict is not the sole means of developing group solidarity. Although millions may be mobilized for effective teamwork under the stress of war, this same result might also be attained in other ways if the need and method were sufficiently patent. It is the corporate action, with the attendant association and pursuit of the common objective—whatever it may be—which cements the elements into unity.

It must be remembered also that collective conflict is a result, as well as a cause, of group cohesion. Feuds represent family solidarity; wars presuppose a high degree of national unity and, according to Novicow, have disrupted as well as formed, great nations.[27] Various writers affirm that wars have impeded, rather than prompted, unification.[28] This has been noted frequently with reference to primitive peoples, such as the Hawaiians, the Sandwich Islanders, and the North American Indians, whose conflicts prevented them from marshaling their forces for concerted self-defence. Similarly, the incorporation of conquered peoples by a victorious nation does not *per se* produce unity. This is especially true when the

[25] Sorel, George, *Reflections on Violence*, B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1912, p. 137.
[26] Macaulay, T. B., *History of England,* E. H. Butler and Company, Philadelphia, 1860, vol. iii, p. 101.
[27] Novicow, J., *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[28] Holsti, Rudolf, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

culture is diverse and the only bond of cohesion is the common subjection to force, as was the case in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Ratzel likens the results of conquest to a cell growing into a cell mass instead of into an organism.[29] A group so compounded disintegrates easily, for a lasting consolidation is not effected by conquest until peaceful ties have developed.

### FORCED WORKING RELATIONS

Social action once started tends to continue to its purposed end.[30] Nevertheless, in most situations conflict is only a temporary, and (except in war) a limited repudiation of society and must therefore give way to some form of positive relations or to complete isolation. Unless the ordeal by battle has eliminated one of the participants, the outcome determines their status and the terms of their subsequent association. Because exact knowledge as to comparative strength can often be attained only by an actual trial, this may be the only means of satisfying each one that he is obtaining all the advantages he could command through coercion.

Although the trial by attrition discloses comparative ability, it may also reveal the degree of mutual dependence and the advantages of cooperation. In fact, when interdependency exists, one function of struggle is to work out new forms of cooperation. Conflict sharpens the recognition that some needs can be satisfied better by united, rather than by opposing, efforts; but, on the other hand, it may destroy confidence to such an extent that only dire extremity induces surrender.

The readjustments which are made to meet the new conditions imposed by conflict and competition may be referred to as accommodation. Accommodation is to social organization what adaptation is to organic life. "The distinction is that adaptation is applied to organic modifications which are transmitted biologically; while accommodation is used with reference to changes in habit, which are transmitted, or may be transmitted, sociologically, that is, in the form of social tradition."[31] We shall note briefly that (1) the character of these adjustments varies according to the forms of

[29] Ratzel, Friedrich, *Völkerkunde,* Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig, 1890, vol. i, p. 87.
[30] Znaniecki, Florian, *The Laws of Social Psychology,* Gebethner and Wolff, Warsaw, 1925, p. 63.
[31] Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology,* p. 663.

ending the hostilities, and (2) the accommodations may be enforced for a time and then become established as accepted institutions.

(1) THE FORMS OF ENDING overt hostilities may be the postponement of a decision, compromise, or surrender-domination. Changes in the working relations of the contestants are produced by the second and third types in particular.

*Compromise* occurs because of interference by a third party or because of a recognition of the disadvantages and hazards of further hostilities—it is a means of escaping losses when gains are improbable. Even revolutions, Burke asserted, must end by compromise.[32] But compromise is possible only where the point at issue is divisible; and even here the concessions may be very unequal, for they are made according to the relative strength of the subjects. However, if neither party is convinced that he has exerted his entire strength, the resulting peace will be unstable, as in compromises made by arbiters. This discontent will be due, however, not to the fact that terms are compromised but to the fact that at least one participant believes he could have forced additional concessions through further contest. Equally matched contestants, especially, are able to enforce a delicate balance in the mutual concessions and to exercise control over each other's decisions, for each knows he cannot encroach upon the equilibrium without risking a ruinous struggle. The weaker dares not strike back because the injury to him would outweigh any benefit or revenge. The stronger may continue to exercise coercion unless his terms are accepted, but he will not push his demands too far because his opponent can still inflict injury. In this way the arbitrary acts of each one are limited.

In *domination-surrender* the terms of the subsequent working relations are dictated by the winner; but here also he must refrain from pushing his demands unduly, for the one defeated may still strike back. Aside from any other consideration, the mere desire to exploit the vanquished puts obstacles in the way of weakening him too much. For example, the victorious nation must not destroy the industry or trade of the conquered one, for otherwise no indemnity could be collected. The desire to profit at the loser's expense demands that the latter be accepted as a customer or as a competitor in world commerce. To exploit captives as slaves re-

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[32] Morley, John, *On Compromise*, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1910, p. 228.

quires that they be spared and cared for. The employer's dependence upon the workers defeated in a strike compels considerations in the terms imposed because the employees must be maintained so that they are physically efficient and in a mood to cooperate rather than to practice ca'canny—to restrict effort or work-output.

Victory may also go to one party because of the other's voluntary resignation rather than because of exhaustion. Such a concession may be prompted in a peace-group by deference to a moral principle or by the desire of the subject to demonstrate his ability to act on his own initiative and, as it were, to make a gift to the victor.[33] The first of these motives is often mixed with the desire to appeal to the sentiments and preferences of a "public."

Outsiders may not only form opinions concerning the dispute or participate in it, but as neutrals they may help to determine its outcome, for they may intervene as conciliators, mediators, or arbiters. As conciliators, they attempt to end the conflict by diminishing the hostility rather than by supplying coercion. They must remain neutral lest their overtures appear to be motivated by partisan interests, for any suggestions which are considered unfair or which indicate a lack of knowledge concerning the points at issue will injure their prestige and ability to effect a settlement. As mediators, they may effect a settlement by indirect means. Contestants who may refuse to confer with each other will often discuss terms of settlement with a third party; and if they refuse to hold a conference, the mediators may deal with each one separately. The tactical advantage of this lies in the fact that it does not disclose the terms which the contestants are willing to concede as a last resort. As arbiters, third parties intervene by expressing their own opinions on the merits of the controversy. At times they may use compulsory measures, as when the police or the military exercise coercion, or when courts render decisions.

The conditions of settlement may be expressed in terms of territorial transfers, money penalties, wage increase or reductions, slavery, debtorship, peonage, etc. But aside from these, or in addition to them, the relative social standing (as viewed either by the contestants themselves or by outsiders) is also affected, providing that fighting ability or its result carries prestige. In this way the personality or the social position is involved, even in trivial contests. Indeed, conflict of whatever sort—"a war, a strike, or a mere ex-

[33] Simmel, Georg, "The Sociology of Conflict," p. 802 ff.

change of polite innuendoes—invariably issues in a new accommo-
dation or social order which, in general, involves a change in the
comparative status of the participants."[34]

The ranking position thus determined may be variously sym-
bolized. For example, gestures of subordination may be required of
the defeated. As an act expressive of surrender, prostration, such as
collapse from exhaustion and fear-produced paralysis, may orig-
inally have been due to an inherited mechanism. But as it is known
to us, this sign of surrender is conventionalized and optional in
primitive and modern societies. Many other signs may also sym-
bolize subordination, such as passing under the "yoke," signing
pledges of resignation, etc. Some peoples signify submission by
coming into the presence of their enemy with grass between their
teeth, as if to say, "I am your ox"; others, by carrying a turban in
their hands.[35] In some provinces of India, when a merchant cannot
meet his liabilities, he places the lock of his door outside and sits
in the veranda with a piece of sackcloth or a carpet over him; and
when he has displayed these signs of self-abasement his creditors
will not sue him but he will not be able to borrow money again.[36]
The victorious Chinese boxer stands on the head of his vanquished
opponent. In the militaristic Peru of former times the hands of the
vanquished were tied and a rope was put about his neck. The
feudal signs of homage, such as kissing the feet of the superior, join-
ing hands, or laying aside parts of the apparel, as well as numerous
other types of obeisances in general use, are in many cases sur-
vivals of former tributes paid to a conqueror.[37] Although only the
minor parts of such gestures survive as symbols of deference, they
nevertheless suggest unequal status, at least by implication.

Because the victor's prestige is proportional to the strength of his
opponent, his acknowledgment of the loser's power is a partial
compensation to the latter for defeat, whereas treating an opponent
as of no consequence is an insult. Concerning the English attitude
toward the Germans, Bertrand Russell wrote in 1917:

[34] Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*,
pp. 664-665.

[35] Zahiru'd-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi, *Memoirs of Babur*, Luzac
and Company, London, 1921, vol. i, p. 232.

[36] Russell, Robert V., *Tribes and Castes of the Middle Provinces of India*, Mac-
millan and Company, Ltd., London, 1916, vol. ii, p. 267.

[37] Spencer, Herbert, *Principles of Sociology*, D. Appleton and Company, New
York. 1893, pp. 113-140.

. . . the Germans are maddened by our spiritual immobility. At bottom we have regarded [them] as one regards flies on a hot day: they are a nuisance, one has to brush them off, but it would not occur to one to be turned aside by them. Now that the initial certainty of victory has faded, we begin to be affected inwardly by the Germans. In time, if we continue to fail in our military enterprises, we shall realize that they are human beings, not just a tiresome circumstance. Then perhaps we shall hate them with a hatred which they will have no reason to resent and from such a hatred it will be only a short journey to a genuine rapprochement.[38]

The desire to end conflict, combined with the unwillingness to yield a certain point, may result in the invention of substitutes for surrender. Such an outcome may give an equivalence in advantages, or it may be merely a means of "saving face." An example is the insistence by strikers that a discharged worker shall be reinstated for an hour or a day as a precondition to ending a strike. Apologies and other substitutes for a disputed point serve the same purposes. These methods of settling conflict are called *creative experience* by Follett. But such devices may be creative only in the narrow sense that they offer substitutes for an acknowledgment of defeat or for the apparent surrender of a point under dispute.

(2) SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ACCOMMODATION.—Some of the changes in the working relations produced by conflict (the concession of trade rights, placing of boundary lines, rights to a voice in determining taxation, participation in legislation, freedom of the press, religious tolerance, regulation of wages and working conditions between employers and employees, and comparable agreements in every other department of the social organization) become embodied in permanent adjustments between the parties concerned. Once gained, such advantages are thereafter claimed as rights, and, likewise, the one making the concessions eventually comes to regard them as "fair" or natural. Each subject becomes aware that there are limits which he must not overstep, and that if he does, it will call forth predictable retaliation. The erstwhile antagonism is, for the time being, held in suspension, and eventually may be forgotten. The accommodations so derived become a part of the established and sanctioned social order.

Even ancient accommodations may be thus preserved in the social

[38] Russell, Bertrand, *op. cit.,* p. 86.

organization, as may be seen in the adjustments between subject peoples and their superiors, or in the special privileges of the dominant classes and the subservience of the weaker or subdued peoples. At first the slave must choose between submission and death, and later the fear of the lash becomes a deterrent to insubordination. The master, likewise, has to adjust the tasks to the ability of the slave. In relinquishing work to the inferior, the superior becomes thus far dependent upon him, and tends to show him increasing consideration. In time, the slave takes his status for granted and may prefer it to any other. Friendly relations, concessions, reciprocal rights, and obligations gradually grow up. In the United States the etiquette of slavery imposed duties and considerations upon the master, as well as upon the slave; and the latter acquired a protected position which was supported by traditions and the habits of both parties; in brief, the social relations had developed into an institution. Similarly, restraints once imposed in other types of situations—as, for example, in the relations between the functional classes—tend to be institutionalized and perpetuated.

Although gradual changes creep into the early accommodations, the general features of the terms of settlement persist. The *modus vivendi* once based on force or necessity is eventually embodied in the culture and is supported by common law and rules of procedure. Without this institutionalization, the structure would be highly unstable. But quite aside from changes in the equilibrium of such balanced forces, modifications in the culture and organization of a society are constantly occurring, however slowly, even in the most static civilizations.

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# SOCIAL CHANGE

# CHAPTER XXI

## Sources of Culture Change

When viewed at a given moment only, society and the groups composing it appear to be fixed and static; but when examined over a longer period, they are seen to be constantly changing, for no institution or relationship is long stationary. Old structures break up, and those that persist assume new forms. One class supersedes another in control; and one communicative device, one kind of mutual aid, interdependency, competition, conflict, ecological organization, etc., succeeds another. The chief sources of these innovations are considered in the present chapter. Culture borrowing is discussed in Chapter XXII, and the incorporation of foreign peoples with the resulting effects upon the respective group structures is the subject of Chapters XXIII and XXIV. The rates and trends of social change are considered in Chapters XXV and XXVI; and the consequences of a too rapid change, such as the breakdown of established working relations and other forms of social disorganization, are discussed in Part Seven.

During the past half century, attempts to discover the so-called "laws" of social evolution have been influenced more or less by misapplied Darwinian theories. Some of the early writers maintained that social change is a phase of organic evolution and that cultural advancement is in every instance correlated with organic development. But this statement is only a half truth. Certain inborn capacities are necessary before civilization can advance; but the failure of one race or group to develop as high a civilization as another does not prove the absence of the requisite qualities. Biologists hold that no structural changes have occurred in man's central nervous system for probably ten thousand years. However, profound social changes have taken place during this period, and therefore most writers are now inclined to the opinion that, except in the earlier stages of man's development, social changes and differences in advancement have been independent of biological evolu-

tion.[1] The frequent and accelerating advance—or, at times, retrogression—in the civilizations of the present era is adequate proof of this conclusion.

In other words, social changes are to be explained in terms of the cultural facts themselves.[2] From this standpoint the chief sources of change in any one culture are inventions, and diffusion or borrowing.

### INVENTIONS

Inventions, which have been defined as successive additions of new elements to existing practices,[3] pertain not only to material culture, such as technological improvements, economic development, and artistic advancements, but also to non-material culture, such as legislation, new techniques of welfare, case methods of social work, juvenile courts, banking systems, the assigning of announced prices to commodities instead of bargaining over terms, innovations in educational systems, the commission and the city-manager plan of municipal government, and so on, indefinitely.[4]

(1) PREREQUISITES FOR INVENTIONS.—Although those who are familiar with the existing culture and who have the requisite ability—so-called *"dominant individuals"*—are the agents of inventions, a *need* or demand for change, and especially *an existing cultural base* upon which people may construct their improvements, are prerequisites for such changes.[5]

(a) The need or demand for new methods of adjustment is particularly acute in times of crises. Crises are defined by Thomas as "incidents of group life which interrupt the flow of habit," thereby giving rise to new procedures.[6] Three types of crises have been identified by this writer, including (1) those brought on by sudden external occurrences which are new or are not adequately provided for; (2) important incidents of individual life—birth, puberty, or death, with the resulting tensions for the members of the group; and (3) conflicts of interest between the individual and his group.

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[1] Laguna, Theodore de, *The Factors of Social Evolution,* F. S. Crofts & Company, New York, 1926, p. 107 ff.

[2] *Ibid.;* Ogburn, William F., *Social Change,* B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1922, pp. 130-142.

[3] Ogburn, William F., "Social Change," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930, vol. iii, p. 331.

[4] Chapin, F. S., "Growth Curves of Institutions," *Scientific Monthly,* 1929, vol. xxix, pp. 79-82.

[5] Dixon, Roland, *op. cit.,* p. 36.

[6] Thomas, W. I., *Sourcebook for Social Origins,* pp. 13-26.

Znaniecki would add a fourth type, the voluntary assumption of new enterprises, reforms, etc., by a group.[7]

Inventions may result from the need of making adjustments to a changing geographic environment,[8] and especially from variations in the numbers of a population, with the resulting increase in competition, migration, specialization, and complicated political relations. Indeed, some writers maintain that, among simpler peoples, at least, the most frequent source of social change, aside from that due to contact with other cultures, is the growth in numbers. However, a decrease in numbers may likewise lead to changes in social organization and culture. For example, a new balance of power between the economic classes resulted, at least temporarily, from the decrease in the number of serfs and laborers after the Black Death, the wages among the agricultural laborers in England increasing fifty per cent or more. A widespread calamity, such as destruction by floods or drought, changes existing social arrangements through a redistribution of effort, raises the status of some individuals, and lowers that of others. If the persons who are skilled in a given technique perish, their art deteriorates or is abandoned.

Although emergencies and social or psychological crises may give rise to inventions, it is not usually true that a people's advancement varies according to the hardships encountered, for the most progressive are not necessarily those who have met the most vicissitudes. The maxim, "Necessity is the mother of invention," suggests a source of incentives but does not account for the failures or successes in making adequate adjustment. When old satisfactions fail because of unfavorable seasons, depletion of resources, migrations, conflict, floods, drought, and sickness, or because of new tastes and cravings, efforts to meet the situation in new ways are encouraged.[9] The effort to increase pleasure and avoid pain, except as prescribed by institutions, prompts improvements in the adjustment of means to ends and, in general, to the environmental conditions.[10] But deprivations are not felt as hardships unless previous satisfactions are curtailed. Primitives do not set about to invent electric refrigerators

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[7] Znaniecki, F., "Group Crises Produced by Voluntary Undertakings," pp. 265 ff.

[8] See Whitbeck, R. H., "The Infl ience of Geographical Environment upon Religious Beliefs," *Geographical Review*, 1918, vol. v, pp. 316-324.

[9] See Bartlett, F. C., *Psychology and Primitive Culture*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923, p. 186; Dixon, Roland, *op. cit.*, 6-32; Thomas, W. I., *Sourcebook for Social Origins*, pp. 15 ff.; also chap. i above.

[10] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, pp. 5-6.

or automatic heating devices, even though they do not possess them, for luxuries must first be experienced before deprivation is recognized to be such. In this sense invention is "the mother of necessity."

This reasoning applies to non-material, as well as to material, culture; for when existing social regulations begin to fail, new means of control are sought. Police systems and housing laws are a response to the needs arising from secondary social relations and crowded living conditions. The commission form of government was invented because of the necessity of preserving order during the chaotic period following the Galveston Flood in 1900. But the mere wish to control a crisis does not of itself guarantee the discovery of the necessary means.

(b) *The existing culture* which supplies one basis for new discoveries is the result of cumulations from the time when the earliest simple tools and social organization were fashioned in prehistoric ages. These cumulations and the presence of materials are undoubtedly as essential for complex inventions as are the unusual individuals who make the new integrations. However great the need among preliterate people for sanitation and modern transportation, such innovations could not be introduced because the necessary preliminary steps had not been taken. Japan formerly had the capital but not the knowledge necessary for building railroads, while New Zealand had the knowledge but lacked the capital.[11]

Because the culture base is the result of cumulations, the inventor's success is the product of what has gone before, as well as of his own time. Beethovens or Shakespeares cannot arise among the Bantus until the general state of advancement has risen to a level approximating that of the societies producing such geniuses. An Edison belonging to the Eskimo race could not have produced the electric light, nor could a Robert Fulton among the Hottentots have invented the steam boat, because of the limitations placed upon his activities by the lack of the necessary preliminary inventions and technical methods. Many men of genius who, like Roger Bacon, foresaw modern inventions, were unable to work out their plans because the cultural base did not supply the elements needed for the later steps in the process. Even Galton admitted that discoveries are usually made when the time is ripe for them, that is, when the ideas from which they spring naturally are fermenting in the minds

[11] Ross, Edward A., "Moot Points in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1904, vol. ix, pp. 781-797.

of many persons.[12] The inventor, it is said, only knows what to borrow. "The alleged great men," according to Tolstoy, "are only the labels of history. They give their names to events." These men are said to be dominant because of the inventions ascribed to them.

Therefore achievements, whether made by the exceptionally gifted or the mediocre individual, are based upon the efforts of countless toilers whom the world does not know. Every invention involves the use of previous discoveries combined in new ways; its history is one of slow and continuous development which can be traced back, like branches of a tree, to its junction with other inventions, and so on until the beginnings of all are found to lie in the simplest contrivances of prehistoric man.[13] Wireless telegraphy can be traced back through Righi, Braun, Hertz, J. Clerk Maxwell, Galvani and an indefinite number of people in many lines of achievement allied to the production and operation of aerial transmission. Watt's work in improving the details of the steam engine[14] was preceded by ancient models of such a machine and was based on the existing knowledge regarding metals, mechanics, etc. Gutenberg's invention of movable type was based on the same discovery used by the Chinese several centuries earlier and was stimulated by the development of the art of paper making.[15] Had these inventors lived earlier or later, they would not have been renowned for their particular contributions, for the improvements with which their names are linked would have been made by someone else.[16]

Although an individual initiates social changes, the amount which he—or even an entire generation—adds to the total stream of civilization is relatively small as compared to what he derives therefrom. This dependence of achievement upon the existing store of culture is further indicated by the fact that similar inventions occur under similar circumstances. Ogburn lists 148 inventions or discoveries made by two or more people independently of each other,[17] among which are photography (1839) by Daguerre-Niepce and Talbot; the effect of tidal friction on the motion of the earth (1853) by

[12] Galton, F., *Heredity and Genius*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1914, p. 185.

[13] Pitt-Rivers, A. L. F., *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[14] Adams, Brooks, *The Laws of Civilization and Decay*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1916, p. 314.

[15] See Tanner, E., "Certain Social Aspects of Invention," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1915, vol. xxvi, pp. 389-415.

[16] Adams, Brooks, *op. cit.*

[17] Ogburn, William F., *Social Change*, pp. 90-102.

Terrel and Delaunay; the existence of sun spots (1611) by Galileo, Fabricus, Scheiner, and Harriott; telegraphy by Henry (1831), and by Morse, Cooke-Wheatstone, and Steinheil (1837); reapers by Hussey (1833) and by McCormick (1834). The following medical discoveries include a few of a large number which were made approximately at the same time: nerve cells in the brain and spinal cord by Ehrenberg in Berlin (1833), Valentin in Berne, and Purkinje in Breslau (1836); taste buds (1867) by Schwalbe in Strassburg and Loven in Christiania; the causal relation of the typhoid bacillus (1880) by Klebs in Koenigsberg, Eberth in Leipzig, and Koch in Göttingen.[18]

(c) Although it is clear that inventors are the products of their times, it is equally certain that not all individuals would achieve as much under the same circumstances.[19] Whatever their origin, so-called "ascendant" individuals are found in all societies. Furthermore, the differences between individuals are greater and more obvious than those between populations. According to a study by Ogburn and Thomas, inventors correspond in relative numbers to the normal probability curve: There is a large proportion of individuals of ordinary ability; and there are a few people with low, and a few with high, ability. Since inventors occupy the upper portion of this curve they may be rated as superior. This rating, however, is applicable only to the distribution of achievement under the circumstances of a given time, and not to that of the achievements of an earlier or a subsequent period.[20] The modern school boy may know more science than Aristotle did, and some workmen can discourse on ohms and amperes more intelligently than could early specialists such as Faraday or Newton. Because we have the advantage of the accumulated efforts of the past, it may require only a few hours for us to master information which it took decades or centuries for the eminent men of former eras to discover.[21]

Aside from perceived needs, the existing culture base, and ascendant individuals, other specific factors—such as the complexity of the social organization, the diversity of skill or the heterogeneity

[18] Stern, Bernard, *Social Factors in Medical Progress,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1927, pp. 111-127.

[19] Ogburn, William F., "The Great Man versus Social Forces," *Social Forces,* 1926-1927, vol. v, pp. 225-231.

[20] Ogburn, William F., *Social Change,* p. 81.

[21] Mach, E., "On the Part Played by Invention and Discovery," *The Monist,* 1895, vol. vi, pp. 161-175.

of the population, a leisure class devoted to research, the prevalence of education, and the quality of the social organization—are also concerned with the rate and direction of inventions. A high development of various industrial arts, according to Goldenweiser, is impossible in a community which lacks functional differentiation and political integration.[22] Thus invention and social organization reinforce each other. Much depends, likewise, upon the valuations put upon inventions by a given group. In western civilizations, where technological changes are taken more or less as a matter of course by those who are not adversely affected thereby, inventions are usually encouraged; and even preliterates promote improvement along lines not forbidden by taboos. One traveler among the Eskimos relates: "They go out to certain difficult places, and having imagined themselves in certain straits they make comparisons as to what each one would do. They actually make experiments, setting one another problems in invention."[23] According to Spencer and Gillen, the old men of the Central Australian tribes sometimes modify customs by discussion and conscious intent.[24]

(2) RESISTANCE TO INVENTIONS may be based on inertia resulting from established habits, or on fear of the unfamiliar or of the observed injurious effects of such innovations upon at least a portion of the population. When a Frenchman, Thimonnier, patented a sewing machine in 1830, his life was threatened by his compatriots.[25] In 1768 objectors destroyed Hargreaves's newly invented spinning machine. Fulton's steamboat aroused slight interest in Paris, and Napoleon declined the offer of a patent for it. Even the cart was once regarded with so much disfavor that when the Emperor Aurelian made his triumphal entry into Antioch he dared not use one.[26] The introduction of the automobile was resisted in many localities; and terms such as "scorcher," "devilwagon," "juggernaut," "flivver-boob," and "speed-maniac" gained wide currency as a protest against its inconsiderate use.[27] The adoption of the cast-iron plow was opposed on the supposition that it would poison the

[22] Goldenweiser, A. A., "History, Psychology and Culture," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods*, 1918, vol. xv, pp. 597-607.

[23] Mason, Otis T., *The Origins of Invention*, p. 23.

[24] Hobhouse, L. T., *Social Development*, p. 260.

[25] Tanner, Amy E., *op. cit.*, p. 389.

[26] Slosson, Edwin, *Chats on Science*, The Century Company, New York, 1924, p. 46.

[27] Mueller, J. H., *The Automobile*, unpublished doctor's thesis, Chicago, 1928, pp. 154-155.

soil; while the plan to employ gas for fuel and light was regarded as a madman's dream.[28] The use of bathtubs was once considered to be undemocratic. Similar rationalizations were made against optical glasses when it was said that "they would give one man an unfair advantage over his fellow, and . . . over every woman, who could not be expected, on esthetic and intellectual grounds, to adopt the practice."[29] They were said to pervert natural sight and make all things appear in a false light. When W. T. G. Morton proved the value of anæsthetics for medical purposes, their use was condemned on the ground that pain was the direct consequence of sin and must be endured without alleviation.[30] Doctors who first adopted the use of antiseptics were derided as crazy believers in vain things like germs. A similar incredulity and an active hostility still oppose societal experiments, as is shown by the acrimony often directed against them.[31]

Inventions may be regarded with disfavor because they inflict losses through the obsolescence of the existing machinery and the displacement of workers or the encroachment on other vested interests. It is related that a Roman emperor declined to adopt a labor-saving device in his public works because the machine would deprive citizens of employment; although he rewarded its inventor, he destroyed the machine.[32] Innovations may also interfere with ready communication[33] and dealings with other persons. It is for this reason, among others, that antiquated systems of weights and measures cannot be displaced without confusion. Similar factors enter into the retention of the clumsy system of Chinese writing, England's antiquated monetary system, our present style of calendar, and many other archaic cultural forms. Obviously, the feeling that the old and tried ways are best is in fact justified at times.

### DIFFUSION

(1) INVENTION AND DIFFUSION COMPARED.—Diffusion is the term applied to the spreading of practices and ideas from the group

[28] Burgess, E. W., *Function of Socialization in Social Evolution,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1916, pp. 16-17.

[29] Slosson, Edwin, *op. cit.,* p. 46.

[30] Smith, C. A. H., "The Discovery of Anæsthesia," *Scientific Monthly,* 1927, vol. xxiv, pp. 64-70.

[31] Bernard, L. L., "Invention and Social Progress," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1923, vol. xxix, pp. 1-33.

[32] Ferrero, G., *op. cit.,* p. 40.

[33] Peterson, J., "The Function of Ideas in Social Groups," *Psychological Review,* 1918, vol. xxv, pp. 214-226.

wherein they have arisen. In the case of some culture traits (for example, the bow and arrow, basketry, net-making, and the domestication of the dog, all of which have been found in most continents)[34] it is difficult to tell whether they originated independently within a group or whether they were taken over from other people.[35] In order to determine the source of a culture trait, some writers have suggested plotting its distribution on a map. When the trait is scattered over a continuous territory they infer that it originated in this area, but when it is found in widely separated localities, there is a considerable probability that it was invented independently.[36] Again, the question of origin may be partly determined by the form or content of the trait in question; for example, some of the folklore and legends found among the Berbers of Morocco, Italians, Irish, Russians, Siberians, Tibetans, North American Indians, and the jungle peoples of India are so complex and yet so similar that there is slight probability of their having been invented independently.[37]

The distinction between change by invention and change by diffusion obviously relates to a given group or locality only, for it is axiomatic that every artifact or practice which is diffused has previously been invented. Furthermore, a borrowed culture trait implies some degree of invention, inasmuch as it must be adapted to the conditions of the new environment. Again, an invention may be built upon a borrowed culture base. "Every cultural achievement is due to a process of growth in which diffusion and invention [are both involved]. . . . Neither . . . ever takes place in the sense that you could either spontaneously generate an idea or pour it out from one head to another. Diffusion and invention are always mixed [and] inseparable."[38]

(2) THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFUSION is seen by the fact that it is the main source of culture change, for more practices are borrowed than are invented by the members of any one group. By way of emphasizing this continuity of practices, some writers have asserted that all similarities in cultures can be thus traced back to a

[34] Wissler, Clark, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1929, p. 312.

[35] Kroeber, A. L., *Anthropology*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1923, p. 218.

[36] Dixon, Roland, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[37] Boas, F., *Anthropology and Modern Life*, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1928, p. 149.

[38] Malinowski, B., "The Life of Culture," *The Forum*, vol. lxxvi, 1926, p. 179.

common beginning, and that all are but variations of the general cultural heritage possessed by mankind before the appearance of local cultures.[39] However, it is obvious that practices which are identical in various respects may originate independently among two or more peoples widely separated in time or space. Music and other arts, types of architecture, methods of reckoning time, forms of social organization, religious rites, etc., although serving similar purposes in different groups, may vary greatly in their outward aspects; or, conversely, things outwardly alike may serve widely different uses. But the similarity of the purposes served does not *per se* prove identity of origin.[40] Furthermore, practices which were dissimilar at first may in time become alike (the theory of convergent evolution).[41]

We thus recognize the importance of diffusion without minimizing the significance of independent origins. The historian Niebuhr asserted that "no single example can be brought forward of an actually savage people having independently become civilized."[42] According to Lowie, "diffusion was the determinant of Scandinavian progress from savagery to civilization."[43] W. H. R. Rivers considers the contact and mingling of different cultures to be the starting point of all movements which we designate as progress. According to him, every community which has gone beyond the elementary stage of food-gathering has derived much of its cultural capital from other communities. James Bryce attributed the former stagnation of the Chinese to the paucity of their contacts with other peoples.[44] However, this isolation was only relative, for in their earlier history they borrowed from the seacoast people along the lower Yellow River and from the Turkish nomads of the interior.[45]

In reality, a large portion of every culture can be traced to outside sources. The civilization of ancient Babylon was not wholly indigenous. Likewise, the philosophy, art, and science attributed to Greece and the legal practices accredited to Rome were actually

[39] Smith, G. Eliot, "The Diffusion of Culture," *Forum,* 1926, vol. lxxvi, pp. 171-177.

[40] Malinowski, B., "The Life of Culture," p. 180.

[41] Goldenweiser, A. A., "Diffusionism and the American School of Historical Ethnology," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1925, vol. xxxi, pp. 19-38.

[42] Babington, W. D., *Fallacies of Race Theories,* Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1895, p. 172.

[43] Lowie, Robert, *Culture and Ethnology,* p. 73.

[44] Bryce, James, *op. cit.,* p. 19.

[45] Lowie, R. H., *Culture and Ethnology,* p. 75.

complex developments, composed largely of elements which orig-
inated among other peoples. The advanced arts of Spain were for
the most part derived from the Arabs who had settled in her midst.
France acquired her silk, glass, and other manufacturing arts from
Italy; England borrowed from France and other continental coun-
tries; and Germany, in turn, gained some of her knowledge of
modern industry from English workmen. Our Euro-American civili-
zation of today is derived from many sources—ancient Greece,
Rome, Babylon and even, in a small degree, from aboriginal Amer-
ica. From the Babylonians, other nations acquired a knowledge of
the building arch. From China, Europe got the compass, gunpowder,
the idea of macadamized roads, dye-stuffs, and other technical arts,
as well as significant philosophical ideas.[46] From Arabia, the West
obtained its system of numerals, algebraic notations, the art of
manufacturing paper, the early knowledge of astronomy, and other
foundations of scientific advancement. From Egypt, methods of
time-keeping were transmitted to Rome and thence westward. From
India, as early as the eighteenth century, western civilization se-
cured important features of boat-making, the Madras (monitorial)
system of education, and a significant impetus toward the German
Romantic movement, the English Raphaelite movement, and some
phases of the later Nietzschean philosophy.[47] From France came
the metric system which has been adopted by approximately sev-
enty-five countries.[48]

Diffusion is either primary or secondary.[49] The first refers to
the dissemination of practices within the inventing group: from
section to section, from city to country, and from one class to
another. By secondary diffusion is meant the spreading of practices
from one tribe or nation to its neighbors and, perchance, from these
to more distant groups.[50] Primary diffusion is a significant means
of social change, even in relatively isolated areas. In his study of a
Hoosier village, N. L. Sims states that not a single important change
has been made in that community which originated primarily within

[46] Dubarbier, George, "Chinese Originators," *Living Age,* 1923, vol. cccxvii, pp.
33-37.

[47] Sarkar, B. K., "The Influence of India on Western Civilization in Modern
Times," *Journal of Race Development,* 1918-1919, vol. ix, pp. 91-104.

[48] Wallis, W. D., *Culture and Progress,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New
York, 1930, p. 87.

[49] Dixon, Roland, *op. cit.,* pp. 59-155.

[50] Bartlett, F. C., *op. cit.,* p. 163.

its own borders; its activities were changed by the coming of new personalities and by communication with the larger society. However, inasmuch as the effects of contact vary in proportion to the dissimilarities of the cultures concerned, our discussion will pertain chiefly to secondary diffusion.

(3) AGENCIES OF DIFFUSION.—Social contact can produce diffusion only if the cultures of the people in question differ; but when this condition obtains, any contact may be significant. In recent times, mediated communication has aided culture diffusion. The increased mobility of persons in space has been followed by similar consequences in so far as it results in contacts with new cultures and interrupts familiar habits and modes of thought.[51] Such contacts with novel situations and cultures may be incidental to wanderings undertaken for various purposes—war, healing, education, missionization, intermarriage, trade, travel in quest of new experience, search for employment, etc.

The oft-noted period of advancement following warfare is apparently due less to the stimulating effects of the conflict itself than to the cross-fertilization of cultures. This is especially true where a victor settles among the defeated people of a lower culture level, as in the case of the Spanish invasion of the Americas and the Norman conquest of England. In earlier eras the enslavement of the conquered was a fruitful means of disseminating ideas from one group to another. During recent times the Melanesians have followed the custom of assigning their war captives to important positions, thereby aiding the introduction of new technical arts, legends, games, methods of treating diseases, etc.[52] Among other preliterate peoples, the acquisition of women during war raids was an important source of changes in language and techniques because women were the repositories of a large amount of distinctive lore and knowledge concerning industrial arts.

Traders diffuse customs as well as artifacts.[53] In the ancient east, as in modern nations, people used materials which came from distant sources. The copper, silver, and gold of Crete, and the metals used by the Egyptians and Babylonians were evidently brought from other countries.[54] Along the Phœnician trade routes the cus-

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[51] Park, R. E., "Sociology," p. 17.

[52] Cf. Rossman, J., "War and Invention," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1930-1931, pp. 625 ff.

[53] Rivers, W. H. R., *History of Melanesian Society*, vol. ii, p. 294.

[54] Cf. Keller, A. G., *op. cit.*, p. 243.

toms, techniques, knowledge, and artifacts of various civilizations were disseminated:[55] The metals of Spain and Britain found their way to the orient, while the textiles, spices, perfumes, dyes, and drugs of the east were carried to the western Mediterranean basin. A knowledge of grains and the arts of manufacture and the domestication of animals was spread by the Phœnicians, or the slaves they carried with them, from one region to another.[56] In subsequent periods the Genoese and Venetians mediated contacts between the east and the west,[57] as later the Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch and others did between European nations and other peoples.

Today the vast network of international commerce facilitates the spread of stereotyped products and practices over most of the world. The Parisians, like the people in many other countries, use American soap, cameras, automobiles, pencils, movie films, and numerous other items. Some Mexican villages import their musical instruments only from Europe.[58] A Russian farmer may ride in a Ford car and plow his field with a German tractor. People in China carry German parasols and wear American snowshoes.[59] The Japanese, it is said, buy phonographs and ultra-modern German music in greater quantities than do the Germans themselves.[60] These wares are often accompanied by the foreign arts used in their production. Factory-made lamps, gramophones, sewing machines, cutting instruments, firearms, etc. are now more or less commonplaces in all parts of the world, and it is difficult to find any preliterate peoples who do not use some Euro-American manufactured articles. Occidentals appropriate exotic materials and ideas, as well as supply them for other peoples.

In addition to war, intermarriage, and commerce, other sources of diffusion are found in the wanderings of apprenticed or skilled craftsmen, such as masons, tinkers, cobblers, and other migratory workers—the Polish and Italian peasants into Germany and the seasonal "birds of passage" from Italy to the Americas. The founders of religion, the philosophers, troubadours, magicians, and actors

[55] Carter, E. H., *The New Past and Other Essays on the Development of Civilization,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1925, p. 38.

[56] Keller, A. G., *Colonization,* Ginn and Company, New York, 1908, pp. 26-40.

[57] *Ibid.,* p. 76.

[58] Redfield, Robert, *Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930, p. 47.

[59] Carter, E. H., *op. cit.,* p. 36.

[60] Beard, Miriam, *op. cit.,* p. 81.

of the past were great wanderers and, like the virtuoso and the missionary of today, supplied opportunities for significant contacts. The migrations of some classes are initiated primarily for the purpose of acquiring new culture. Peripatetic scholars have aided culture diffusion during both ancient and modern times. Some indication of the extent of this movement may be seen by the fact that in one year (1929), the Rockefeller Foundation and General Education Board made 1451 appointments, most of which involved foreign travel and residence.[61] According to the *Ninth Annual Report of the Director of the Institute of International Education*, there were 6000 foreign students in American universities in 1928, several thousand coming from China alone; while at one time 6000 American missionaries were stationed in China—a "congeries which is bound to exert influence even on so inert a mass as that of the Chinese population."[62]

The results of such contacts, although apparently less significant than those due to invasion or conquest, do, nevertheless, in one way or another, give intellectual stimuli to the whole group. Sometimes the entire social organization may be modified by such contacts, as were the Polish peasant communities as a consequence of the to-and-fro migrations of many young people for seasonal work in Germany.[63] If visitors possess useful or alluring practices their influence may be out of proportion to their numbers,[64] and even a lone migrant may have a far-reaching influence. Boas cites instances in which one person introduced a whole set of important myths, as, for example, when a slave carried the tale of the Raven into a tribe in Vancouver Island.[65] It is asserted that Da Ponte brought Dante and Italian culture to America, as Voltaire introduced British culture into France, and as John Dewey's lectures prepared the way for alterations in the old educational system of China.[66]

[61] Keppel, Frederick, *The Foundation,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930, pp. 104-105.

[62] Danton, George H., *op. cit.,* p. 9.

[63] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.,* vol. ii, p. 1198.

[64] Rivers, W. H. R., *History of Melanesian Society,* vol. ii, p. 295.

[65] Boas, F., "Evolution or Diffusion," *American Anthropologist,* 1924, vol. xxvi, pp. 341-344.

[66] Kantor, J. R., "How Is a Science of Social Psychology Possible?" *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology,* 1922, vol. xvii, pp. 62-78; Chun, Chin, "Social Factors in my Education," *School and Society,* 1921, vol. xiii, pp. 372-378.

The diffusion of a culture trait may be aided by some special interest group formed around it. This is seen clearly in respect to the spread of merchandise, the promotion of a sectarian belief, or the imposition of a language upon a conquered people. The peyote cult was disseminated among the Winnebagoes and other Indian tribes along kinship lines. The Young Turk party took upon itself the task of introducing occidental dress and customs; similarly, special cults have been formed in America to spread eastern mysticism. In order that an innovation may gain ready acceptance it is essential either that the group which is responsible for its introduction hold a position of recognized authority and prestige and be not too greatly isolated from the rest of the people, or that the new trait fill a prominent need.

On the other hand, diffusion may be opposed by groups that try to retain the exclusive control of some culture item. Examples of this are found in the specialized techniques which become "trade secrets," and in new artistic and linguistic forms which, according to Bartlett,[67] tend to be retained by special interest groups. Lowie cites examples of rivalry in culture borrowing by competing clubs among the Crow Indians. The adoption and promotion of innovations may thus enable special classes or groups to enhance their prestige or to maintain themselves against rivals. In this way invention and diffusion contribute to social differentiation and organization.

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[67] Bartlett. F. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

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# CHAPTER XXII

## Culture Borrowing

The counterpart of diffusion is borrowing, for unless people accept the new it is not spread among them. Such adoption of culture, namely, acculturation, is one of the two chief phases of social assimilation, the second being the incorporation of an alien people into the social structure of another people (Chapters XXIII and XXIV).

Although any obstruction of contact—distance between groups, topographical barriers, language differences, etc.—may interfere with the spread of folkways, access to other civilizations is not inevitably followed by borrowing or assimilation. This is shown by the fact that Japan did not adopt the Chinese form of printing, although the two peoples were in communication for four hundred years. The Ainus, who were in close proximity to the Japanese for over a thousand years, took over but little of the culture of these neighbors; the Chinese did not adopt the use of milk from the pastoral nomads with whom they were in contact along their western and northern frontiers for four thousand years. Thus factors other than mere contiguity are involved in the acceptance of alien customs. We shall therefore consider the factors which limit or aid this culture borrowing, and the methods of fitting the foreign ways into the existing culture of a group.

### FACTORS IN CULTURE BORROWING

Among the factors in culture borrowing are: (1) the value of the innovations from the viewpoint of the receiving group, (2) the prevailing attitude toward innovations, (3) the comparative levels and types of the cultures, and (4) the relations between the contacting peoples.

(1) IMPUTED VALUE.—As in the case of invention, so in assimilation the interest and previous experience of the individuals concerned help to determine which of the numerous traits or practices—ceremonies, articles of food, religious beliefs, scientific dog-

mas—will attract their attention. However, when attention is once aroused, factors called by Bartlett the "group difference tendencies" determine which items will be considered useful enough to be accepted or transported to other regions. The traits which one group regards as highly essential or estimable may have no significance to another that has a different scheme of values. Thus the Ao Nagas had no interest in the telephone system which connected the bungalows of the missionaries at Imfur, or in a ball-bearing lawn-mower.[1] One primitive was attracted by the gold fillings in the missionary's teeth but gave little heed to his teachings.[2] The "sure-fire" advertising exported from America to another country and translated from the vernacular into a foreign tongue sometimes brings no results whatever; it fails to appeal to the habits of life and thought of the prospective customers, as is seen by advertisers' attempts to induce the French to use American breakfast foods.[3] In so far as the new is viewed from the standpoint of the old, the new which does not harmonize with the existing practices, tastes, or beliefs is likely to be rejected.

This explains why people who have not achieved a high state of advancement adopt the simpler utilities and practices more readily than they do the abstract and subtle phases of a new culture. Superficial æsthetic practices, pastimes, trinkets, hedonistic and ceremonial performances have frequently been found to be acquired sooner than the command of a foreign language or system of ethics. However, ceremonials which have exhibitionist or even magical uses may make a ready appeal to savages and adolescents, as is illustrated by the spread of the ghost dance religion, the peyote cult (based on the use of the cactus root as a narcotic) among the western Amerinds, and the introduction of the practices of our own civilization into preliterate societies. Primitives have sometimes adopted the religion of another group because some accompanying item, such as gunpowder or medicine, was regarded with favor.[4]

The belief is frequently expressed that utilitarian objects—tools, domestic animals, watches, firearms, ornaments, etc.—are more

[1] Smith, Wm. C., *op. cit.*, p. 182.
[2] Price, Maurice, *Christian Missions*, Shanghai, China, Privately printed, 1904, p. 4.
[3] Wilson, R. F., *Paris on Parade*, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1925, p. 294.
[4] Muntz, Earl E., *Race Contacts*, The Century Company, New York, 1927, p. 182.

readily appraised and adopted than are non-material traits, especially the forms of social organization. In the words of A. G. Keller, "You can persuade a savage of the inadequacy of his stone hatchet long before he can be made to see that his family system is capable of being superseded."[5] T. E. Jones,[6] in a quantitative study of acculturation among isolated mountain folk in Japan, shows that western ideas of food and clothing are more easily accepted than are those pertaining to family life and the rearing of children. Europeans did not take over the tribal organization of the American Indians when they adopted the use of the potato, tomato, tobacco, maize, and other objects and arts of these savages; nor did Occidentals copy the family system of the orient when they borrowed from China the use of tea, block printing, the merry-go-round, and the manufacture of porcelain.[7]

A material and a non-material culture trait may be introduced simultaneously, as when the name of an object is taken over at the same time as the use of the object. In fact, words are one of the most commonly accepted culture traits, as is shown by the large number of alien words found in every important language. Such words are very prevalent in the English language, and include many in daily use, as tea (Chinese), coffee (Arabic), chocolate (Mexican), punch (Hindustan), bamboo (Malay), coach (Magyar), moccasin (Algonquin), tulip (Persian), and algebra, zero, cipher, and zenith (Arabic). The terms used in bookkeeping and music are chiefly of Italian origin. Persons who speak English are dependent upon Latin and Greek roots for their most common expressions;[8] an educated Japanese can hardly frame a sentence without the assistance of Chinese words. Among the Mexicans, the words garage, radio, telegram, and victrola, grape nuts (pronounced grappy noots), and puffed wheat are familiar terms; and baking powder is constantly referred to as Royal.[9] The same tendency is noticeable among immigrants who appropriate the native word with the adoption of the object or practice to which the word applies.

On the other hand, some non-material culture traits may be bor-

[5] Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution*, p. 136.

[6] Jones, T. E., *Mountain Folk of Japan* (thesis), Columbia University (privately printed), New York, 1926.

[7] Wallis, W. D., *Culture and Progress*, p. 85.

[8] Sapir, Edward, *Language*, pp. 206-207.

[9] McKinstry, H. E., "The American Language in Mexico," *American Mercury*, 1930, vol. xix, pp. 336-338.

rowed more readily than are the material, the order of adoption in each instance being determined by the imputed value of the alien usages. Even social relations may be copied. For example, recent studies indicate that the Chinese have been no less interested in reworking their social structure in keeping with western idealogies than in accepting the new industrial techniques; for their political organization and greater family systems are being reconstructed after occidental models. In fact, the family is so greatly changed that the former devout filial piety, the very center of Chinese social life, is waning.[10] The adoption of imported institutions is further illustrated by the European imitation of the American penal practice of solitary confinement and the adoption of foreign educational systems, as previously noted. Japan has twice premeditatedly reorganized her institutions in accordance with models taken from other countries. In the seventh century she sent a commission to study the governmental institutions of China and, in the nineteenth century, those of Europe and America.[11] Parliaments or cabinets of the European type are now found in Egypt, India, Persia, Japan, China, and elsewhere.[12]

Importations of both material and non-material commodities may have injurious—or, at least, disturbing—effects. The disruption of home industries because of competition with foreign goods is a commonplace. But foreign teaching may have similar effects by interfering with the existing regime. For example, the Chinese gentry and Confucian scholars opposed occidental folkways, partly from economic motives; for of these classes, "Many had attained their positions through great sacrifices in which the entire clan had taken part; the duty of repaying the clan for its assistance placed an additional burden on the individual, so that, in the event of a new learning or new doctrine, questions of recompense and of 'face' were involved to a degree quite misunderstood by the foreigners."[13] Furthermore, these culture borrowings may seem to jeopardize the mores and the solidarity of the group in ways which commodities do not, at least not so patently or immediately. Consequently, if the leaders believe that the acceptance of alien customs threatens these most important values, they will oppose the innova-

[10] LaPiere, Richard T., and Wang, Cheng, "The Incidence and Sequence of Social Change," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1931, vol. xxxvii, pp. 399-409.

[11] Dixon, Roland, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

[12] Wallis, W. D., *Culture and Progress*, p. 88.

[13] Danton, George H., *op. cit.*, p. 5.

tions by such means as counter-propaganda and reformation, education, coercion, exclusion, and the maintenance of isolation. Such resistance usually occurs when two contacting groups have incompatible elements in their organizations or cultures. For instance, the contact of the Chinese with the occident involves a threat to their familial organization, because the imported social structure and teachings are antithetical to their own. In view of these facts, the Emperor Yung Ching's persecution of the Roman Catholic converts among his subjects in the eighteenth century, on the ground that the new religion destroyed their filial piety, is understandable.[14] Missionaries in the orient are often accused of denationalizing their new followers. Foreign education and charities may be looked upon as bribes for inducing the beneficiaries to reject the customs and traditions of their own group.[15] In 1925 some elderly citizens of Tokyo adopted a resolution against western civilization because, as they thought, "the spirit of gallantry is dying out before the onslaught of new ideas."[16]

(2) ATTITUDES TOWARD ALIEN USAGES are themselves a culture trait and therefore vary from one group to another, quite apart from any practical obstacles in the way of harmonizing two divergent systems. In reality, innovation or its opposite is due largely to what Tarde calls "public habit." The Romans, during the later part of their history, prided themselves upon their readiness to take on the ways of other people, and the Japanese likewise have lately been inclined to concede the advantages of foreign methods and to adopt them both at home and abroad. On the other hand, until recent years the Chinese, Hindus, and Gypsies showed the opposite attitude.[17] A half century ago Sir Henry Maine wrote: "Vast populations detest that which the West would call reform. The entire Mohammedan world detests it . . . the Chinese loathe it . . . the Indian population hates and dreads change."[18]

Such divergences in attitudes seem to depend upon reverence for the past and obedience to traditions, as compared with speculative interests in the future. People who believe in magic and other

[14] Edkins, Joseph, *Religion in China,* Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, London, 1893, pp. 153-154.
[15] Price, Maurice, *op. cit.,* p. 215.
[16] Beard, Miriam, *op. cit.,* p. 434.
[17] Gulick, Sidney L., *op. cit.,* p. 79.
[18] Maine, Sir Henry, *Popular Government,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1886, p. 132.

superstitions may fear foreign ways because of supposed occult dangers. The mere fact that one usage is established supplies inertia and a fear or dislike of strange importations. The attempt to introduce potatoes into Scotland in 1728 was denounced on two contradictory counts—they were not mentioned in the Bible, and they were the forbidden fruit. They were also asserted to cause leprosy and fever, and to be used in a conspiracy against the poor.[19] In the seventeenth century even educated Englishmen hesitated to adopt the Italian practice of using the "outlandish implement known as 'forke' " because it was considered an insult to Providence for a man to avoid touching food with his fingers.[20] Various preliterate peoples, although accepting the metal tools of the foreigner, continued to use stone tools for ritual purposes, such as killing sacrificial animals.[21] For example, the Dyaks of Borneo, who were required by their ritual to use the cross-grain method of felling trees, objected to the European wedge-shaped cut, although they used this new and more convenient method when no one was observing them. The Winnebagoes opposed the introduction of a certain new rite because it reversed the order of making the ceremonial circuit in entering the ceremonial lodge.[22] Thus, inasmuch as the established ways are linked with the social situation (for example, with a sense of loyalty to ancestors, the opinions of bystanders, the protection of vested interests, etc.), these obstacles to borrowing reinforce whatever psychological inertia exists.

Preference is usually given to the new which can be stated in terms of the familiar or smuggled in under the ægis of the old.[23] For example, barbarian peoples who practice polygamy prefer Mohammedanism to Christianity because it does not interfere with their customary family system.[24] Some preliterates prefer the imported knives and axes that they can tie to handles just as they do the ancient stone adzes of their own manufacture.[25] In abolishing the feudal system in 1871, Japanese statesmen looked back

[19] Slosson, Edwin, *Chats on Science,* p. 144.

[20] *Ibid.,* pp. 45-46.

[21] Briffault, Robert, *The Making of Humanity,* George Allen and Unwin, London, 1919, p. 89.

[23] Radin, Paul, *Primitive Man as Philosopher,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1927, p. 46.

[23] Burgess, E. W., *The Function of Socialization,* pp. 10 ff.

[24] Keller, A. G., "A Sociological View of the Native Question," *Yale Review,* 1903, vol. xii, pp. 259-275.

[25] Pitt-Rivers, A. L. F., *op. cit.,* p. 95.

eleven or twelve centuries to find a supposed precedent for the desired reform;[26] and the intellectuals of the French Revolution called their changes a return to the days of early simplicity. Revolutions, according to G. LeBon, change practically nothing but the label.[27] Attempts to reconstruct the social order are notably followed by reactions wherein the old system is largely repeated.[28]

(3) THE COMPARATIVE LEVELS of the civilizations concerned affect culture borrowing. The greater the differences, the less, other things being equal, is the diffusion, especially from the lower to the higher culture. Inasmuch as neighboring peoples have long been in contact, their customs are usually more alike than are those of people who are separated by great distances. Consequently major movements of peoples to far-distant regions usually present greater difficulties in harmonizing customs. The shorter the movements, the less pronounced, ordinarily, are the differences between the contacting peoples and the easier is the acculturation.[29]

This explains why it is difficult for Orientals and Occidentals to understand one another; and why peoples whose culture is most unlike that of the Americans—such as the eastern Europeans, the Levantines, the Orientals and others whom Park calls "exotics"[30]— find it comparatively difficult to adopt western ways. Lafcadio Hearn, an American who became a naturalized citizen of Japan, once stated that a Japanese and an Englishman could not talk together for half an hour without each outraging the other's deepest prejudices.[31] The "newness" and so-called "crassness" of the occidental nations, which are a persistent source of irritation to eastern peoples, are voiced in the following statement by an Oriental: ". . . we are compelled to doubt if you have really reached civilization as yet. We are consistent. We have a time-tested wisdom, we know what to call good; but do you? You do many things which no civilized people can continue to do.—Why? We have built up a culture that endures [sic]. . . ."[32]

[26] Murdoch, James, History of Japan, K. Paul, Trübner and Company, London, 1910, vol. i, p. 21.

[27] LeBon, G., The Psychology of Revolution, p. 59.

[28] Ellwood, Charles, "A Psychological Theory of Revolutions," American Journal of Sociology, 1906, vol. ii, pp. 49-59.

[29] Rivers, W. H. R., History of Melanesian Society, vol. ii, p. 308.

[30] Park, R. E., The Immigrant Press, pp. 290 ff.

[31] Allen, G. C., op. cit., p. 13.

[32] Quoted in "Why Asia Scorns Our Culture," Literary Digest, 1924, vol. lxxxi, p. 36. Cf. Ennis, Thomas Edson, "Japan and the West," Social Science, 1930, vol. v, pp. 275-295.

From an occidental point of view, oriental ways are paradoxes in which even familiar practices are reversed. These contraries crop out in the most unexpected ways in all of their customs. For example, the Japanese write from top to bottom and from right to left, in perpendicular instead of horizontal lines; their books begin where ours end; all their locks operate by turning the key from left to right. Their old men fly kites while the children look on; their carpenters draw their planes instead of pushing them; their tailors stitch away from, rather than toward, themselves; their horsemen mount from the off-side, leave their horses with their heads toward the outer wall of the stable, and put the harness bells on the hind quarters instead of the front.[33] Such disparity in cultures affects the congeniality of the two peoples. For example, "The Japanese people were recently urged to join a 'Swat the Fly' campaign by eager advocates of public health [in response to western ideas of sanitation], while at the same time Buddhists, alarmed by this cruel slogan so contrary to their faith, begged the populace rather to observe a 'Save the Fly' day."[34] On the other hand, borrowing is relatively easy where values which are somewhat similar are concerned, such as the love of learning.

When neither group is markedly superior and contacts are frequent and congenial, a more or less equal interchange usually occurs;[35] but otherwise, the transfer is largely from the higher to the lower. This is true both in peaceful contact and in hostile penetration. Examples of the survival of dominant cultures may be seen in the triumph of the Spaniards over the Aztecs, the Germans over the Wends, the Romans over the Etruscans, etc. When one group is conquered by another which is lower in the scale of civilization, the culture of the vanquished tends to dominate that of the victor, as when the Greek culture triumphed over the Persian and Roman, and the Roman over the Gothic.[36] Italy, downtrodden as she was, dominated much of Europe in the fifteenth century because of the superiority of her arts, fashions, and literature. However, the higher culture may suffer degradation, especially if the number of its introducers is small in comparison with the environing population or if contact with the parent group is impaired, as in the case of immi-

[33] Alcock, Sir Rutherford, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 414.
[34] Beard, Miriam, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
[35] Bartlett, F. C., *op. cit.*, p. 141.
[36] Bristol, L. M., *Social Adaptation*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1915, pp. 293-294.

grants isolated among people of a lower culture level.[37] The Span-
iards in some parts of South America adopted Indian dialects and
forgot their own, as did the Russians in some districts of Siberia.[38]

On the other hand, the higher culture may take over some prac-
tices from the lower, as the white settlers in America borrowed
various customs and arts from the Indians. The Chinese of the
Yellow River region adopted the use of boats from the less cultured
people of the coast region. Folk tales and proverbs often force their
way up from the people in the lower ranks.[39] Thus, the slaves in the
southern states of America modified somewhat the folklore and
the pronunciation of the whites with whom they were associated,[40]
although so far as is known, only two African words have been
retained in the English language. Toponyms usually outlive the
inhabitants supplying them, and may be accepted by the later cul-
ture groups who occupy the same territory. This is shown by the
many Amerind place names incorporated into our language, and by
the names of some of the oldest cities of the world, such as Damas-
cus, Sidon, Saturnia, and Populonia, which survived in spite of the
races which successively controlled them. The conquerors give their
words to the offices and administrative functions, and the conquered
supply the terminology for the lowly occupations and classes, such
as *villain* (the etymology of which is probably the Anglo-Saxon
*vealh*—a foreigner or *Welshman*, people who were typically in a
state of servitude under the early Saxon rule), and *coolie* (a cor-
ruption of Coles or Kôlas, a Turanian hill tribe whose people occupy
the lowest place in the Indian labor market).[41]

The distinctive characteristics of Jewish culture disappeared
under the influence of the more advanced civilization of ancient
Greece. Under the leadership of the Sadducees, the Hebrew language
and names were replaced by the Greek, and the million Jews dwell-
ing in Egypt, then the center of Hellenic culture, lost their identity.
The Arabic culture, which came into contact with the Hebrew in
the eighth century, carried similar prestige and prevailed over the
Jewish in Syria, North Africa, and Spain. However, when the Jews
were driven from Syria to Babylon and from Spain and France to
Poland and Turkey, the lower level of civilization in these countries

[37] Carter, E. H., *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[38] Hertz, Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
[39] Marett, R. R., *Psychology and Folk-lore*, pp. 110-111.
[40] Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution*, p. 87.
[41] Taylor, Isaac, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-57, 465.

offered but slight attraction to the Semites, and consequently they resisted assimilation and retained their own culture and identity.[42] The perpetuation of the Jewish group as a separate sect is therefore due to definite sociological factors, as will be noted later in more detail.

(4) RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLES IN CONTACT affect inclinations to borrow one another's customs. Even slight antipathies interfere with acculturation. Coercion usually retards, rather than accelerates, culture diffusion. In fact, it is often unsuccessful in producing even outward conformity, for attempts to force a custom or language upon a people usually convert the conqueror's culture into a symbol of oppression and lead the conquered to idealize their own.[43] The Manchu Tartars who had conquered the Chinese territory were nearly driven out of the country because they forced upon the subject people the custom of wearing "pigtails."[44] The Turkish language never supplanted the Greek or even appreciably encroached upon it, owing to the determination of the Greeks not to sacrifice their own language for that of a conqueror whom they despised.[45] Bismarck's attempt in 1872 to make German the official language in Polish schools impeded the gradual acquisition of the conqueror's vernacular—in 1906 a strike by 150,000 Polish school children declared their refusal to answer questions in German. However, useful arts or objects may be copied even from an enemy, providing that they are not symbols of the existing hostility.

On the other hand, attitudes of prestige aid the ready assimilation of culture and "spontaneous borrowing," as Wissler calls it. This is illustrated by the contacts of preliterates with more advanced peoples. One African correspondent relates: ". . . if you tell a native to do a thing in as native a manner as possible, he will do it in his best possible imitation of an European way. If you try to persuade him to wear suitable indigenous clothing, rather than follow the most unsuitable castoffs of Europeans, or if you try to persuade him to develop his own educational system, he at once becomes suspicious and angry; to him all that is European represents civilization. . . ."[46]

[42] Ruppin, Arthur, *The Jews of Today,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1913, pp. 16-26.

[43] Miller, H. A., *Races, Nations and Classes,* pp. 32-38.

[44] Pitt-Rivers, A. L. F., *op. cit.,* p. 53.

[45] Vendryes, J., *op. cit.,* p. 282.

[46] Wissler, Clark, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology,* p. 360.

.If the language of the superior element in the population is used for official communication, it comes to signify success and preferred status, providing that the subordinated group assumes the viewpoint of its superiors; and when this is true, individuals tend to drop their own language or customs and to imitate the usages which are in favor in the clique to which they aspire. Under such circumstances the vernacular of the conquerors first becomes the speech of the cities and the dominant classes, and the language of the subject peoples tends to be restricted to outlying districts and subordinate classes. Until the middle of the nineteenth century an educated Bohemian was ashamed to speak his mother tongue on the streets of Prague, his native city, as was a Magyar, in Budapest.[47] By thus upholding its prestige, skilled statesmen, as, for example, the Romans in Gaul, have transmitted their language to the peoples under their control more readily than they could have done by force. So, also, Danish became the official speech in Norway, as German did in Esthonia, English in Ireland, and Turkish in Bulgaria.[48] The numerous groups of Indo-Germanic dialects are believed to be due largely to the adoption of the language of the alien conquerors by the subject peoples.[49]

Similar attitudes of prestige may prevail among immigrants with reference to the language of the natives. This is especially true when migrants from a lower economic or cultural level enter a powerful and advanced group; for under these circumstances a command of the language and customs of the native population is a precondition of successful competition and personal preferment, and immigrants accordingly tend to relinquish their own culture. Although the French Protestant refugees constituted one-fourth of the population of Cape Colony in 1688, the use of French ceased in a century because Dutch was the official language of the colony.[50] The same tendencies toward the acquisition of the language of the natives may be seen in the various immigrant receiving nations of the present time, but in none of these do immigrants abandon their own culture as completely or as quickly as a scattered slave population did formerly.

The significance of prestige in acculturation is seen also in the

[47] Park, R. E., *Immigrant Press*, p. 24.
[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-29; see also Hertz, F., *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.
[49] Haddon, A. C., *The Wanderings of Peoples*, University Press, Cambridge, England, 1911, p. 11.
[50] Vendryes, J., *op. cit.*, p. 282.

borrowing of customs from abroad. When the importers of these foreign ideas or usages have prestige in their own group they, in turn, are imitated and the borrowed trait may spread to the less favored portions of the population. In Japan European clothes were first worn only by officials and then only on ceremonial occasions; but later, when they were found convenient to work in, the laboring people donned them for daily use.[51] So, also, western types of houses, which were first copied by rich Orientals,[52] are now being imitated by many families of moderate means, at least to the extent of furnishing one room in occidental style.[53]

Behavior-patterns may also spread in a vertical direction, even if the innovations arise within the group in question, the strata with prestige usually being the innovators. Styles in dress, manners, speech rhythm and accent, forms of courtesy and etiquette, games, etc., are gradually adopted by successive layers of society unless obstacles, such as poverty, sumptuary laws, or class hostilities, intervene; for each stratum tends to copy the one above it in proportion to its own resources and the other's prestige. For example, it was said that in Constantinople, under the Byzantine emperors, the court looked to the prince, and the city folk looked to the court for their models, while the poor gazed upon the rich and wished to share in their display.[54] Conversely, when class hostility is aroused, the upper strata lose prestige and their fads are not imitated so eagerly, as was the case during the French Revolution, when the commoners ceased to copy court fashions.[55] However, innovations also spread upward from the lower classes, providing economic wants are served thereby, as, for instance, in the adoption of factory-made clothing, which was first utilized by the poorer portions of the population.

### METHODS OF CULTURE ASSIMILATION

Borrowing implies not only the transfer of a practice from one people to another but also readaptation thereof, so that it may function as an integral part of the social structure. In general, three phases of such assimilation may be noted: (1) adoption with only a

[51] Okuma, Count Shigenobu, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Smith Elder and Company, London, 1909, vol. ii, p. 445.
[52] Allen, G. C., *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[53] Beard, Miriam, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
[54] Tarde, G., *The Laws of Imitation*, p. 217.    •
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

slight modification of the existing usages, (2) substitution, and (3) fitting the new into the old.

(1) ADOPTION WITH SLIGHT MODIFICATION occurs when there is no existing matrix in which the new may be remolded. This was true in the case of the methods of cultivating and using maize which were taken over by the white settlers from the Indians: the planting of corn in hills (five grains each), hoeing around the growing stalks, the use of corn cribs elevated on poles, planting of beans and squashes among the corn, testing seed germination in warm water before planting, the preparation of mush and "lye hominy," and the use of corn-husk mats. Even some of the ceremonial aspects were repeated in the husking-bees of the early pioneer communities. However, when maize was introduced into Europe the incidental items did not reappear there.[56] So, also, the use of the horse was borrowed by the Indians from the white man with but slight modifications;[57] and Indian tribes learned from one another the ways of making pottery, coil basketry, acorn meal, soft buckskin tan, etc. Ceremonials and rituals, it has been said, are less likely to be borrowed as entire culture complexes, parts being lifted from their original setting when transplanted into new regions.[58] When new practices are adopted without discarding the old, a civilization is complicated and usually improved.

(2) SUBSTITUTION of the new for the old is relatively rare, but a few examples may be cited. Primitives displace their own crude tools and arms with the modern ones. In the case of immigrant groups, this method of assimilation is most usual with regard to material arts, the kinds of crops grown, work routine, forms of architecture, distribution of dwellings as dictated by the type of land-holdings, and the prevailing types of clothing. Some of these changes are made soon after settlement, while other traits are retained for generations. A few examples of the more durable traits are: receiving callers at the back door, building a "Grosvater" house (a dwelling for the grandparents) in the yard of the old homestead

[56] Wissler, Clark, "Aboriginal Maize Culture as a Typical Culture Complex," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1916, vol. xxi, pp. 656-661.

[57] Wissler, Clark, "Material Cultures of the North American Indians," *American Anthropologist*, 1914, vol. xvi, pp. 447-505; "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," *ibid.*, pp. 1-25.

[58] Lowie, Robert, "Ceremonialism in North America," *ibid.*, pp. 603-631.

when the sons or daughters assume active control of the farm,[59] familial solidarity, Old-World culinary habits, and other customs and language forms which linger with diminishing vitality.

(3) FITTING THE NEW INTO THE OLD is usually a question of degree; for even where the new is an addition to, or a substitute for, the old, it is generally affected more or less by the habits of the group concerned. "The new," says Goldenweiser, "is never more than a slight ripple on the deep foundation of the old and established."[60] If the substitution takes place too rapidly confusion results, as will be seen in a later chapter. The existence of the new and old together is a commonplace; the wheelbarrow and the horse-drawn cart persist along with the automobile and airplane, and crude hand tools continue to be used in competition with the steam shovel and hydraulic press. Borrowed and indigenous elements are seen clearly in modernized Japan where steel bridges and gasoline stations are dedicated by lantern processions and Shinto rites; up-to-date business and professional men return at night to kimona and cushion; the university and high school boys and girls who wear occidental dress to classes, sit on benches or chairs in western style, and engage in imported athletics, kneel on the floor at home, in accordance with ancient customs which do not prescribe the use of chairs. At state parties may be seen men in frock coats who have left their congress shoes and cylinder hats at the door. Two contrasting generations are a common sight in the cities—a small bent mother in native kimona, and beside her a girl, red cheeked and athletic, wearing serge skirt, red sweater, orange tam o'shanter, and black shoes. Householders add various articles of furniture, regardless of occidental æsthetic ideas; they hide a telephone behind a screen, put lanterns around the electric bulbs, and conceal a phonograph near the tokonoma (the ancestral shrine).[61]

The new objects and practices are worked over to conform to the pattern into which they are fitted.[62] Thus, American Fords which are built for the French are modified in accordance with prevailing tastes to include continental bodies in rainbow-hued colors. The

[59] Houghton, A. V., *Community Organization in a Rural Amish Community*, unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Illinois, 1932.

[60] Goldenweiser, A. A., *Early Civilization*, p. 18.

[61] Beard, Miriam, *passim. op. cit.*, pp. 20, 33, 45, 46, 159, 167.

Cf. Burgess, John S., "Cultural Synthesis in China," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1929-1930, vol. xiv, pp. 130-134; "Cultural Change in China," *ibid.*, 1930-1931, vol. xv, pp. 373-380.

[62] Wissler, Clark, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, p. 367.

Hindu Naga (the serpent rain-god) which was imported into China by the Central Asian Buddhists became, in the new habitat, the Chinese dragon, depicted according to the Chinese artistic conventions and reflecting Chinese religious beliefs.[63] Under the same principle, the introduction of new rites, such as the sun worship in Egypt which absorbed the earlier stellar cult, saw the retention of features of the older religion.[64] Thus, the Winnebagoes placed the symbolic drawings of their new peyote cult alongside their sacred mounds.[65]

Loan-words usually follow similar laws. Their pronunciation changes in accordance with the phonetic usages of the vernacular; and even those persons who know the foreign language and are aware of the proper pronunciation of these words conform to the speech of the majority lest they seem affected or pedantic. Consequently, in spite of all the numerous loan-words which occur in the English language, only a few retain their original pronunciation.[66]

This language mixture is common where two or more languages are spoken side by side. Whenever low-culture peoples come into contact with representatives of higher civilizations, jargons derived from both languages spring up. Familiar examples are "pidgin English" and the broken English of immigrants. While being fitted into a foreign vernacular, words undergo such modifications that they are scarcely recognizable. At first only the most easily distinguishable foreign sounds are used, and words are often changed by adding or discarding a sound. For example, the usual endings of the English words are dropped and foreign endings are added in forming infinitives and the plurals of nouns; hybrid compound words are also formed. For instance, the Pennsylvania-German dialect abounds in curious compounds such as *eisenstove, küchenrange, parlor ofen, carving-messer, gauls-blanket* (horse-blanket), *flauer-barrel,* and many others.[67] In a letter to the Frankfort Land Company, Pas-

[63] Mackenzie, D. A., *The Migration of Symbols,* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926, p. 139.

[64] Breasted, James H., *Development of Religion and Thought in Early Egypt,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912, pp. 140-141.

[65] Radin, Paul, "Sketch of the Peyote Cult of the Winnebago," *American Journal of Religious Psychology,* 1914, vol. vii, p. 12.

[66] Strong, H. A., Logeman, W. S., and Wheeler, B. I., *History of Language,* Longmans Green and Company, London, 1891, p. 386.

[67] Kuhns, Oscar, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania,* Eaton and Mains, New York; Jennings and Graham, Cincinnati, 1900, pp. 120-121.

torius, one of the leaders of German colonization in Pennsylvania, explained his inability to protect the interests of the company against rival claimants with these words, "Ich fand dasz alle Lawyers ge-feed waren," that is, retained on a fee. The following extract, taken from Armbruster's Almanac for 1760, further reflects this hybridization of speech forms, when it records that Andi, upon being asked whether he had "gebrikfestet" (breakfasted), replied: "O, nein, Ich habe so viel Trubble, dasz ich jetz mit Brikfast nicht maddlen kan."[68]

A borrowed culture trait seldom holds the same position or retains the precise significance in the adopting group that it did in its original setting. When the African Negroes first came into possession of firearms, they regarded them as magical instruments for making noise and used them, as the moderns do Zeppelins and newspapers, to destroy the enemy's morale.[69] Members of one tribe may learn by rote a whole corrobboree in a language which neither the performer nor the audience understands, and in such cases the meaning is necessarily changed or lost.[70] The borrower may not even have been aware of the original meaning. In the appropriation of foreign words, such as English sporting terms taken over by the French, the users may not understand the language or know the meaning or the correct pronunciation of the words used. Missionaries may teach the overt form of their religion without fully communicating its symbolic significance or at once changing the body of the convert's thought.[71] "The Christian cross worn as a talisman by a half-converted African native does not mean to him all that it means to a cultured European or American theologian. Indeed, the cross may mean much to the native regarding which the American or European theologian knows little or nothing and, perhaps, cares less."[72] Buddhism became something very different when transferred from the Hindus to the less refined Tibetans. The Elberfeld system of poor relief was greatly modified from its original form when transported from Germany to England.[73] The European type

[68] Smith, C. Henry, "The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania," *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society,* 1924, vol. xxxv, p. 396.

[69] McGee, W J., "Piratical Acculturation," *American Anthropologist,* 1898, vol. xi, p. 245.

[70] Bartlett, F. C., *op. cit.,* p. 143.

[71] Muntz, Earl E., *op. cit.,* p. 328.

[72] Cf. MacKenzie, D. A., *op. cit.,* p. xi; Cavan, Ruth S., "The Christianizing Process among Preliterate Peoples," *Journal of Religion,* 1924, vol. iv, pp. 261-280.

[73] Cf. Burgess, E. W., *Function of Socialization,* p. 24.

of university was altered to meet the needs of the new situation when it was brought to the United States; and American ideas of revolution took new forms when carried out in Mexico.

The blending of the new and old is frequent, if not general, in first-hand inventions, no less than in borrowed culture. For example, automobiles and railway coaches were at first constructed to resemble contemporary carriages and road coaches. Even new scientific practices and philosophies are woven gradually into the habitual and familiar thought forms, and the meaning of old formulæ is modified in accordance with new conditions.[74] In fine, the new may be assimilated by being added to the existing practices or objects; it may take the place of some of them, or it may be blended with them and thereby include attributes from two sets of folkways, although it resembles neither in all details.

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[74] Patten, Simon, *The Development of English Thought,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1899, p. 21; Whitehead, Alfred N., *Symbolism: Its Meaning and Effect,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, p. 63.

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# CHAPTER XXIII

## Assimilation of Peoples

Immigrants may acquire the customs of the people among whom they settle, without becoming an integral part of the social organization. However, the acquisition of the new culture greatly facilitates their adjustments to the political, economic, and institutional life of the native population; and, in fact, such incorporation requires and presupposes cultural assimilation. Conversely, the more completely strangers are accepted into the group, the more readily do they take on its culture. But some adjustments, at least in the more impersonal, symbiotic relations, can take place without the possession of a common culture. All these *modi vivendi* are examples of the accommodation already discussed (Chapter XX); for they require changes in the working relations and attitudes of either the natives or the newcomers or, in some instances, of both.

In consequence of the strangeness, reciprocal prejudices, and social distance, with the resulting adjustments in functional, spatial and personal relations, the social organization of both immigrants and natives is complicated. The pertinent aspects of these processes may be classified as: first, the modification of the social structure in the borders of the receiving population; second, the methods of incorporating the newcomers into the native social organization; and third, criteria of assimilation. The first of these topics constitutes the theme of the present chapter; the second and third will be considered in the following chapter.

When immigration occurs, two sets of institutions exist side by side for a time, each serving people who are differentiated on the basis of separate origin or of unlike cultural antecedents. Only gradually does one group assimilate the social organization of the other. But changes occur in both (1) the incoming and (2) the receiving group, even if neither copies the practices of the other, for both are affected by the situation resulting from immigration. However, these effects vary with the circumstances of immigration and settlement.

Immigrants tend to reproduce their own institutions and forms of social organization in their new abode. This is especially true if they constitute a self-sufficient group, settle compactly, and have a common origin—to wit, if those coming from the same locality abroad dwell together, which is usually the case. For example, "In the Roumanian colony of Trenton, New Jersey, all of the two hundred families have come from the district of Satmar, in Transylvania; in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, the fifty families of Macedonians have come from the village of Frashairi; in Chicago, the whole district of Fullerton-Clybourn is made up of Roumanians from the Banat; while the stock-yard colony is composed chiefly of Bukovinians."[1] The Slovaks in Chicago are settled in seven different areas, in each of which the religious and provincial loyalties and antipathies of the Old World are sharply distinguished.[2] Similar tendencies exist in every other immigrant nationality.

(1) TRANSPLANTED INSTITUTIONS.—The tendency for immigrants to develop organizations according to patterns familiar in their home land is due not so much to a desire to transplant familiar structures as to the effort to meet urgent needs, for institutions and associations are a means of promoting interests collectively. However, these organizations are not transplanted strictly in their original form; changes are made in response to conditions in the new environment. Although most of the immigrants to the United States during recent decades have been predominantly rural or village people, they have settled largely in cities. For example, 83.7 per cent of the arriving Roumanians had been farm laborers or workers belonging to the peasant class, but only 9 per cent of them settled in rural districts.[3] Under such radically novel conditions institutions are modified by adaptation to new circumstances, as well as by borrowing from the native customs. This is especially necessary because immigrant colonies in a city are usually not as self-sufficient economically as they were before emigration, for under wage labor they are dependent upon others both for an income and for needed commodities. Wants must be met in new ways, and new types of

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[1] Galitzi, Christine A., *A Study of Assimilation Among the Roumanians in the United States,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1929, p. 88.

[2] Cressey, Paul F., *op. cit.,* p. 143.

[3] Galitzi, Christine, *op. cit.,* p. 62.

leadership must be provided because the old are not fully repre-
sented, if at all. Instead of cooperating as a family unit in growing
food, as they did in their peasant abode, they now compete indi-
vidually for wage positions. Traditions are no longer adequate
guides, and the burden of sickness, accidents, and death is no
longer alleviated by the customary neighborly aid. To meet these
crises, mutual aid societies and other "adaptive institutions" are
formed. Spontaneous aid is therefore superseded by relief rendered
according to rules and prior agreement. Still later these mutual aid
societies evolve into insurance corporations of the American type.

> The very fact that such a regulation of mutual assistance is
> necessary shows, of course, that the old naïve and unreflective
> communal solidarity, where each individual had rightful claims
> on the help of every other individual in a degree dependent on
> the closeness of their social connection, has been radically modified.
> Often the individuals who in the old environment would be the
> first to be called upon for assistance—nearest relatives and old
> neighbors—are not here; their function has to be assumed, at least
> in part, vicariously by [comparative] strangers. . . . In the eyes
> of these the help which they have to give appears not as a natural
> duty to be unreflectively performed but as, we might say, an arti-
> ficial duty, the result of abnormal conditions. And this attitude
> communicates itself gradually, even to those who under the old
> systems would always be obliged to help, as friends and close
> relatives.[4]

(2) ADAPTATIONS TO THE NEW HABITAT.—In adjusting to the new
habitat, institutions also take on new functions. For example, the
benefit societies may add entertainment and educational features—
functions which were previously fulfilled more spontaneously by
the neighborhood group or sponsored by other agencies. So, also,
the activities of the church may become more varied because the
parish performs the duties which the parish and the commune to-
gether assumed among the immigrants at home. In fact, the parish
in Polish-American colonies has been said to be the old primary
community, comprising the greater family, the parish, and the
neighborhood, reorganized and concentrated.[5] But its control over
its parishioners is much less than it was in the old country because
it does not so generally have the backing of public opinion, the ease

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[4] Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 1520.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1523.

of moving may quickly put its members outside of its immediate influence, and the *émigrés* themselves undergo changes. When the local norms vary from those previously held by the group, the parish may need to make concessions in regard to amusements and other practices in order to retain its hold upon its members.

Various ceremonies, such as christenings and weddings, likewise disappear or are gradually modified so as to conform to the new practices. This is due in part to the fact that the old customs interfere with earnings, as was not the case under conditions in the old country. For example, the mercantile and industrial work routine leads to the non-observance of Sunday, of Saturday as Sabbath, of saints' days, etc. One immigrant comments: "Saints' days! They are all the same for the people here. The factories are closed on Labor Day but we must work on St. George's Day, on the Holy Assumption, and on St. Elias' Day, to speak nothing of all the other Fêtes. Wouldn't the lightning strike us if we dared to do that in our country? There we all used to go to church but here we go to the factory instead."[6]

The household arrangements, food habits, costumes, and the practical arts are likewise modified to meet the conditions found in the new environment; and through these successive modifications the newcomers are gradually adjusted to their new cultural, geographic, and economic environment.

### THE INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATION

The social structure in the area of the receiving population is changed by immigration, not only because new institutions and groups are added in the manner described but also because the newcomers assume or are assigned to a position different from that of the natives. This social position depends on the natives' attitudes toward them and on their comparative economic strength; for as a result of the new conditions of competition, some of the natives prosper, while others descend in the socio-economic scale. The immigrants with the keenest wants and with low competitive strength—usually the unskilled laborers—necessarily occupy the lowest paid, least esteemed, and most hazardous and unhealthful positions. The early immigrants, who for the most part settled in rural areas, held a comparatively higher social position under frontier conditions than did those who came later as wage earners. But

[6] Galitzi, Christine, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

the status of immigrants is sometimes intermediate between the native strata. For instance, the position of the Europeans who settled in the southern states was above that of the Negroes but lower than that of the native whites. In some cases persons of mixed parentage (one native and one foreign-born parent) occupy a place unlike that of either parental group, thereby complicating the social organization still further. Differentiation also arises from the introduction of new occupations, customs, and personality types.

Although the two groups condition each other's social organization, the character and the rate of the changes in both the "transplanted" and indigenous structures depend on several factors, among which are: (1) the customs in regard to strangers in general, or the attitude toward a particular nationality or race; (2) the number of immigrants and their rate of entrance; (3) the composition of the immigrant stream, and (4) the manner of settlement.

(1) ATTITUDES TOWARD STRANGERS and the manner of assigning them to a position in the group vary with time and place, depending upon customs and the suitability of the social structure for the incorporation of outsiders. Admittance may be opposed because of dislike for the unfamiliar or because of wariness due to previous experience, as is implied in the Japanese proverb, "When you see a [stranger] count him a robber."[7] Among preliterate peoples the belief often prevailed that newcomers might, if they so desired, inflict injury by means of their "evil eye" or other magic powers; and this danger had to be offset by various counter-charms, such as administering a conditional curse or saying some magic formula.

Again, strangers may be unwelcome because no occupations are open to them or because the organization may in other ways be unsuited to assimilate those not born into the group. Accordingly, the length of stay of strangers has often been limited by custom or law. For example, food and lodging are provided for only one day by the Javanese and Kalmucks; the Bedouins required strangers who remained longer than three days and four hours to assist their host in domestic labor on penalty of censure from all the other members of the camp. In mediæval European communities, citizens were forbidden to harbor strangers for longer than a few days or weeks and laws permitted the enslavement of shipwrecked persons.[8] During the thirteenth century there were still

[7] Gulick, Sidney, *op. cit.*, p. 430.
[8] Westermarck, Edward, *Origins and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, p. 25.

places in parts of France where a stranger who stayed for a year and a day became the serf of the lord of the manor. In seventeenth-century Calais any stranger "of what nation so-ever" who was "taken walking by himself about the greene of the town" was imprisoned until he paid a fine,[9] and in some American colonies "foreigners" could not be lodged more than two weeks without the consent of the selectmen.

In a social organization in which membership is derived through birth and marriage (the *connubium*—such as the European manorial community and the Indian caste system), no provision is made for incorporating strangers. The old European guild system, based on hereditary rights to an occupation, was likewise uncongenial to newcomers representing a trade and money economy (*commercium*). The former is associated with primary group relations and stability, and the latter with impersonality, mobility, and "free" competition.

Resistance against immigration on the part of a *connubium* is well illustrated by the way Europe received the Jews during the early centuries of this era. The local self-sufficient groups were ill-adapted to absorb these strangers, for there were few intermediate places between primary relations and complete exclusion from contact—only a few occasions permitted positive secondary relations. Furthermore, this structural resistance was reinforced by a dislike for strangers and their culture. The Jews were regarded as aliens in the countries where they were allowed to remain, even though they had dwelt there for centuries. In some countries they were barred from land ownership, from preferred occupations, and civil rights; dwelling places and types of dress were prescribed, and violence or insult might be imposed without right of redress.[10] Only when the more obvious differences disappeared—which occurred when the growth of mercantile occupations and banking brought into general esteem the employment followed formerly almost exclusively by Jews—was the way prepared for their readier assimilation. But they did not gain the rights of citizenship in Turkey until 1908 and in Russia until the revolution of 1917, while in Roumania legal distinctions against them continued until after the World War.[11]

[9] Parsons, E. C., *Fear and Conventionality*, pp. 6-7.
[10] Wirth, Louis, *The Ghetto*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928, p. 111.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

Obstacles to incorporation also exist when immigrants come into contact with a slave or caste system. In the southern part of the United States, for example, free laborers could not readily find employment, and they declined to compete with slave labor because of the loss of status and the small remuneration involved. Consequently the ratio of immigrants was low in these sections.[12]

Even if there are no obstacles arising from incompatible functions, differences in cultures interfere with incorporation into the social organization. The groups are understood by one another in proportion to the similarities in their folkways. "When groups have such widely varying attitudes, social traits, and organizations of life as Molokan peasant sectarians and American urbanities, it is almost inevitable that irritations will arise. The two groups arouse in each other [antipathetic] states of mind. At the first encounter there is a tendency to classify each other by dress, gesture, intonation of voice, expression of face. They may know nothing of each other's experiences, attitudes, philosophies of life."[13] Therefore, conformity to customs and a command of the vernacular gives strangers access to impersonal situations—or, as one might say, mobilizes them.

(2) RELATIVE NUMBERS appreciably affect the result of interpenetration. Other things being equal, when the *ratio of newcomers* to the existing population is high, a corresponding effect is produced upon the native culture and social organization. Unless a minority group comes as conquerors, and maintains its aloofness by military force, as did the Manchus in China, or by refusing to give up its superior culture or language for that of the natives, as did the Boers in South Africa, it tends to blend with the majority.[14] But if it has superior arts, even though its numbers are small, as is true of the European traders and colonizers among preliterate peoples, it occupies a superior position.

The *rate of entrance* is also a factor in the results, for the effect of a slow or intermittent trek of migrants is different from that following the entrance of the same number of persons over a briefer period of time. The slower the rate, the more likely are the newcomers to be absorbed in the indigenous social organization. In the

[12] See Carpenter, Niles, *Immigrants and their Children,* United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1927, pp. 34-35, 40-42.

[13] Vislick-Young, Pauline, *Assimilation Problems of Russian Molokans in Los Angeles,* Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1926, p. 86.

[14] See also Ruppin, Arthur, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

United States the ratio of foreign-born has remained relatively constant at every decennial census since 1850, the figure fluctuating between 13 and 15.[15] This gradual infiltration of more than thirty millions of people into the United States over a period of 110 years has had a smaller effect upon local culture and social organization than if these immigrants had come in one or two decades. A few Africans and Orientals can be absorbed by a western nation; but there would be no provision for impressing the prevailing institutions upon a million newcomers annually. Hostility toward the Chinese and Japanese has varied with the volume of immigration from these countries.

(3) THE COMPOSITION OF THE MIGRANT GROUPS is likewise a factor in their dependence upon the indigenous population and their effect upon the native institutions. The more representative the migrants are of their mother groups, the more able they are to recreate their old social organization in the new setting. Some immigrants bring with them their professionals, entrepreneurs, intelligentsia, and other leaders; and under such circumstances the colony is for the most part a miniature reproduction of the familiar social life. Examples of relatively normal composition are the groups of refugees from persecutions or inquisitions, like the Waldensians, and like the Jews in Spain, France, and England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and in Russia during the past sixty years.

The greater the deviation of the *émigrés* from a normal population composition, the less is their self-sufficiency, for the absence of specialists and other functionaries prompts contact with the receiving population. Workers in quest of wage positions are likely to be non-representative as regards vocation, age, and sex composition. This has been largely true of the immigrants to the United States during the past fifty years. They have been mainly unskilled workers, or, if trained in a handicraft, they have usually been compelled to accept unskilled work or to serve a second apprenticeship because the techniques of the practical arts vary so greatly in different countries.

The sex ratio and the marital status also affect the manner of making adjustments. The first migrants, providing they are seek-

[15] The percentage of foreign-born to the total population at specified dates in selected countries is: Argentina (1914), 29.9; Canada (1921), 22.2; Brazil (1920), 5.1; France (1921), 4.0; England and Wales (1921), 3.4. See Carpenter, Niles, *Immigrants and their Children,* pp. 5-7.

ing economic advantages, are mostly males; but later, when women and children come and reunite the families or when single women seek wage occupations, the ratio of men to women migrants may be equalized. During the first decade of the present century, 96 per cent of the Bulgarians, Servians, and Montenegrins entering the United States were males,[16] and for the same period the percentage of males from northwestern Europe was 58.5. The years of economic depression and low immigration bring relatively lower ratios of men, and the years of prosperity and high immigration, high ratios. The percentage of males in 1895 (a low immigration year) and in 1907 (the peak year of immigration in the history of this country, when 1,285,000 entered) was, respectively, 57.6 and 72.4.[17] If the migrants come by families, or if the single persons establish families in the new country, they are more likely to become permanent residents than would otherwise be true; and inducements are offered to secure a place, at least for the children, in the institutions of the native population.

(4) THE MANNER OF SETTLEMENT—whether it is *diffused* or *segregated* and compact—affects the rate of assimilation. Either type of settlement may occur in both rural[18] and urban environments. The more diffused the settlement, the more frequent—other factors being equal—are the contacts between the two peoples, the less likely it is that separate organizations will develop, and the more probable it is that the strangers will be given a place in the native associations. This is shown by the fact that the immigrants who are scattered in rural areas join the local lodges and other social organizations of the natives more frequently than they form their own.[19] However, they are less ready to discard their own church affiliations, for religion seems to be most intimately connected with the ethos of a people. But this also depends on the social situation, and especially on the degree to which people are isolated from their own coreligionists and surrounded by adherents of another faith. Thus Orientals accept Christianity most readily when they reside

[16] See Fairchild, H. P., *Immigration*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925, p. 195.

[17] See United States Department of Labor, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration*. A summary is published in the 1920 and 1930 reports.

[18] See, for example, Brunner, E. de S., *op. cit.;* Young, Donald, *American Minority Peoples*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1932, pp. 58-96.

[19] Brunner, Edmund de S., *op. cit.*, pp. 203 ff.

abroad, migrate from their inland community to a seaboard town, or undergo retention in a hospital or prison.[20]

The segregated settlement of large numbers of migrants produces some isolation from the natives and enables the incoming social organization to maintain itself the more readily. In fact, it is difficult for immigrants living continuously in an "area of first settlement" (the immigrant colonies) to become fully adjusted to native institutions.[21] Enforced isolation in ghettos formerly proved to be an effective means of maintaining the culture and solidarity of the segregated groups;[22] but such isolation as is produced by the "immigrant colony" under present-day conditions[23] does not prevent all contacts with the neighboring peoples or delay assimilation unduly. The material environment (food, clothing, architecture) is American; the traditions are in part local history; and the routine of work is determined by the customs of the receiving group. Here, too, there reside individuals who have acquired varying degrees of familiarity with the new customs, and therefore the newcomer has before him models suited to his progressive acquisition of the diluted vicinal civilization. In this way the colony mediates the culture of the larger population and aids, more than it hinders assimilation. It affords the means for meeting material wants, supplying primary associations, and aiding in the control of the immigrants while they are being more fully absorbed by the institutions of the new land.

> The organization of the immigrant community is necessary as a regulative measure. Any type of organization which succeeds in regulating the lives of its members is beneficial. If you can induce a man to belong to something, to cooperate with any group whatever, where something is expected of him, where he has responsibility, dignity, recognition, economic security, you have at least regulated his life. . . . We have not developed American institutions adapted to meeting the first needs of the immigrant and preserving in him the good qualities which he brings. Usually he reaches our [charitable and corrective] agencies only after he has

[20] Price, Maurice, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

[21] V'slick-Young, Pauline, *op. cit.*, p. 190; Fishberg, Maurice, *The Jews,* Charles Scr'bner's Sons, New York, 1911.

[22] See Cohen, Israel, "The Jewish Community," *The Sociological Review,* 1910, vol. iii, pp. 216-226; Case, Clarence, *Outlines of Introductory Sociology,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1924, pp. 456-460.

[23] Brown, Lawrence Guy, *Immigration,* Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1930, pp. 200-220.

become a failure. The immigrant organizations are doing very positive service for their members by maintaining a sense of social responsibility, of responsibility to some type of community. . . . The [peasant] immigrant is not a highly individualized person. He has been accustomed to live in a small, intimate, face-to-face group, and his conduct has been determined by this group. . . . He needs the assistance of such a group for a time in America, and naturally this group is composed of his own people.[24]

The mode of settlement is thus a result of the mode of migration and the composition of the immigrant stream, and of the attitudes of the entering and receiving populations toward one another. In turn, the mode of settlement affects the rate and methods of the incorporation of the strangers into the native social organization.

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[24] Park, R. E., and Miller, H. A., *op. cit.,* pp. 289-294.

Cf. Saathoff, J. A., "Function of Rural Immigrant Communities," *Sociology and Social Research,* September-October, 1931, pp. 56-60.

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# Methods and Criteria of Assimilation

Inasmuch as the incorporation of strangers into a social structure is a question of participation, it may be measured by the extent to which they share in the customary activities. This depends not only on the wishes of the immigrants and their adoption of the native customs and language, but also on the attitudes of the indigenous people and their willingness to admit the newcomers into the various economic, religious, and personal relations. ·

When immigrants constitute a small minority which lacks prestige, they tend to abandon their own culture unless one or all of three conditions obtain: (1) an ineradicable prejudice which keeps the groups rigorously apart; (2) an unimpaired contact between the immigrants and their own national group abroad, and a corresponding isolation from the environing native population; or (3) the creation or maintenance of a superior culture by the minority on their own initiative, thereby enabling them to be independent of the surrounding culture. None of these conditions exist in the United States; but, with only few exceptions, there is sufficient social distance to interfere with the ready acceptance of the immigrants into various forms of participation.

## METHODS AND RATE OF INCORPORATION

(1) COMPETITIVE AND LEGAL PARTICIPATION.—The earliest dealings between natives and immigrants are usually competitive and legal. That a place in the competitive order will be granted immigrants is implied by the very fact that they are allowed to enter the country, for they usually come in order to satisfy economic wants, and they are expected to be self-supporting. This requires that they share in the competitive cooperation of the local or national community. The first contacts between natives and immigrants are largely restricted to trade and other pecuniary transactions, and may be said to be symbiotic because, while they are mutually advantageous, they require but a minimum of personal understanding

and consensus. The immigrants also enter a political order in which various general rights and legal obligations are presupposed (inasmuch as a nation exercises jurisdiction over everyone within its territory), even though aliens do not always receive the same consideration under the law as the natives do.

Some acquisition of a common culture and some degree of personal tolerance result from the contacts involved in competition. But it is easier for immigrants to earn a livelihood if they acquire the native language and conform to the prevailing customs. Consequently traders, who must needs be adaptable, are more likely to be assimilated in a commercial country than in isolated rural districts. Europeans with merchandising experience are more easily assimilated in the United States, where they become business men, than in Brazil, where they become farmers. During the Middle Ages, Jewish people who, as merchants and bankers, were in close contact with Gentiles were more readily identified with the surrounding people than when they were officially isolated in ghettos.[1] The more similar the manner of living and the more frequent the contacts, the more probable it is that strangers will be admitted into relationships involving personal tolerance.[2]

But even when they are accepted in business relations and tolerated in residential areas and in school, they may still be excluded from the intimate sociability circles which are more strictly guarded. They may be welcomed in church but if they presume to renew the acquaintanceship on the street they may be told that the friendliness previously shown is not to be transferred beyond the place of worship;[3] if they acquire riches, they are likely to incur the contempt felt for the *parvenu*. Indeed, acceptance into close personal relations may never be attained by aliens. A Japanese editor says that "no foreigner has ever yet succeeded in being admitted to the inner circle of Japanese intercourse."[4]

As long as cultural distinctions and memories of former prejudices persist, there may be discrimination in the selection of associates long after economic adjustments have been completed. The children, and even the grandchildren, of immigrants may retain subtle

[1] Ruppin, Arthur, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.
[2] For a lengthy discussion of educational and economic segregation, see Young, Donald, *op. cit.*, pp. 446-503.
[3] *The Inquiry*, "And Who Is My Neighbor," Association Press, New York, 2nd ed., 1928, pp. 179 ff.
[4] Gulick, Sidney, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

variations in pronunciation or other minor mannerisms which can be ascribed to the former culture base. According to Galitzi, three generations are required for a south European peasant and his descendants to make the transition in all subtle respects to the precise model of the native stock;[5] but this is not always true, for the facts vary with the circumstances previously discussed. Furthermore, although all the reminders of his cultural background are seldom completely removed by the immigrant himself, they are barriers to his personal acceptability only if the natives assume them to be such.

(2) GROUP-WISE ASSIMILATION.—Because of the social distance between strangers and natives, assimilation tends to take place collectively. Inasmuch as the individual immigrant cannot readily identify himself directly with the native society, an intermediate connection with a group of his own nationality is expedient or essential, as we have previously noted. Thus the newcomers not only maintain more or less cohesion as a group while they gradually acquire more intimate and varied connections with the new social structure, but they also regulate the type and degree of culture borrowing and conformity to the native political, educational, and sociability institutions. In this way the entire group is modified by its efforts to make adjustments to the new conditions. It becomes sensitive to native public opinion while its leaders defend it against criticism and try to raise its status. The means employed for this purpose are (a) the omission of censured folkways, and (b) the promotion of education, citizenship, and other esteemed values.

(a) Immigrants change different parts of their folkways at unequal rates, the items which produce the most unfavorable comparisons usually being dropped first. In general, ideas tend to change before the acts with which they are associated,[6] and this is also true of the assimilation of a culture, according to some studies which indicate that immigrants revise or drop their beliefs before they do their ceremonial practices.[7] On the other hand, there are practical reasons why immigrants conform to the overt ways of the natives. Some customs, such as foreign dress, are abandoned soon after arrival, while others are retained for years. The discon-

[5] Galitzi, Christine, *op. cit.,* p. 170.

[6] Boas. F., *Anthropology and Modern Life,* pp. 162 ff.

[7] Ravitch, Jessie, "Relative Rate of Change in Custom and Belief of Modern Jews," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1924, vol. xix, pp. 171-176.

tinuance of the practice of giving children the personal names of parents, and especially of grandparents, and the adoption of names prevailing in the surrounding population (or those of fiction or cinema favorites) are usually not accomplished until the second or third generation when the desire to obscure the ancestral origin may outweigh interest in parental wishes and traditions. For example, among the East Friesians and their descendants the grandmother's name Geertje is changed to Gertie for the native-born granddaughter; Hilke becomes Hilda, and Elske, Wessel, Freerk, and Wilhelm become, respectively, Elsie, Wesley, Fred, and William. Most other names undergo similar modifications. Sometimes one native and one foreign name are given the child; but the native derivative alone is used as the call name, or only the initial of the foreign name is employed.[8] In the effort to obscure the ancestral origin, quaint and unusual variations from old-world names are sometimes adopted. For instance, among the Swedes in Texas are found such names as Emergina, Orabell, Lenwold, Je Nell;[9] and in one East Friesian community the names given to the children born in the last decade include Gloria, Dolores, Eloise, Eileen Lou, and Elizabeth Dorothea. Surnames undergo similar modifications. Syllables which are hard to pronounce in the native vernacular and which sound foreign are changed in order to sound like the English spelling and to lessen deviation from the prevailing language forms. Among Swedish names, Bergman has been changed to Beryman, Bjorklund to Burklund, Kallberg to Chalberg, Nygren to Newgren, and Jungquist to Youngquist.[10]

(b) The immigrant press, national societies, the church, and other immigrant organizations foster group consciousness and at times retard acculturation, although they facilitate group-wise adjustment to the new environment and, in the main, aid assimilation. In 1927 there were 1000 foreign-language newspapers in the United States.[11] In a mobile industrial society the printed word, rather than verbal traditions and hearsay, is the chief source of information; and convenience, no less than sentiments, prompts the immi-

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[8] Saathoff, John, *The Eastfriesen in the United States,* unpublished Doctor's Thesis, University of Iowa, 1930, pp. 183-184.

[9] Rosenquist, Carl Martin, *The Swedes of Texas,* unpublished Doctor's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1930, pp. 230-231.

[10] *Ibid.,* pp. 218-221.

[11] Beuick, Marshall D., "Declining Immigrant Press," *Social Forces,* 1927, vol. vi, p. 257.

grant to maintain connections with his own people through a national newspaper. He reads his own language more than he did in the old world, and in so doing enlarges his intellectual and social horizon, for without such means of contact most immigrants would be completely excluded from the life of the native-born. Even though the editor may want to keep his compatriots dependent upon their native language, in order to sell his paper more readily he must supply information concerning the new environment; and thereby he unwittingly promotes assimilation.

Cultural and genetic bonds foster national societies which are found in every immigrant group in America. For example, the "Sons of Italy," one of the strongest Italian organizations in the United States, at one time had 887 lodges and 125,000 members distributed throughout twenty-four states.[12] Such associations supply standards of conduct and bring their members into collective participation with native organizations; they promote education and citizenship and otherwise improve the efficiency of their constituency. Conversely, the success of a member is felt to reflect upon the whole solidary group. The Letts who sent one of their young violinists to a famous American teacher identified their own status with the progress made by their representative among the native-born musicians, just as parents identify the success of their children in school or business with the reputation of the entire family. The Poles feel pride in Paderewski, as the Italians do in Caruso; the Greeks stress their historical connection with democracy, as the Jews do their religious heritage.[13] Because of this mutual concern for the conduct and achievements of its members, a group is assimilated collectively. Of equal importance is the fact that national associations lessen the likelihood of personal demoralization, for in stimulating loyalty (and usually promoting assimilation) they simultaneously help immigrants to maintain their self-respect and moral equilibrium.

The immigrant church likewise helps to prevent demoralization while serving as a custodian of the transplanted language and mores and aiding assimilation. Although it may oppose change, its leaders usually prefer to adopt the alien language and some of the new mores rather than to lose the native-born young people. In

[12] Park, R. E., and Miller, H. A., *op. cit.*, p. 132.
[13] Miller, H. A., "The Negro and the Immigrant," in *Social Attitudes,* edited by Kimball Young, p. 332.

this transition the native language is gradually introduced; and, finally, probably after fifty to seventy-five years under present American conditions, the mother tongue disappears altogether,[14] a cycle which is usually not completed until the older generation has passed away.[15] Throughout this transition period the group maintains cohesion and mutual aid; it reorganizes its internal structure and consensus at the same time that it adjusts itself to a new external world consisting of other groups and alien practices. The process of transition is thus gradual, as well as group-wise. Normally, the rate of assimilation accelerates with the prolongation of residence in the new country.

(3) THE SUBJECTIVE ASPECT OF CULTURE CONFLICT.—The process of gradual incorporation implies that the native viewpoints are in time accepted as standards of success. At first the immigrant seeks status chiefly among his own compatriots, for he defers to their opinion in proportion to his isolation from the natives. But his children are usually more eager to conform to the native valuations, for they have acquired the parental culture imperfectly because it usually suffers deterioration in the foreign habitat, and, furthermore, they are not so completely absorbed in the struggle of gaining a livelihood as their parents were. Consequently, they may attempt to improve their own status either by deserting their parental group and otherwise obscuring their origin or by raising the group's standards. They may even lose respect for the parental culture, especially when they are associated with outsiders closely enough to acquire the latter's prejudices or to prefer their approbation to that of the immigrant group. Under such conditions, they apply criticisms from the actual or inferred viewpoint of these outsiders, as is illustrated by the attitude of a native-born girl of Swedish parentage, who, upon hearing grace spoken at the table in Swedish, remarked, "Isn't that quaint?"[16] When individuals feel humiliation in connection with their culture origin, maladjustment and even personal disorganization may result.

The individual who attempts to repudiate his familial and cultural ties may be rebuffed by those whose companionship he seeks, in which case he is thrust back into his parental group, providing

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[14] Rosenquist, Carl, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[15] Brunner, Edmund de S., *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children*, pp. 116 ff.; Park, Robert, *Immigrant Press*, pp. 52 ff.

[16] Rosenquist, Carl M., *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.

he has not already been completely alienated from it. The sympathy and mutual aid which he finds within the familiar primary circle contrast sharply with the frigidity and severe competition encountered outside, and may stimulate a new interest in the language and customs of his ancestors, so that he who sets out to repudiate his group may return as its chief defender and leader. However, if he is estranged from it or if there is an extreme prejudice against it, he may be unwilling to identify himself with it any longer. Desertion is usually resisted or censured by a group, just as entrance into another is rebuffed, for desertion implies invidious comparisons. The term "allrightnick" has been invented by Jewish immigrants to describe the type of aspirant who rejects his old associates but is repulsed by the natives or not at ease among them. Such an individual may be said to be *ungrouped*; and because he is partly in two groups and yet not fully in either of them he is sometimes called a "marginal" individual (see Chapter XXXVI).[17]

The isolation and the mental struggle of an ungrouped person may be acute, for he is torn between the contradictory desires to hide his origin and to defend his people, to adopt the point of view of the critics and to resent their prejudiced appraisals. This dilemma may be met by hostility, compensatory activities, or a withdrawal into an imaginary world and a longing for an actual retreat into solitude. Such a situation is described by one native-born citizen of Oriental parentage as a desire to live in complete isolation.[18] A gradual group-wise incorporation is preferable to such tension and maladjustment, and long-delayed assimilation is better than the disorganization which is likely to accompany hasty and superficial conformity.

### CRITERIA OF ASSIMILATION

Progress in assimilation is shown by admittance into the competitive and personal relationships and by the acquisition of a common culture, as well as by the development of loyalty to the adopting group. Among the criteria of satisfactory adjustment to a once strange social situation, we may note, by way of illustration, (1)

[17] Stonequist, Everett V., *The Marginal Man: A Study in the Subjective Aspects of Cultural Conflict*, Doctor's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1930.

[18] For case material on this subject, see Smith, William C., "The Second-Generation Oriental in America," Institute of Pacific Relations, *Preliminary Paper Prepared for Second General Session*, July 15-29, 1927.

amalgamation and (2) the declaration of citizenship or other formal incorporation.

(1) AMALGAMATION has been a world-wide factor in producing both physical and social changes.[19] Intermarriage signifies at least a high degree of probability of subsequent assimilation; although each promotes the other, various degrees of the two types of fusion may be observed. First, the indigenous population, especially if it is weaker than the immigrants, may be absorbed by blood dilution and assimilation, as occurred in the case of the Maoris of New Zealand and the Hawaiians. Children of mixed parentage in such situations, it is said, "grow up in the white man's culture, retaining only their brown skins and soft dark eyes as evidence of their ancestry. This is cultural death and has proved to be only a deferring of racial death in Hawaii where the Hawaiian is vanishing through intermarriage with other races."[20] Second, immigrants may eradicate the aboriginal culture without a general amalgamation with the population, as happened to the Amerinds and some African tribes. Third, they may adopt the culture of the people among whom they settle and retain their ethnic continuity, as is largely true of Orientals in the United States. Fourth, both the physical and cultural types of the immigrants may gradually conform more or less to those of the indigenous peoples.

All the countries of Europe give clear examples of the last-named type of social and ethnic fusion,[21] and similar results are seen in many other places. The early Jewish migrants into China amalgamated with the native population, becoming Chinese in features, language, dress, and customs—indeed, in everything but religion. The invading Aryans in ancient India lost some of their physical characteristics and at the same time exchanged customs with the aborigines. European immigrants in America are being assimilated and amalgamated with the receiving population, and they contribute somewhat to its cultural and ethnic types. This involves not only the native and foreign-born whites but also Negroes and Indians. Whites from all the ethnic areas of Europe have mixed with

[19] All but a few of the most isolated peoples such as the Bushmen are of mixed ancestry; and even these people are now known to intermarry with neighboring tribes.

[20] Mead, Margaret, "Americanization in Samoa," *American Mercury*, 1929, vol. xvi, p. 264.

[21] Cf. Pitt-Rivers, A. L. F., "The Effect on Native Races of Contact with European Civilization," *Man*, 1927, vol. xxvii, pp. 2-10.

red and black to such an extent that full-blooded Indians east of
the Mississippi, and Negroes of pure stock in some parts of the
United States are now in the minority of their respective races.[22]

The effect of intermarriage between two culture groups depends
upon the way in which exogamous unions are viewed, two such view-
points being here distinguishable. First, both groups may be
sympathetic toward intermarriage and the individuals may be per-
sonally acceptable, although other representatives of the two fami-
lies or culture groups may not fraternize. This is illustrated by the
instances where the immigrant identifies himself or herself with
the native partner's family, community, or institutions, and is lost
to the transplanted society, except possibly by immediate family
ties. Intermarriage is in this case a form of escape from the minority
group, and while this helps to create tolerance, it does not imme-
diately blend the two groups.

The second situation arises when one or both groups reject the
member who marries exogamously. Various peoples have exer-
cised such ostracism. A long-standing example is that of the Jews
and Gentiles, for even in the dark Ghetto days there were some
intermarriages; and in these unions the Jewish partners were usually
lost to their community and were merged with the Gentile popula-
tion.[23] However, the reverse was sometimes true inasmuch as the
Gentile partners identified themselves with Judaism. During the past
half century the percentage of children of these mixed marriages
who remained Jewish has decreased, at least in the European coun-
tries where reliable statistics are kept.[24] In Prussia this percentage
decreased from 24.78 in 1885 to 22.67 in 1905.[25]

Likewise among the Old Order Amish the party to an exogamous
marriage is lost to his community unless his marriage partner
affiliates with the Amish religious organization. Hindus have usually
rejected Euro-Asiatics, that is, persons of European and Asiatic
parentage. Within the past century the Quakers "turned out of
meeting" one of their number who married into another sect.[26]
Similar attitudes have been noted among Polish peasants and Rus-
sian Molokans, for even if they do not disown one of their number
who contracts an exogamous marriage, the strain upon the family

[22] Herskovitz, M. J., *The American Negro,* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928.
[23] Wirth, Louis, *op. cit.,* p. 67.
[24] Ruppin, Arthur, *op. cit.,* pp. 174 ff.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 175.
[26] Miller, H. A., *Races, Nations, and Classes,* p. 153.

organization is so severe that a break usually follows.[27] Although this rejection decreases the potential numerical strength of the group, it aids solidarity by the enforced discipline and lessens the likelihood of internal change. If the stranger is received by the dominant group, he is absorbed into it; while if the minority and culturally subordinate group receives him, its assimilation is aided but its identity tends to be lessened thereby.

The children of mixed parentage may be attached to one or the other parental group, or occupy an improved or an inferior position as compared to the subordinated parental stock. Eurasians are outcasts among the natives in some oriental countries. In the United States biracialists are counted among the subordinated group; in the West Indies they occupy an intermediate position.[28] Whatever the status of such persons, they occupy a strategic position in the process of blending two cultures, but at the same time they help to complicate the social structure. In general, it may be said that they will either acquire the language and customs of the parent representing the dominant group or blend the two cultures by modifying both. Thus, notwithstanding the fusion of blood, the cultures of the two persons or groups do not survive in equal proportions; for, just as the physical inheritance is not a mosaic comprising equal traits from both parents, so the cultural background of each persists in different degrees.

In a heterogeneous immigrant population, such as that of a large American city, intermarriage by persons of any one nationality is possible among a wide range of other nationalities. In both Europe and America the rate of intermarriage among Jews and Gentiles is higher in cities than in the rest of the country; it is also higher where the Jews constitute a minority of the general population, and it varies in proportion to the length of residence.[29] In New York City the ratio of total intermarriages between native-born persons of native parentage and the children of immigrants is two to three times higher than it is between the former and the immigrants themselves.[30] Approximately 10 per cent of the children born

[27] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 115; Young, Pauline V., *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[28] Reuter, E. B., "The Superiority of the Mulatto," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1917, vol. xxiii, pp. 83-104.

[29] Ruppin, Arthur, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162.

[30] Drachsler, Julius, *Democracy and Assimilation,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920, pp. 147-148; Brunner, Edmund de S., *op. cit.*, p. 76.

of white persons in the United States in 1920 were of mixed native and foreign parentage.[31] Under such circumstances the culture of the natives is little modified by intermarriage, but assimilation into the dominant group is facilitated proportionately.

The effect of intermarriage upon assimilation and the complication of the social structure, although familiar in our own civilization, may be even more clearly seen by an illustration permitting a more extended and detached view. The following example of the fusion resulting from immigration and subsequent intermarriage pertains to a pastoral and an agricultural tribe in central Africa.

When the pastoral tribe entered this region the inhabitants remained attached to their small plots of land, while the invaders acquired the large grassy plains unsuited for agricultural purposes. The two peoples could thus live in the same district without much interference. However, when friendships were made and the question of intermarriage arose, the pastoral people resisted the suggestion. Vegetable diet was forbidden. Other foods often eaten by the agricultural class such as fish, eggs, or fowls were regarded with disgust. This formed a safeguard against marriage. Another reason for avoiding marriage with agricultural women was the fact that they were the chief tillers of the land, and any manual labour which did not minister to the need of the cattle was considered injurious to the herds. The pastoral people, being of a better physical type and having greater moral courage, made the agricultural people subservient and required their services in making weapons, utensils, or more durable houses than the herdsmen were accustomed to build for themselves. The agriculturists also took a willing part in any war of their superiors, with the hope of obtaining plunder.

Gradually the milk customs weakened and intermarriage was permitted under some circumstances. This began several generations ago when a king found certain men of the agricultural class to be most useful. They were raised to the rank of freemen, thus being placed in an intermediate social position and were told that they might marry any women from the pastoral tribe who were willing to accept them. The women willing to accept them as husbands came mostly from the homes of herdsmen who found it difficult to get food for their families or good husbands for their daughters; the change from poverty to comparative wealth was welcome.

The effect of intermarriage was reciprocal; for the influence of

[31] Carpenter, Niles, *Immigrants and Their Children,* pp. 233 ff.

his wife and his new associations refined the man in many respects, while he enriched the woman and to some extent widened her outlook, especially where food was concerned; the children became accustomed to partake of vegetable food as a matter of course. New totems were introduced, as children evidently took those of both their parents and formed new clans. The agricultural people then began to imitate their superiors in matters of keeping herds, improving their standards of living, and conforming in regard to the age and the ceremonies of marriage. The pastoral people began to disregard their milk customs and introduced vegetable food; they even drank milk soon after a meal of other food. They began to improve their huts as they settled in a permanent habitation, and surrounded themselves with subordinates. Village life thus sprang into existence.

Under the new conditions of life, herds were restricted to special places. The peasants, who were the original owners of the land and free agents, have become the serfs of the chiefs and subjects of the king. The king, in turn, has had to regulate his laws and customs so as to provide for the serf; he has also had to broaden the scope of his religious ceremonies, which in the past dealt exclusively with the cattle and their needs, by interweaving the religious opinions of the pastoral and the agricultural people. The god of plenty has now to take upon himself not only the care of cattle but also the interests of agriculture.

Elsewhere in Central Africa, especially among the Baganda, agricultural and pastoral people have become so fused that no dividing line remains. They form one great tribe under a powerful king. The land is the all-important possession and has taken the place which the cows originally held, while the cows have receded to an unimportant place among the necessities of daily life, though they are still reckoned as the standard of wealth. With the fusion of the two classes, there came new rules for social life and a more settled form of government. Men retain the pastoral dislike to tilling the land; for that is the work of women, while the men are builders, warriors, and artisans. The home is furnished with beds and other comforts; but it remains a crime for a man to sit on a low chair and a woman would be instantly put to death if she sat on a raised seat. These are survivals of old customs.

Features and stature have undergone a considerable change, and few people retain the distinctive Muhuma physiognomy. The nose is broader, the lips thicker, and the frame has broadened, while the height is slightly less than that of the pure pastoral tribes.[32]

[32] Adapted from John Roscoe, *Immigrants and their Influence in the Lake Region of Central Africa*, The University Press, Cambridge, England, 1924.

(2) FORMAL INCORPORATION into another group is illustrated by the renunciation of citizenship in one country and the declaration of loyalty to another, or by the rejection of one sect and initiation into another. In general, the rate of legal naturalization varies according to the length of residence, occupation, marital status, and comparative schooling. These factors help to explain the differences in the extent of the naturalization of the immigrants from the northwestern and southeastern countries of Europe. The former have lived here longer, they occupy a higher occupational status, their more prevalent family responsibility ties them to American soil, and their superior schooling aids adjustment.

When correction is made for these factors, the various nationalities in the United States show comparable rates of naturalization, except as the legal denial of citizenship to Orientals and other similar factors interfere. The following percentages of naturalized white males 21 years and over for selected countries for 1910 and 1920, respectively, show a larger increase for the newer immigrant nationalities: England, 59.4, 64.8; Denmark, 61.6, 69.6; Russia, 26.1, 41.7; and Greece, 6.6, 17.1.[33] These data indicate that language differences are not as important as the other elements enumerated.[34] About 80.0 per cent of the people from northwestern Europe had resided in the United States ten years or over, and 74 per cent were naturalized; while 38 per cent of those from southern and eastern Europe had resided here ten years or over, and 37 per cent were naturalized.[35]

Official declarations of citizenship, it must be noted, are only approximate criteria of "naturalization" in the original meaning of the term, namely, the process by which a person becomes familiar with a strange *milieu* and is made to feel at home or at ease in it. This is more fundamental than the ceremony of a legal change in citizenship, for it includes induction into the folkways, conventions, and social fabric of the native society and participation in its memories and purposes, of which an oath of citizenship may or may not be a sign.[36]

When government is theocratic and social distinctions are based

[33] *United States Census, 1920,* vol. ii, p. 806.

[34] According to the *Report of the Immigration Commission,* Abstract, vol. i, p. 485.

[35] Gavit, John Palmer, *Americans by Choice,* Harper & Brothers, New York. 2, p. 210.

[36] Brown, Lawrence Guy, *op. cit.,* pp. 221-260.

on differences in theological tenets, the rejection of one faith and the profession of another is a form of official transition from one social system to a competing one. When the clash between the *connubium* and the *commercium* described in the preceding chapter was later reinforced by discrimination on theological grounds, baptism recorded official assimilation. Data concerning conversion from Judaism are available for various European countries; and according to one estimate, the total number of conversions from Judaism to Christianity during the nineteenth century was 204,500.[37] Kautsky reports that in Vienna the ratio of Jewish population per conversion in the years specified was as follows: 1890, 359; 1896, 288; 1900, 240.[38] In Germany likewise, the rate of baptism has risen rapidly. The ratio of conversions is higher for European cities than for the countries at large. It may be said, therefore, that "religious assimilation" thrives best in large towns where modern capitalistic methods are most highly developed, economic differences between Jews and Gentiles are erased, theocracy is least pronounced, control by the community over its members is most relaxed, and intermarriages are most frequent. While "intermarriage flourishes most where there is no disrespect for Judaism, baptism [on the other hand] is most prevalent where, in spite of legal equality, Jews are socially despised, a condition that they hope to overcome by baptism."[39]

In addition to the foregoing, other criteria of incorporation are enlistment in the army during wars, improvement in vocational status, and increased participation in native institutional activities.[40] In every war in which the United States has engaged, immigrants have assumed a fair portion of the burden. These efforts, as well as other forms of cooperation, increase mutual understanding and consensus. The greater this body of similar opinion, the more complete is the assimilation, whether or not amalgamation and legal naturalization occur.

The full implication of the assimilation of traditions by newcomers may be inferred from instances such as the following: In the course of the debate between the Universities of Oxford and Hawaii, one of the Japanese members of the Hawaiian team, with-

[37] Ruppin, Arthur, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
[38] Kautsky, Karl, *Are the Jews a Race,* International Publishers, 1926, p. 152.
[39] Ruppin, Arthur, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
[40] See Hypes, J. L., *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town,* Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1927, p. 19 ff.

out an appreciation of the significance, humorous or otherwise, of his remark, spoke of "the ideals for which we fought in 1776."[41] Such an evident desire to claim the rights, traditions, and purposes of the adopted country indicates that immigrants or their descendants have completed their part in assimilation. However, as we have seen, this does not guarantee admittance into all types of social relations, for this depends also upon the attitudes of the native population.

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[41] Porteus, S. D., and Babcock, M., *Temperament and Race,* Richard Badger, Boston, 1926, p. 101.

Cf. Engelman, Uriah Z., "Intermarriage among Jews in Switzerland," *American Journal of Sociology,* November, 1928, vol. xxxiv, pp. 516-524.

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CHAPTER XXV

# Rates and Cycles of Social Change

From the foregoing discussion it will appear that the frequency and direction of changes vary from one group or place to another and also from time to time within the same locality or group. Likewise, some forms of culture and social relations may be modified more rapidly than others. However, a point of similarity appears in the fact that at least the more important of these forms go through periods of growth, stability, and decline, which constitute the so-called cycles of social change.[1]

### RATES OF CHANGE

The factors in the rates of social change discussed here are: (1) regional and class isolation and other obstacles to ready social contacts, (2) the effects of the varying culture base, (3) catastrophic changes, and (4) culture lag.

(1) UNEQUAL INCIDENCE OF CHANGE.—Locality and class differences in the adoption of innovations have already been considered in some aspects. These differences, as we have seen, are connected in definite ways with comparative isolation (Chapters VIII and IX), the position in the functional organization (Chapters XIII-XVI), and attitudes toward change (Chapters XXI and XXII). The points of friendly contact between different cultures and of the confluence of people have been favored more than other areas by access to significant models. The early civilizations of Egypt, Babylon, and India were developed along great rivers, and until the present century, China had the greatest river traffic in the world.[2] Along the highways of travel, where markets, fairs, and fortresses have been located, cities characterized by heterogeneous populations and cultures have likewise tended to arise. These have been the centers for collecting and redistributing techniques and

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[1] Sorokin, P. A., "A Survey of the Cyclical Conceptions of Social and Historical Process," *Social Forces*, 1927-1928, vol. vi, pp. 28-40.

[2] Cooley, C. H., "Theory of Transportation," p. 33.

ideas. On the other hand, isolated communities have been inclined to retain their language and institutional forms. Holding little intercourse with outsiders and conducting their activities according to ancestral models, such groups are renowned for the stability of their institutions. Accordingly, unequal rates of change are produced in different regions. "The members of each [segment] are, as a whole, limited in their development by the content and atmosphere of that [area], not, of course, as decidedly limited as is the savage in a group removed from all direct contact with more advanced groups, but limited nevertheless."[3]

(2) EFFECT OF VARYING CULTURAL BASE.—The stage of growth already attained largely determines what may be done at a given time or place. With each succeeding improvement, the way is prepared for further advance, so that the process compounds itself both by additions to, and refinement of, the culture possessions.[4] Chapin's study of the cumulation of changes in both institutions and machines shows that these cultural forms pass through cycles: there is first a period of slow accretions followed by a period of maximum frequency, after which there is a decrease or cessation of further additions. For example, the patents granted for improvements of the sulky plow between 1855 and 1923 increased to the peak year, 1884, after which time the number of additions slackened, the lowest point being reached in 1923. Similar curves were found in the functions undertaken by municipal governments, as illustrated by the city of Detroit; the rate of adopting the commission form of government, the number of changes in university policies, etc. This dynamic process is explained by Chapin as follows:

> To the original fundamental invention . . . the attention of many persons with original minds is attracted. The result is that many efforts are made to improve upon the original pattern. These efforts bring about an increasing flood of supplemental inventions and modifications in the fundamental pattern. . . . But since the fundamental invention was designed to serve a specific function it is clear that in time the original pattern will by increment and modification attain a point of relatively perfect adaptation in meeting the situation for which it was designed. Thereafter the number of increments or supplemental inventions will diminish.[5]

[3] Urwick, E. J., *op. cit.*, p. 127.
[4] Mason, Otis T., *The Origins of Inventions*, p. 29.
[5] Chapin, F. S., *Cultural Change*, p. 382.

In earlier eras changes took place much less rapidly. There is evidence that some primitive artifacts remained in use for two or three thousand years; and some stone implements of Palæolithic times, as well as some traits of primitive tribes today, are thought to have retained an identical form for even longer periods.[6] When the existing cultural base is complex and innovations are not discouraged, changes tend to occur at an ever accelerating rate. Lowie likens the progress of humanity to that of a man one hundred years old who dawdles through kindergarten for eighty-five years of his life, takes ten years to go through the primary grades and then rushes with great rapidity through the rest of grammar school, high school, and college.[7] "Since the Middle Ages, and especially in the past hundred years, science has so hastened the process of change that it becomes increasingly difficult for man's common run of thinking to keep pace with the radical alterations in his actual practices and conditions of living."[8]

Such accelerations are due to the fact that the store of culture has been rapidly compounding in recent centuries. Fundamental discoveries are less frequent than their application in subsidiary inventions; but when they are made, periods of efforescence in applying the new laws usually follow. Accordingly, the nineteenth century produced more inventions of first-rate importance than did all preceding centuries.[9] These discoveries supplied the techniques for modern methods of communication, travel, economic production and modes of living—all of which, in turn, produced far-reaching results in social organization. We shall mention briefly some of these inventions and their societal by-products.

Owing to improvements in modern forms of communication and transportation, fashions in art, literature, painting, and sculpture, as well as artifacts and dress, are diffused throughout the world at an ever accelerating rate. This is illustrated by the fact that styles in ancient Egyptian art changed about once in 1330 years,[10] while

[6] Dixon, Roland, *op. cit.,* p. 64.

[7] Lowie, R. H., *Culture and Ethnology,* p. 78.

[8] Robinson, James H., *op. cit.,* p. 167.

[9] Reitell, Charles, "Machinery and Its Effect upon the Workers in the Automotive Industry," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 1924,* vol. cxvi, p. 37; Libby, Walter, *An Introduction to the History of Science,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1917, p. 231; Bernard, L. L., "Invention and Social Progress," p. 16.

[10] Petrie, W. M. F., *The Revolutions of Civilization,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1911, pp. 84 ff.

the periods within which a given form of Greek pottery was domi-
nant lasted from 350 to 1000 years.[11] At the present time, accord-
ing to Bogardus, 80 per cent of all fads last less than one year;
some live two or three years, but the majority live less than six
months.[12] Bahaism traversed several continents in a few years; it
took Islam two centuries to extend over the area it dominates, and
seven hundred years were required for Christianity to spread
throughout Europe.[13]

One change demands other adjustments because practices hang
together in a more or less logical manner, so that every significant
variation in one part is reflected in modified personal behavior and
social relations in other parts. Such subsidiary changes may result
from either borrowed or newly invented innovations. The adoption
of the horse culture by the plains Indians led to wider contacts and
to new occasions and methods of warfare.[14] When western practices
are introduced into the orient, they call for readjustments. For
example, the adoption of occidental diet requires changes in the
oriental culinary arrangements and agriculture; and innovations in
architecture presuppose changes in demands for fuel or furniture.[15]

The invention of improved motive power in transportation re-
quired new methods of constructing railway beds and cars and per-
mitted the growth of urban centers because the population became
less dependent upon local food production. The transition from
rural to urban life resulted in turn in new modes of living and modi-
fied the functions performed by the school, church, and other asso-
ciations. The invention and use of the automobile brought many
subsidiary industrial changes and made and unmade private for-
tunes. Some businesses—the manufacture of footwear and the trans-
portation of railway passengers, for instance—were adversely af-
fected;[16] others, such as the manufacture of metals, plate glass,
and upholstering, and the rubber and cotton trades, were benefited.
Ten years ago the annual consumption of gasoline in the United
States was 300 million barrels; now it is 800 millions. At that time

[11] Walter, H. B., *History of Ancient Pottery*, J. Murray, London, 1905, vol. i,
pp. 234 ff.
[12] Bogardus, E. S., *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, The Century Company,
New York, 1924, pp. 159-160.
[13] Sorokin, P. A., *Social Mobility*, p. 393.
[14] Del'enbaugh, F. S., *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[15] Beard, Miriam, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
[16] Chapin, Roy D., "The Motor's Part in Transportation," *Annals of the Ameri-
can Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1924, vol. cxvi, pp. 1-8.

there were two million cars in the United States; now there are over twenty million.[17]

These new methods of communication and production also brought changes in pastimes, personal relations, and equilibrium of habits. For example, the fad of owning automobiles has led to new modes of living. Homes are often mortgaged to buy cars; furthermore, leisure is revolutionized, delinquency is increased, the range of mobility is widened, established customs of visiting and church attendance are disturbed, and social control is made more difficult. In a similar fashion, the radio affects the demand for periodical literature and, according to some observers, lessens church and theater attendance. The airplane has complicated, and will ultimately change, international relations. The printing press, which during the early modern period aided the general intellectual awakening, fostered the growth of nationalistic consciousness, and made large empires possible, is at the present time helping increasingly to enlarge the consensus of mankind (see Chapter IX). Ocean navigation made and unmade empires and transformed civilizations. In short, changes in the means of communication have modified the social structure and its corollary, individual conduct, so that facility of communication may be regarded as an important, if not a major, factor in social evolution.[18]

Every other type of invention likewise tends to have distinctive accompaniments. Thus, the introduction of power machinery is followed by new divisions of labor and, perchance, by new class alignments and social relations. The discovery of metals and gunpowder affected the previous balance of power between classes and nations.[19] Large-scale factory methods, with their accompaniment of mass production, speed, and intensified competition, affected living conditions, housing congestion, and the distribution of wealth; they increased industrial accidents and led to changes in social policies and laws, such as the rejection of the mediæval theory that the worker should assume the risks of the occupation. Other results of the factory system have been unsanitary working conditions, industrial disputes, such as strikes, lockouts, and boycotts, and a specialized routine of work in place of general skill in a handi-

[17] Chase, S., "Gasless America," *The Nation*, 1926, vol. cxxiii, pp. 586-587.

[18] Laguna, Theodore de, *Factors in Societal Evolution,* F. S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1926, p. 239.

[19] Briffault, R., *The Making of Humanity,* pp. 89-90.

craft. The increased productiveness of farm labor incidental to
the use of modern science and machinery in agriculture enables
fewer people to grow the needed food, wherefore young people are
forced off the farm.[20] The glut of goods on the market upsets the
balance between demand and productive power. Chemical progress
affects industry and sanitation. Technological advances help men
to maintain an almost constant environment as regards food, tem-
perature, and humidity in any latitude or longitude.

Modifications in one phase of personal relations initiate other
changes. Thus, the abolition of primogeniture in France helped to
dissolve the joint or greater family and gave impetus to the reduc-
tion in the birth rate.[21] A decrease in the size of the family affects
the adjustments between parents and children, as well as the eco-
nomic relations between husband and wife. Changes in industrial
organization produce new alignments of workers. The dominance of
one individual or party may lead to schisms in communities, clubs,
churches, etc. Mass migrations of Negro workers from the south
create problems in land values and race relations in northern cities.
The development of corporations in business calls for new types of
legislation and expands the power of governmental action.

Social changes are not only cumulative but selective, for, as we
saw in Chapter XXII, the items which are accepted or retained are
those which meet the test of utility or prestige or which are most
in harmony with existing social arrangements and needs. In this
way some compatibility (Sumner calls it the "strain towards con-
sistency")[22] tends to be maintained in the folkways.

(3) CATASTROPHIC CHANGES.—The rate of change may be ab-
normally increased by invasions, revolutions, devastations, and dis-
asters of various kinds,[23] which may at one stroke destroy the social
structure of centuries or precipitate reforms which would otherwise
require decades or generations. City planning in Chicago resulted
from the devastation of the great fire in 1871; the commission form
of government arose in Galveston to meet the crises due to the flood

[20] Sims, N. S., *The Rural Community,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1920,
p. 364.

[21] MacIver, R. M., *Society: Its Structure and Changes,* Ray Long and Richard
R. Smith, New York, 1931, p. 146.

[22] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways,* p. 75.

[23] Carr, L. J., "Disaster and the Sequence-Pattern Concept of Social Change,"
*American Journal of Sociology,* September, 1932, vol. xxxviii, pp. 207-218.

disaster in that city; and legislation to protect workers in mills was stimulated by occupational diseases and accidents. So, also, retrogressions which would not otherwise occur are produced by disasters. For example, the influenza epidemic of 1918 in parts of the Society Islands destroyed a large portion of the adult population, and with them died the knowledge of the native ritual and religion in which the younger generation had lost interest.[24]

Revolutions upset and disarrange the entire social equilibrium.[25] In one night (August 4, 1789) the French populace swept away many of the feudal limitations, a thing which other countries accomplished only in the course of decades or generations. The following description of the Russian revolution of 1917 is typical of the occupational, proprietary, hierarchical, and legal inversions of all such cataclysms.

> All former rulers, down to the policemen, as well as the dominant class, as, for example, the gentry, were removed from their position in the legal pyramid. Instead of rulers they became helots, more or less completely deprived of rights. Their places were taken partly by the representatives of the middle class of industry and trade, partly by those who occupied the lower parts of the legal pyramid—by the representatives of workers and peasants, and partly at last by the persecuted nationalities of Russia. At the end of October there came a new explosion which finally buried the gentry and brought to the surface a new commanding class, consisting of workers, soldiers, village paupers and international adventurers of all countries. The same thing happened as regards proprietary groups. As a consequence of "nationalization" and "communization" nearly all the rich people became poor, while some of the poor became rich. Along with this there was general impoverishment and levelling of proprietary standards.
>
> A similar revolution occurred with respect to the personnel of the various functional groups. Many representatives of manual labor—workers and peasants—took to work as commissaries, propagandists, factory managers, etc.; on the other hand, many intellectuals, teachers, professors, students, writers, employers and factory managers, were compelled to earn their living by menial work and become factory workers, guards, agricultural laborers, woodcutters, dockers, porters, etc. Workers in all types of occupa-

[24] Mead, Margaret, "Americanization in Samoa," p. 264.

[25] Cf. Yoder, Dale, "Process in Revolution," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1927-1928, vol. xii, pp. 253-263.

tions, according to Zinoviev, changed their profession nearly every month.[26]

In a similar way international wars produce extensive structural changes—some persons are elevated and others are lowered in the social scale; working relations are disturbed; capital and labor are displaced; the credit system is disrupted; established habits are broken down; at one time a nation is solidified, at another its collapse is hastened. Five months after the signing of the Armistice, one week's news contained notices of the following events: the adoption of the Soviet form of government by Hungary and Bavaria; unemployment insurance crises in Germany; revolutionary demonstrations in Paris, in Italy, and Austria; England threatened with industrial paralysis by a general strike; acute labor disturbances in Japan incidental to the cessation of munitions production; unemployment in alarming proportions in American cities; and outcroppings of industrial and social unrest the world over.

(4) CULTURE LAG.[27]—Some changes, especially those in the material arts, may not be accompanied by immediate new adjustments in the social relations and mores, for the regulative culture lags behind the material culture changes. Because of this delay, injury may be inflicted on individuals or classes or even on an entire society. For example, the development of power machinery was followed by a high rate of industrial accidents and demanded not only safeguards but also compensation for the victims or their dependents. Furthermore, although industrial accidents in the United States had, in the aggregate, reached large proportions in 1870, it was not until the second decade of the present century that the several states enacted somewhat adequate workmen's compensation laws. Accordingly we may say that in this case the culture lag persisted at least forty or fifty years; for, while industrial conditions increased the hazards, the mores which existed under simpler conditions held on for nearly a generation after the material culture had so changed that new regulations were imperative. Such regulations wait either upon forced concessions by the opposing groups[28]

[26] Adapted from Sorokin, P. A., *The Sociology of Revolution,* J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1925, pp. 239-240.

[27] Ogburn, William F., *Social Change,* pp. 200-265.

[28] Crook, W. H., *The General Strike,* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1931; Hiller, E. T., *The Strike,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928, pp. 268 ff.

or upon adjustments in the *adaptive culture*—the folkways, mores, and institutions—which do not change immediately when inventions produce new competitive and functional relations. Only gradually, as is indicated by the slow progress in reform movements, does the adaptive culture change and enforce new regulations.

A similar lag may be seen in the failure of taxation to change with the shift in the relative significance of real property as compared to "intangible" wealth. A culture lag in the modern family is due to the failure of the adaptive culture to meet the difficulties incidental to the transfer of functions from the home to the factory, school, church, juvenile court, play agencies, and many others. Because of the loss of these functions, problems of the discipline and education of the young are made more difficult and the solidarity of the family is weakened, especially in the city. Other examples of culture lag are to be found in international relations, representative government, and the exploitation of natural resources.

Although such gaps indicate a delay in the adjustments of non-material to material culture, this does not imply that the latter always changes first. The order in which innovations are adopted is determined by the entire situation as it is viewed by the people concerned, and not by the material or non-material character of the values in question. Furthermore, the distinction between the two is only approximate, for the uses and the meaning of an artifact or a technique are necessarily non-material. The significance of both classes of values is determined by their function in the life of the social group. Even if one agrees with James Harvey Robinson that, in the main, ideas concerning man's nature and his relations to God and his fellows are altered less readily than are those concerning the movement of the stars, the stratification of rocks, and the life of plants and animals,[29] exceptions may nevertheless be found. That non-material traits may change while the practical arts remain apparently stationary is shown by the fact that European agriculture changed more slowly than did religious beliefs, forms of marriage, styles of painting, and social organization. The general intellectual awakening during the Renaissance was not paralleled by a similar advancement in living conditions, sanitation, and technologies.[30] Political opinions are peculiarly subject to fluctua-

[29] Robinson, James Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
[30] Mendelsohn, S., *Saturated Civilization*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926, p. 11.

tion, even when practical arts remain comparatively stable. For example, party leanings in France shift every year or less, and in England about every two or three years.[31] Such collective phenomena are not initiated by changes in material arts but are attempts to formulate policies concerning them.

### CYCLES OF CHANGE

In spite of the variation in the rate of change found in different sections of social life, it is nevertheless possible to observe some superficial similarities in the manner of growth or decline of various cultural forms, institutions, and civilizations. This has led to attempts to formulate "laws of social change," which, for the most part, have dealt with the linear and cyclical developments.

The theories of the so-called linear change represent social development as passing through successive stages in a single direction or line, along which societies which are low in the series are thought to pass in order to reach a state of higher advancement. Herbert Spencer, who was one of the first writers to offer a systematic statement of the evolutionary theory as applied to human society, based many of his observations upon current cosmological and biological theories. August Compte outlined three stages of development—theological, metaphysical, and scientific. The recapitulation theory erroneously supposes that society and the maturing individual pass through identical stages and that the child's behavior-patterns repeat the history of the race. Spengler's assertions are typical: "Every individual being that has any sort of importance recapitulates, of intrinsic necessity, all the epochs of the culture to which it belongs. In each one of us at that decisive moment when he begins to know that he is an ego, the inner life wakens just where and just how that of the culture wakened long ago. Each of us men of the West, in his child's day-dreams and child's play, lives again its Gothic [age]—the cathedrals, the castles, the hero-sagas, the crusader's 'Dieu le veult,' the soul's oath of young Parzival. Every young Greek had his Homeric age and his Marathon."[32] But these poetical hallucinations overlook the fact that the child manipulates

[31] Sorokin, P., *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1928, p. 743.

[32] Spengler, Oswald, *The Decline of the West*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926, vol. i, p. 110.

the culture of its group, not that of bygone ages; and, conversely, that the savage is not a child, for he has well developed habits and modes of thought provided by the culture of his own group.

In accordance with the former evolutionary bias, Spencer, Morgan, Tylor, Lubbock, and others maintained that all peoples, starting in a condition where culture was entirely lacking, passed through like stages of development in their socio-economic organization, namely, the collection, hunting, pastoral, agricultural, and industrial stages. But there is no uniform sequence in these modes of gaining a livelihood, for some groups may omit one or more of them, while others have not, up to the present time, attained the more complex forms of social organization. A group may go from a hunting to an agricultural economy. The Stone Age may be followed, not by the Copper- but by the Iron Age. Various institutions, likewise, were once supposed to have progressed by invariable stages. For example, religion was thought to have proceeded in its development from a belief in magic, ancestor worship, and polytheism, to monotheism. The forms of the family were believed to have advanced through the various types of polygamy to monogamy. Thus, polyandry was supposed to be definitely related to a specific stage of economic evolution; and since the latter was thought to go through a definite time sequence, this particular family form was supposed to occupy a specific time relation to other forms of domestic institutions. However, when it is remembered that polyandry exists among the Tibetans who are agriculturalists, among the Todas who are pastoral, and among certain Eskimo tribes who are still hunters, the earlier premise must be abandoned.

Although theories of invariable progression are now discredited, it is clear that at least the more complex social forms have unequal rates of change at some time or other in their life span—the so-called cycles of social change. These cycles of growth and decline are usually observable in retrospect, providing that sufficiently long periods are brought under review, but their course cannot be predicted in advance. Kroeber found discernible trends in the style changes of women's dresses[33] during the period 1844-1919. Machines or tools, business depressions, methods of poor relief, strike movements, forms of city government, elaboration of university

[33] Kroeber, A. L., "On the Principles of Order in Civilization as Exemplified by Changes of Fashion," *American Anthropologist,* 1919, vol. xxi, p. 235.

curricula, rural "social movements,"[34] and others, according to various writers, proceed through these stages of increase in prevalence, improvement, stability, and decline. For example, poor relief legislation and changes in college curricula, Chapin discovered, pass through three phases: (1) the formal and inelastic enforcement of existing mores which may lag behind the requirements of a changing order; (2) special and uncoordinated legislation based upon trial and error; and (3) consolidation in which the adaptations are, for the time being, successful. When social conditions change, the cycle begins anew. This threefold "societal reaction pattern," it may be recalled, is analogous to the curve of improvements in an invention.[35]

Other studies arrive at similar conclusions. Economic cycles of boom and depression are familiar examples;[36] and similar cyclical trends have been noted with reference to crimes, birth and death rates, epidemics, changes in political parties, the recurrence of wars and of other social phenomena. One recent writer states that, "forms in religion, art, politics, social life, economy, and science appear, fulfill themselves, and die down contemporaneously. . . ."[37]

In a sense, a whole civilization as a constellation of functions may pass through cycles of growth and decay. Earlier civilizations —Venice, Florence, and even Spain and Portugal—like other social structures, flourished for a time and later declined or passed into other forms of culture and organization.[38] One writer has observed: "Every civilization of a settled population tends to incessant decay from its *maximum* condition."[39] Quetelet even attempted to pre-

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[34] See McCormick, Thomas C., *Rural Unrest,* unpublished Doctor's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1929.

[35] Chapin, F. S., *Cultural Change,* pp. 224-237, 382-384.

[36] Mitchell, W., *Business Cycles,* University of California Press, Berkeley, 1913; Moore, H. L., *Economic Cycles,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1914; Ogburn, William F., "The Influence of Business Cycles on Certain Social Conditions," *Journal of the American Statistical Association,* 1922, vol. xviii, pp. 324-340; Hexter, M. B., *Social Consequences of Business Cycles,* Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1925; Tibbitts, Clark, "Majority Votes and the Business Cycle," *American Journal of Sociology,* January, 1931, vol. xxxvi, pp. 596-606.

[37] Spengler, Oswald, *op. cit.,* vol. i, p. 112.

[38] Cf. Petrie, W. M. F., *op. cit.,* p. 106 ff.; Mendelsohn, *op. cit.,* p. 7. For further treatment of the question of cyclical changes see Sorokin, P. A., "A Survey of the Cyclical Conceptions of Social and Historical Process," *Social Forces,* 1927, vol. vi, pp. 28-40; Chapin, F. S., "A Theory of Synchronous Culture Cycles," *Journal of Social Forces,* 1925, vol. iii, pp. 596-604.

[39] Petrie, W. M. F., *op. cit.,* p. 114.

pare mathematical formulæ for the "natural longevity" of a nation, calculating it to be about ten times the greatest longevity of its individual members. Although such speculations are easily refuted by a comparison of the duration of various social systems, it is clear that constellations of individuals and minor groups are subject to disintegration. However, when such a decline occurs it cannot be ascribed to the exhaustion of energy, for efforts are diverted into other channels or new structures whereby similar needs are served. Variations in growth or decline arise in the effort to meet changing conditions, and the modifications which any one form may undergo cannot be predicted in advance; furthermore, the periods of rise and fall are not of equal duration in different activities or institutions. Every phase of social change can be traced back indefinitely; for whatever exists today, evolved out of an endless succession of preceding events. In this sense there is no point which can be claimed to be the beginning of any subsequent event. But there are, nevertheless, types of social structures, in terms of which the stages can be described, even though the changes do not occur in any invariable order of succession.

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# CHAPTER XXVI

# Present Trends

The chief directions or trends of social changes, at least in western societies during recent decades, pertain to complexity, interdependency, decrease of local differences—stereotyping communities, mobility, and impersonality. Some of these points have already been suggested, but they will now be discussed more fully and shown in relation to one another, as phases of the present organization of society.

### THE GROWING COMPLEXITY

Growth in the complexity of the social structure is associated with increase in population, political integration, specialization, division of labor, and the multiplication of special interest groups. Herbert Spencer, and even ancient writers like Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, and others, believed that social structures develop from simple to complex forms. According to Durkheim, the more primitive the society, the more homogeneous it is in the above respects.[1] Although this is not universally true, as we shall see presently, it cannot be denied that the more highly developed societies do show greater specialization and division of labor.

Some specialization is found even among primitive peoples. A study by W. T. Watson shows a maximum of eighty occupations in one of the thirty groups included in the study.[2] One observer found from eighteen to fifty classes of specialists among different Congo tribes.[3] However, a high degree of specialization cannot develop without commerce and exchange which make it possible for some individuals to devote a large part, if not all, of their time to one activity. For this reason specialization among primitive peoples has to do with only a limited number of tasks, as, for example,

[1] Durkheim, E., *De la division du travail social*, Alcon, Paris, 1902, chap. iv.

[2] Watson, W. T., "A New Census and an Old Theory: Division of Labor in the Preliterate World," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1929, vol. xxxiv, p. 642.

[3] Read, Craveth, *Man and his Superstitions*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1925, p. 187.

making canoes, healing disease, or performing ceremonial activities of various sorts. In some simple societies the functions of priest and ruler are not differentiated from each other or from those of educator, judge, etc. In Polynesia various technical arts are still classed with the priestly functions. In some oriental villages today, as in early France, the functions of schoolmaster and priest are not distinct. A Mohammedan school teacher may act as the village butcher, perform marriage ceremonies, and read prayers for the dead.[4] At the end of the thirteenth century half the inhabitants of Colchester, England, had no occupation other than farming, and as late as the sixteenth century, the weavers of Norway were forbidden to work at their craft during the harvest months.[5] Similar conditions also existed in early New England towns, where mechanics and artisans were also farmers.

When culture becomes so extensive that all of it cannot be mastered by each member of society, specialization becomes necessary. The early distinctions between the work of men and women and between that of master-craftsmen and apprentices have developed into manifold specialities in every type of calling—scientific, technological, mercantile, agricultural, humanistic, etc. From the duties once performed by clergymen there have evolved the rôles of the college professor, the missionary, the social worker, the recorder of vital statistics, and others. The tasks performed by the old-time printer are now divided between the editor, the publisher, the advertiser, and various other technical specialists. The "naturalist" no longer commands all the extant knowledge of nature; he specializes in one phase of geology, astronomy, botany, zoology, or chemistry. Some earlier incidental crafts have become learned professions, as in the case of architecture and dentistry.[6]

This intricate process of increasing functional differentiation may be briefly summed up by a few comparative statistics recording the number of trades in various localities at specified dates (Table 5).

The United States Census for 1920 records 20,000 occupations, classified into 572 groups (557 in the 1930 data). Within a single city (Chicago), approximately one million gainfully employed indi-

[4] Sanderson, D., *The Rural Community*, p. 383.
[5] Lipson, E., *Economic History of England*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1915, pp. 163-164.
[6] Fox, Dixon R., "A Synthetic Principle in American Social History," *American Historical Review*, January, 1930, vol. xxxv, pp. 256-266.

Table 5

GROWTH IN FUNCTIONAL SPECIALIZATION [7]

| Place | Date | Number of Occupational Designations |
|---|---|---|
| Ancient Rome | Early Period | 10 to 20 |
| "        " | Later Period | 150 |
| Greece | 337 A.D. | 35 |
| Frankfort, Germany | 1387 A.D. | 148 |
| "        " | 1440 A.D. | 191 |
| "        " | 1500 A.D. | 300 |
| German Nation | 1882 A.D. | 4,785 |
| China | 1890 A.D. | 350 |
| United States[a] | 1920 A.D. | 20,000 |

[a] *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, 1920, vol. iv, *Occupations*, p. 12.

viduals reported 509 occupations, and one thousand others listed in *Who's Who in America* specified 116 separate vocations. The division of labor between city and country, between regions and between nations, adds further to the national and world complexity. Such functional differentiations give rise to a wide variety of viewpoints and attitudes, and help "to analyze and sift the population, separating and classifying diverse elements."[8]

An association or interest group likewise may become more complex by adding new duties and functions; for in order to compete with other groups and otherwise facilitate its adjustment to its milieu, it may need to promote several interests. This is illustrated by the growing number of activities promoted by churches, labor unions, local governmental bodies, etc. The organization of the early church with its scattered brotherhoods of communicants expanded into the elaborate mediæval hierarchy with its wealth and bureaucracy, and more recently, into denominational federations and the so-called institutional churches with their accessories of recreation, relief, and education. Labor unions have assumed similar activities, in addition to their collective bargaining with employers.

The functions taken over by governments are even more diverse. The studies of city governments made by Upson and others show vividly this addition of duties, including technical, legislative, welfare, business, and administrative functions.[9] Chapin's analysis of

[7] Weber, A. F., *op. cit.*, p. 175, quoting Schmoller, G., "Die Thatsachen der Arbeitsteilung," *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft*, vol. xiii, 1889, p. 1045.

[8] Weber, A. F., *op. cit.*, p. 442.

[9] Upson, Lent D., *Practice of Municipal Administration*, The Century Company, New York, 1926, pp. 8-15.

Detroit shows the correlation between the growth of population and functional complexity. Since 1824, offices such as the following were added to the usual list of administrative tasks: milk, fire, and electrical inspection; plumbers' examinations, harbor police; and the maintenance of police signals, art museums, band concerts, public baths, a teachers' college, water meters, playgrounds, libraries, vital statistics, criminal identification, and research engineering.[10]

However, changes in social structures do not invariably proceed from a simple to a complex form. The two types of tendencies continually overlap. For example, primitive people who have simple arts may have a complex language or social organization, as shown by the degrees of kinship and the minutiæ of their fraternal associations.[11] Intricate personal relationships may exist in a sib or primitive clan, and, in fact, this personal phase of the social structure may vary rather independently of the material arts. The Eskimos present an example of a relatively high material culture coexisting with a very simple interpersonal social system; and others, like the Australians, prove that an intricate societal organization may be accompanied by arts and crafts on a very primitive level.[12] The grammatical forms of Latin or modern English are simple in comparison to those of many primitive languages.[13] Some preliterate tribes command a complexity of musical rhythm which is unequaled in the popular art of the present day, and which would tax the ingenuity of a virtuoso. Simplicity, therefore, is not always a proof of antiquity.[14] However, as far as the structure and functions of the total social fabric are concerned, a growing complexity is evident.

### INCREASING INTERDEPENDENCY

Interdependency arises from specialization and is inherent in complex structures. Before the nineteen century, European nations were dependent on other countries only for silks, spices, and other luxuries, but today these same countries must rely upon others for a large part of their staple commodities.[15] Great Britain, for example, depends upon foreign countries for approximately one-

[10] Chapin, F. S., *Cultural Change*, p. 379 ff.

[11] See chaps. iii, x, and xi.

[12] Goldenweiser, A. A., "History, Psychology and Culture," p. 597.

[13] Boas, F., Cf. *Anthropology and Modern Life*, pp. 144 ff.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Lane, Ralph [Norman Angell], *Arms and Industry*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1914, p. 105.

third of her food supply. Some indication of the growth of this international interdependency is supplied by the fact that the annual aggregate trade of all commercially active nations rose from 1.4 billions of dollars in 1800 to 4 billions in 1850; and from 7.2 billions in 1860 to 20.1 billions in 1900.[16]

In consequence, if one country is cut off from another, or one city from its hinterland, or if the credit system is interrupted (through bank failures, for example) far-reaching readjustments are necessary. Textile mills in a small New England town suffered distress because their market in North China failed when the use of hair nets decreased with the coming of the fashion of bobbed hair.[17] "The physical well-being of an ancient Greek was not enhanced by an invention made in China, nor could his philosophy derive useful hints from theories propounded in India. But in these days scarcely anything can happen in one part of our planet which does not speedily affect every other part. . . . [Our] welfare is not unfrequently affected by accidents occurring at the antipodes, while [our] plans for the coming year are often shaped with conscious or unconscious reference to events which happened centuries ago."[18]

### STEREOTYPING LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Local differences based on former isolation are disappearing, while those due to specialization in function are increasing. Former distinctions in costumes, forms of amusement, self-sufficient local industries, local dialects, and exclusively local groupings are waning. This is true of both regional and national traits. For example, it is said that formerly each village or feudal holding in Japan had its own distinctive dress, manners, and even dialect; but the introduction of the railway, telegraph, telephone, and steamer have largely removed the barriers formerly existing between districts, as well as between urban and rural areas.[19] The same stereotyping process is under way on an international scale. Few, if any, tribes remain whose external appearance is not being fashioned after the models of the dominant nations. With the use of occidental clothing, which is becoming general, regardless of its suitability to climate or occu-

[16] Klein, Julius, "Business," pp. 93-94.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

[18] Fiske, John, *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1903, vol. ii, p. 214.

[19] Okuma, Count Shigenobu, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 451.

pation, the external differences between people who are widely separated in space are becoming less obvious. Even in remote parts of the orient men are abandoning their former large flowing garments for western apparel.

The very aspect of the country in most parts of the world is assuming exterior similarities. Cities are growing more alike. Mecca has its machine industry, telephones, telegraphs, and electric lights; and Turkish cities have their "labor problems" and "suffragettes." Twenty years ago in remote sections of India, as one sympathetic observer writes, "There were no automobiles outside of very large cities; no house was afflicted with a telephone, nor were villages stricken with the eruption of secondhand Ford trucks. Now there are no elephants where one used to see them so often. Their old sumptuous, stately rhythm has been chopped up into the hiss, sputter, and clatter of motors."[20] Especially are the roads of the world becoming more similar, for automobiles are destined to go everywhere. "Even the air, in which the traveler could once perceive real differences, is becoming homogeneous. Wherever men are, there also is the smell of machine oil."[21]

With the diffusion of material arts are transmitted some similarities in manners and interests. "The gesture of a Korean manipulating his motor is international in character and [if the means at his disposal are identical] he thinks the same thoughts regarding the refusal of his automobile to budge as does the tourist in Sussex."[22] Western etiquette and forms of entertainment are copied in many oriental circles. The leisurely old Chinese courtesy is being displaced by curt western manners. A few years ago the daughter of a Chinese dignitary could not go outside her home unless she were accompanied by an escort and shielded from observation; today she may ride alone on a bicycle along a public thoroughfare.[23]

When the same radio programs are heard in isolated farmhouses on the frontier as in the metropolis, when phonographs grind out the same tunes in Mesopotamia and Massachusetts, or when the same movies are reeled off in Oshkosh, Melbourne, and Tokio, the

[20] Mukerji, Dhan Gopal, *My Brother's Face,* E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., New York, 1924, p. 50.

[21] Ludwig, Emil, "War and Peace," in *Whither Mankind,* edited by Charles Beard, p. 182.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] McKenzie, F. A., *The Unveiled East,* E. P. Dutton and Company, London, 1907, p. 250.

old locality distinctions in knowledge and tastes tend to disappear. Newspapers, like other means of distance contacts, are aiding the production of a common universe of discourse. To the extent that literacy and mediated communication are increasing, folk groups with only oral traditions and local customs are becoming relatively rare. The following description may thus be regarded as typical.

> In the more sophisticated Mexican villages of the north, in the middle classes in the cities everywhere, are to be found a people much like the masses in our own country. They not only can read, but they do read. A folk hears rumors; these people read news. Through the newspaper and its closely related organs of information . . . they share in interests which are not local but are even international. Communication by way of oral tradition with the preceding generations has with such people come to play a smaller part in determining the patterns of their thinking; they are communicating with contemporaries like themselves in other cities and in other lands; and through printing and pictures they draw upon the accumulated experience of groups geographically and historically remote. They are ceasing, or have already ceased, to be a folk people.[24]

This leveling of cultures has prompted some writers to conclude that the great danger of modern times is a fatal and monotonous similarity—a so-called "Chinesism." It is becoming increasingly difficult for any culture like the Gaelic, the Japanese, or the Jewish to hold its own. The disappearance of such distinctive cultures does, in these respects, make the world less rich and manifold.[25] The world is one as never before and it is nondescript as never before.[26] De Tocqueville and others have expressed similar fears that individuals and groups will lose their identity, and particularly that democracy will blot out personal differentiations.

These asseverations regarding the loss of "individuality" are not based on fact, for variations in some respects are permitted within every group. Nor are inherent differences removed by a high degree of consensus. This is also true of a complex social organization, for

[24] Redfield, Robert, *Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village*, p. 3.

Cf. Kirk, William, "Cultural Conflict in Mexican Life," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1930-1931, vol. xv, pp. 352-364; "Current Social Movements in Mexico, *ibid.*, pp. 403-416.

[25] Jacobs, Joseph, "Introduction" to Ruppin, Arthur, *The Jews of Today*, p. xvii.

[26] Vogt, Von Ogden, *Art and Religion*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1921, p. 9.

individual variations are given greater opportunities in a highly differentiated society. Although a general superficiality of interest and thought tends to arise from the failure of the masses to acquire the subtler elements of our culture, the "leveling" tendency touches only exterior likenesses.

Thus, while differences due to isolation disappear, those caused by specialization, variations in interests, and philosophies of life increase. Indeed, it would be difficult to conceive of any social system in which contrasts of some sort did not exist, for organization consists not only of uniformity but also of an integration of unlike elements.

### EXTENDING MOBILITY

Movement in space may be considered to be "social mobility" only if it involves contacts with novel situations or significant models. The wanderings of pastoral nomads may or may not increase social contacts, but travel under modern conditions necessarily has this result. While it is no longer believed that a period of nomadism is an invariable stage through which all peoples must pass in their advancement toward civilization, it is certain that primitive peoples frequently shift their abode for various reasons, such as the pursuit of game, the lack of water, the quest of trade, ores or salt, the exhaustion of the soil, climatic changes, plunder, etc.[27] Indications of early folk wanderings are to be found both in the distribution of artifacts and customs, and in folk tales and language survivals. For example, the German, *gesund* (healthy), meant "ready for the road"; *Gefährte* and *Gefährtin* (companion) meant fellow traveler, and *Bewandert* (skilled in, or familiar with, a subject), referred to one who had traveled much.[28] Like the distribution of artifacts, such derivations are concrete evidence of mobility in bygone centuries. The fact that dwellings were formerly considered to be movable property also shows something of the migratory habits of early societies.

Present-day migrations are obviously of a different character. They are not mass movements of entire tribes nor are they restricted to special classes, such as merchants, crusaders, and craftsmen; they include people from all classes and are chiefly individual and family affairs. Furthermore, they involve greater numbers than ever

[27] Haddon, A. C., *The Wanderings of Peoples,* pp. 3 ff.
[28] Bücher, Karl, *op. cit.,* p. 346.

before because of the freedom of movement granted all classes, the growing ease of travel and transportation, and the disruptive effect of competition which compels people, especially wage earners, to seek employment in other localities. This is indicated by statistics of international, as well as internal, migrations and travel.

The increase in international mobility is reflected by the ratio of the foreign-born population in various western countries at different dates. In France, for example, the percentage of foreign-born persons was one in 1851, and 6 in 1926, the largest increase occurring in the years since 1911. In Switzerland the percentage increased from 3 in 1850 to 14.7 in 1910. Germany, England, Austria and the Scandinavian countries have a low ratio of immigrants.[29] In the United States, although the absolute number of immigrants has grown rapidly until the past two decades, the ratio to the total population remained relatively constant, with a slight increase between 1850 and 1914.[30] Interstate migration has varied with the expansion into new agricultural territories and the opening of industrial opportunities; but the percentage of native-born persons living outside their native states has remained nearly constant, at approximately 21 per cent, on the average, for the entire country.[31] Inter- and intra-urban[32] and rural-urban interchange has increased at an accelerating rate during the past half century, the movement being predominantly toward cities, especially the larger, and, most of all, the metropolitan, centers and suburbs,[33] with a smaller reverse stream which has varied with the degree of industrial boom. During the years 1922 to 1928 nearly two million persons annually left the farms for cities, while from 880,000 to 1,396,000 annually came to farms from cities, making an average yearly net loss of more than 800,000 for the farms.[34] The present economic depression is reducing the rural exodus and increasing the farmward trend.

[29] Sorokin, P. A., *Social Mobility*, p. 384.

[30] Carpenter, Niles, "Immigrants and their Children, 1920," p. 6.

[31] See *United States Census of Population* for summaries at decennial dates. See also Ross, F. A., and Truxal, Andrew J., "Primary and Secondary Aspects of Interstate Migrations," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1931, vol. xxxvii, pp. 435-444.

[32] For data on four cities of medium size, see Albig, J. W., "The Mobility of Urban Population: A Study of Four Cities of 30,000 to 40,000 Population," *Social Forces*, March, 1933, vol. xi, no. 3, pp. 351-367.

[33] See *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, 1930, Metropolitan Districts.

[34] Sorokin, P. A., and Zimmerman, Carle C., *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1930, p. 530.

A study of the mobility of 937 business and professional men's families whose daughters were undergraduates in Mount Holyoke College shows that 60 per cent of this supposedly stable element of the population had moved from the place where they had first settled after marriage.[35] According to one survey, 11 per cent of the city teachers and 17 per cent of the village teachers in New York State change their positions annually.[36] Inquiries concerning 2423 school children in Minneapolis and St. Paul disclosed the fact that 21.5 per cent had attended schools in other towns, and 61.1 per cent had attended other schools, either in the same or other cities.[37] The average distance traveled by people in going to and from their place of work has likewise increased rapidly in recent decades.

The volume of passenger traffic gives additional evidence of this increasing territorial circulation. In London the average per capita number of urban transit fares increased from 166 in 1902 to 386 in 1922.[38] The number of passengers carried in New York City increased fifty-fold between 1868 and 1921.[39] A close correlation between a differentiated or organic structure and mobility is suggested by a comparison of the volume of passenger traffic in China and America. During 1924 approximately 41,000,000 passengers were carried on Chinese railways, the distance traveled averaging 87 kilometers per trip. These statistics include data for the 335,000 foreigners in that country. On an average per capita basis, people in the United States traveled on railways 80 times oftener; in addition, they had 1100 times as many automobiles as the Chinese did. In Great Britain one hundred, and in China one letter and post card, on the average, are mailed annually by each person.[40]

[35] Joy, Aryness, "Note on the Changes of Residence of Families of American Business and Professional Men," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1928, vol. xxxiii, pp. 614-621. Cf. Anderson, W. A., "Social Mobility among College Graduates," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1927-1928, vol. i, pp. 626-636.

[36] Elsbree, Willard S., *Teacher Turnover in the Cities and Villages of New York State*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1928, p. 11.

[37] Jordan, Riverda Harding, *Nationality and School Progress*, Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Illinois, 1921, p. 76.

Cf. Corbally, John, "Measures of Intra-Urban Mobility," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1929-1930, vol. xiv, pp. 547-552; Smith, Mapheus, "Mobility Patterns of Urban Strangers," *ibid.*, 1930-1931, vol. xv, pp. 545-549; Sullenger, T. Earl, "A Study of Intra-Urban Mobility," *ibid.*, 1932-33, vol. xvii, pp. 16-24.

[38] Sorokin, P. A., *Social Mobility*, p. 388.

[39] For summary data, see Burgess, E. W., "The Growth of a City," in *The City*, by Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., pp. 47-62.

[40] Price, Maurice, "Culture Contact in China: Some Natural Trends and their Conditioning by the Cultural Setting," *Social Forces*, 1928, vol. vii, p. 273.

Mobility indicates either a high degree of personal freedom or the presence of disruptive forces which unanchor individuals and compel them to migrate. It is also premonitory of pending changes in habits and culture and in the authority of traditional standards.

### INCREASING CASUAL RELATIONS

Impersonality and transient social relations tend to increase with the size of the social structure and the frequency and range of mobility. As political, industrial, educational, and other units increase in size, personal relations become more formal, contractual, and indirect. Cooperation in supplying daily necessities and conveniences is increasingly mechanized and extended in range. This impersonality is facilitated by, and in turn promotes, pecuniary valuations; for in such indirect reciprocities, attention need be given only to the utility of a transaction in monetary units, and the personal agent may be correspondingly ignored. At the same time that the number of casual and mediated relations is increased, the primary relations which remain are (because of population mobility) distributed over more space. A similar weakening in neighborliness based on propinquity follows from the ingress of a large number of strangers into a locality. Contacts are selected from a wider range, and people near in space may be separated by gulfs of social distance. Telephone conversations take the place of neighborly visiting. Even hostilities may become less acute when people do not need to quarrel to save face but can merely drift apart. Avoidance is cheaper than "spite fences" or "devil's lanes" and more decorous than malicious gossip.

Impersonality is a marked feature of modern business dealings. The primary relations once existing between the master and his workers have given way to the absentee control of vast corporations. The apprentice formerly became a temporary member of his employer's family; now he is one of scores or tens of thousands receiving a cash recompense from an impersonal system. Management is mediated through written orders and pneumatic tubes, and the impersonal competitive order often disrupts long-established working relations between employer and employees.

> What the new order did in all these respects was to turn the discomforts of the life of the poor into a rigid system. To all the evils from which the domestic worker had suffered, the Industrial Revolution added discipline, and the discipline of a power driven by a competition that seemed as inhuman as the machines that

thundered in factory and shed. The workman was summoned by the factory bell; his daily life was arranged by factory hours; he worked under an overseer imposing a method and precision for which the overseer had in turn to answer to some higher authority; if he broke one of a long series of minute regulations he was fined, and behind all loomed the great impersonal system.[41]

Political relations likewise show the results of a growing depersonalization. Sheer numbers limit personal dealings so that most modern governments seem, in Tagore's language, to be "untouched by human hand," apparently operating like "a hydraulic press whose pressure is impersonal and on that account effective."[42] But the secondary and indirect relations of citizens to one another, and the complexity of the issues on which they are expected to act under present impersonal conditions are disrupting the political machinery which was originally devised for isolated, locally autonomous communities.

Our democracy is not working perfectly at present because not even the native-born are participating completely. Our old order was a territorial one. The autonomy of the political and social groups was based on [limited] size and geographical isolation. So long as the group remained small and isolated, individuals were able to act responsibly, because the situations they dealt with came easily within their understanding and capacity. But the free communication provided by the locomotive, the post, the telegraph, the press, has dissolved distances. As a result men find themselves in a system of relationships, political and economic, over which, in spite of their traditional liberties of speech and action, they no longer have control. The conditions of their daily living are vitally affected by events occurring without their knowledge, thousands of miles away.

It is similarly impossible for average citizens to grasp all the elements of the political issues on which they give decisions. The economic nexus holds them in an inevitable interdependence; they are politically disfranchised while retaining the ceremony of a vote. No longer able to act intelligently or responsibly, they act upon vagrant impulses. They are directed by suggestion and advertising. This is the meaning of social unrest. It is the sign of a baffled wish to participate. It represents energy, and the problem is to use it constructively. While we are forming a new definition

⁴¹ Hammond, J. L., and Hammond, B., *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁴² Ross, E. A., "Lumping Versus Individualization," *International Journal of Ethics,* 1920, vol. xxx, p. 60.

of the situation, we are subject to emotional states and random movements.[43]

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[43] Park, R. E., and Miller, H. A., *op. cit.,* pp. 261-262.

# SOCIAL  DISORGANIZATION

## Institutional Deterioration

Social change in which there is an abrupt break in existing work-
ing relations or a decline in the rules of behavior is known as social
disorganization.[1] Otherwise expressed, social disorganization is a
loss of institutional vigor and of unanimity of public opinion. The
two phases—first, the sudden disruption in the alignment of func-
tions and, second, the deterioration of enforced standards—tend to
react upon each other; but each may vary independently of the
other, as we shall presently see. Institutional deterioration may
also be connected with culture clashes, personal demoralization, or
other subtle factors which help to undermine the attitudes support-
ing the mores as noted in Chapter IV. Although social disorganiza-
tion is not synonymous with individual disorganization and de-
moralization, such institutional and individual data tend to be
associated, as is shown by the high ratios of crime, divorce, and
alcoholism in sections where efficient and tested mores are disrupted.

Some institutional changes are constantly occurring; and if they
are so gradual that accommodation is readily made, they consti-
tute reorganization rather than disorganization. As such, they may
be considered normal occurrences. When conditions of living change,
familiar working relations tend to be replaced by new ones, so that
by the time the old integrations disappear, new procedures have
taken form; and in this way a group may be able to maintain
consensus in formulating new rules and exercising corporate control
over personal relations. If the material culture changes very rap-
idly, the mores or adaptive culture may be undermined and col-
lective efficiency be lost; but if the attitudes supporting personal
relations and regulating conduct are well stabilized, technical and
functional changes, however great, do not result in a confusion of
standards.

Thus, while structural changes do not necessarily result in social
disorganization, the fact that they interrupt working relations

[1] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 1128.

tends to undermine attitudes and weaken public opinion. Among such factors we shall consider, first, the transfer of functions from one type of association to another, with the resulting participation by individuals in these new systems and the consequent neglect of the former (Chapter XXVII); second, excessive population displacement with a corresponding loss of control; third, the introduction of new mores which are incompatible with the old, or the attempt to adopt these new standards too rapidly; and, fourth, individuation (Chapter XXVIII).

The fact that functions are transferred from one association to another is itself an indication that a new system is competing with the old. These relocations tend to produce disorganization when the transition is so rapid that the associations deprived of their functions cannot make adequate amends (as in the shifting of pursuits from the home to the factory), or when the new integration of functions is unstable and beyond the control of the individual (as is true of depressions in our present industrial organization). We have noted that the present trends of social change are transforming the neighborhood[2] and the family group. Modern forms of communication have contributed to the alignment of individuals in wider associations so that these primary groups have lost much of their former self-sufficiency. We shall consider these points with respect to the local community and the family. A similar application of the principles set forth may be made by the student with reference to other institutions and social structures. The brief discussion offered here is merely illustrative of the way these factors may contribute to the weakening of other associations and their regulative institutions.

### STRAINS IN THE COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

Neighborhoods and local communities were, until recently, self-sustaining, in that they produced their own essential goods, had their own skilled artisans and professional persons, and controlled their own members. But they have become increasingly dependent because they have relinquished many of their old functions to other specialized localities and distant associations, such as great corporations. Each of the major shifts in the spatial structure—those pro-

[2] Hoffer, C. R., "Understanding the Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1930-1931, vol. xxxvi, pp. 616-624; House, F. N., *et al.*, "Fort Lewis, a Community in Transition," *Institute Monograph No. 7*, 1930, University of Virginia.

duced, respectively, by the railroads, steamships, and motor trucks (see earlier chapters)—has given rise to innovations in functional alignments and in local cultures. Such changes are most easily observable in the rise and fall of trade centers.[3] Improvements in transportation have increasingly diverted trade, amusements, and other activities to larger centers. When, in addition, individuals choose their associates and form interest groups on the basis of preference rather than locality, the neighborhood loses significance to a corresponding degree. One study shows that "the tendency for neighborhood lines and trade relations to break is strongest in those counties with the greatest amount of improved roads, the largest per capita ownership of automobiles, and the greatest population per area."[4] To cite an example, the former three-mile "zone of influence" of one hamlet has been contracted to a one-mile radius, the other patrons being absorbed by larger villages situated at greater distances. Of twenty-three families located within this contracted radius, fifteen have transferred their patronage to the larger villages; the remaining eight who continue to trade at the hamlet have no means of transportation.[5]

Such shifts in the functional and spatial structure may also be illustrated by the case of Quaker Hill, a community located in the Hudson hill country, sixty miles north of New York. For one hundred and sixty years this community had maintained a homogeneous culture and provided for the needs of its citizens in all but a few respects; but the construction of a railroad in 1849 brought it into competition with the culture and industry of the outside world.[6]

> The former economic activity of this community was varied. All its people consumed they had to produce and manufacture. Every man was in some degree a farmer, in that each household cultivated the soil. On every farm all wants had to be supplied from local resources, so that mixed farming was the rule. In addition, some persons specialized as blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, millers, spinners, weavers, and laborers.
>
> Other trades came in as the century of isolation receded. A few

[3] Lively, C. E., "The Appearance and Disappearance of Minor Trade Centers in Minnesota," *Social Forces*, 1931-1932, vol. x, pp. 71-75.

[4] Kolb, J. H., and Wileden, A. F., *op. cit.*

[5] East, Wendell, *Culture Changes among Descendants of French Canadian Settlers*, Master's Thesis, University of Illinois, 1931.

[6] Adapted from Wilson, Warren H., *Quaker Hill*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1907, pp. 20-27, 63-97.

contacts were maintained through literature, legal and religious ties, and a limited trade with the life beyond the hill ranges. Butter and cheese were packed and sent weekly to the Hudson River boats for the city market.

Recreation was incidental to the religious assemblies, in which they took an intense and very human pleasure. Likewise the outdoor labor, though performed solitarily, was permeated by an atmosphere of communal responsibility: Produce was grown to sell, not primarily, if at all, to a distant market, but to Daniel Merritt or John Toffey, the storekeepers. The shoemaker went from house to house, full of news, always talking, always hearing. The weaver heard not the creaking of his loom, but the voice of the storekeeper or of the neighbor to whom he would sell. Persons who came to want were provided for, sometimes by formal, sometimes by informal, methods. Thus simply was poverty forestalled; for the family assisted soon came to self-support again.

The whole character of the neighborhood was changed by a revolution in transportation. The demand for milk to be delivered by farmers at the railroad station every day, and sold the next day in New York, began at once. It soon became the most profitable occupation for the farmers and the most profitable freight for the railroad. The farmer found that no use of his land paid him so much cash as the "making of milk" and thereafter the raising of flax ceased, grain was cultivated less and less except as it was to be used in the feeding of cattle, and even the fattening of cattle soon had to yield to the lowered prices occasioned by the importation of beef from western grazing lands. Thus the Harlem Railroad transformed Quaker Hill from a diversified farming, producing, manufacturing, selling, consuming community sufficient unto itself, into a locality with specialized farming and diversified culture and economic classes.

With increased contact, the isolated and homogeneous community scattered. The sons of the Quakers emigrated. Laborers from Ireland and other European lands, even Negroes from Virginia, took their places. New Yorkers became residents on the Hill, which became the farthest terminus of suburban travel. The population of the Hill became diversified, while industries were simplified. In the first century the people were one, the industries many. In the period of the mixed community, the people were many and the industries few. When the Meeting-House and the Merritt store were for a century the centres of a homogeneous Quaker community, it was a solid unit. In time, mutual criticism, recrimination, and discontent produced disintegration of the community

solidarity. The men and women possessed of leisure cultivated a humanist state of mind, with which arose a critical spirit, a nicer taste.

On the other side there were those who seriously feared the incoming of luxurious ways. They resented the new privileges conferred on some by wealth because to most had come only harder work with discontent. The poor were too hard-worked and too poorly paid to feel anything but discontent; and the leaders of the community differed as to the solution of the religious problem. Hence came division. The Quaker Community was rearranging itself economically, but the members felt a religious change. Class division was coming upon them and they felt it as a sectarian division; for the *rapport* of a like memory and outlook were shattered.

Factionalism in a community may be indicated by a superfluity of organizations working at cross purposes, so that concerted action on any general welfare program is difficult, if not impossible.[7] When community loyalty is lacking, interest in even the most obviously beneficial local enterprises disappears, for partisan alignments or vested interests are likely to be involved and to split a community into cliques and competing associations. Such dissensions are incidental to differentiation in status, loss of a common culture, decreasing cooperation, and commercialization of relations. The change from a home-economy brings a loss in cooperation and intimacies because of the new animosities and suspicions incidental to competition for work and customers. Concerning one such community, George Bourne says: "If there was formerly any parochial sentiment, any sense of community of interests, it has been broken up by the exigencies of competitive wage-earning, and each family stands by itself."[8] The intense competition between wage earners marks the transitional stage between the breakdown of neighborhood solidarity and the development of organization on the basis of occupational interests. Conversely, sentiments of local solidarity are fostered by such conditions as permanence of abode, restricted mobility, the absence of local cultural and linguistic barriers, and relatively high homogeneity of the population in other respects.

[7] Steiner, Jesse F., *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52; North, C. C., "Social Welfare and Community Disorganization," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1925-1926, vol. x, pp. 332-340.

[8] Bourne, George, *Change in the Village*, Duckworth and Company, London, 1912, p. 146.

## TENSIONS IN FAMILIAL STRUCTURES

The family has likewise been profoundly affected by the transition from the segmented to the differentiated type of social organization and by the rapid mingling of cultures. In this connection we shall consider (1) the encroachment of other associations upon former familial functions, and (2) the dependence of standards upon attitudes, and the inadequacy of the material culture changes alone to produce disorganization as above defined.

(1) TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS.—Family disorganization has been marked in at least two eras in western civilization—the later period of the ancient Roman Empire and the modern period since the Industrial Revolution. In both eras the family lost many of its former functions, and the attitudes supporting its solidarity were undermined in those portions of the population which were most directly involved in the structural changes.

The early Roman household, as described by historians, was self-supporting in most respects, for there was little division of labor outside of the family group. In families of moderate means, the husband and sons provided the raw materials which the wife and daughters prepared for household consumption. The family was likewise a school, wherein the young were trained in practical arts, folk wisdom, and the rudiments of learning. But with the influx of wealth from pillage and tribute, the spread of slavery, and the introduction of the Greek individualistic philosophy and amusements, the duties hitherto performed by members of the household were transferred to other agencies and to slaves, especially among the wealthy and the urban population. Trade encroached upon the family occupations. Wealthy families maintained both town and country establishments. A minute division of labor was developed on the prosperous villas; agricultural slaves were employed, each with his speciality; within the house retinues of bakers, spinners, hairdressers, weavers, cooks, even physicians and surgeons, tutors, etc., attached to the household, did the work formerly carried on by members of the family. The old habits of domesticity were abandoned in favor of dancing, music, literature, and politics as items of chief concern. Popular interests centered around the circus, the banquet, and the theater. In some quarters, proficiency in the domestic arts ceased to be a mark of merit, so that the woman of "cultus" in Rome, like the "new woman" of recent times, was little

concerned with maintaining the familial organization. The loss of customary standards was encouraged by the disruption of the traditional domestic arrangements.

However, some standards remained even in the midst of the disintegration, as is implied by the fact that Ovid was sent into exile because of his writings ridiculing the family.[9] Some survival of old norms is also indicated by the satires of the period which launched polemics against women whose extravagant tastes demanded gems, gold ornaments, many-colored robes, and richly adorned carriages. There were still many homes in which parents trained their children according to rules of honesty, homely ideals, and family affection, "proud of their industries and sustaining one another by help and kindness."[10] This disagreement between the practices of a considerable portion of the population and the still vital rules and traditions—a contrast typical of periods of social disorganization—has been declared by historians to be one of the most significant aspects of social life in the later days of the Roman Empire.[11]

Similar contrasts may be observed in some present-day industrialized nations, where the familial attitudes and values have lost their vigor in consequence either of material culture changes or personal demoralization. In 1920 the divorces per 100,000 total population in the following countries were: United States, 139; Japan, 94; France, 71; Germany, 63; Switzerland, 51; Belgium, 49; Denmark, 42; New Zealand, 38; Holland, 29; Sweden, 21; Austria, 19; England and Wales, 17.[12] Thus, family disunion is particularly marked in the United States, where the divorce rate has increased nearly fourfold since 1880. Federal census data indicate that in 1870 there was one divorce per 1233 married population; in 1920, there was one to every 293.[13] The number of divorces has increased from about 10,000 a year in 1867 to more than 200,000 in 1929. During the same period, the population increased about 300 per cent, marriages 400 per cent, and divorces

[9] Fowler, W. W., *Social Life at Rome,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1909, p. 154.

[10] Dill, Samuel, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius,* Macmillan & Company, Ltd., London, 1911, p. 144.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 78.

[12] Lichtenberger, J. P., *Divorce,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1931, p. 110.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 150; *Statistical Abstracts of the United States,* Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1930, pp. 30, 48, 92.

2000 per cent. This means that the divorce rate has compounded annually at approximately a 3-per-cent rate since the years following the Civil War.[14]

Although there must be a deterioration, or at least a change, in personal attitudes before structural and functional modifications can produce disorganization, the fact that the increase in family disunion has coincided in point of time with the most rapid industrial and urban development suggests a causal relationship between these two sets of factors.[15] Because of the growth in specialization and functional differentiation, many of the educational, recreational, protective, disciplinary, and economic duties once performed by the family have been transferred to other agencies and associations. Under former conditions the influence of the family was proportional to the functions it performed. Sentiments favorable to loyalty were fostered, and disharmonies were discouraged or ignored in view of mutual interests and dependencies.

But today these common interests and the occasions for participation in joint undertakings have greatly decreased. Even when recreation is sought by the family as a group, it is usually found outside the home. Education and the training of children are increasingly delegated to other agencies—day-nurseries, nursery-schools, kindergartens, and public and private schools. Manual training and instruction in the various arts formerly conducted at home are now largely assumed by the school and shop. The disciplinary functions of the family are divided with the juvenile court, the school, and boys' or girls' clubs. Where formal moral instruction is not left to the church, it is likely to be disregarded entirely. The dismemberment of the familial functions is still more plainly seen when the greater family of former times is compared with the present marriage group consisting of husband, wife, and children. Eleemosynary institutions—hospitals, homes for the aged, orphan asylums—help to break up the constellation of functions once contained within the kinship group.

The very arrangement of the modern dwelling reflects the subordination of the familial interests to outside contacts and the larger social systems. The building-permits issued in the United

[14] Cahen, Alfred, *Statistical Analysis of American Divorce*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, p. 21.

[15] Lichtenberger, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 1-74; Wilcox, W. F., "The Divorce Problem—A Study in Statistics," *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, 1897, vol. i, pp. 74-153.

States in 1928 showed that two-thirds of the families occupying the new homes would live in apartments or "flats," and one-third in single-family houses.[16] The "efficiency apartment" as described by one writer is "all front."[17] Such a home environment, as compared to the family hearthstone or the patrimonial estate with its aura of sentiments and traditions, is ill-adapted to serve as a symbol of family solidarity. The modern tendency, as Small has pointed out, is to treat the family relation not as the direct source, or the immediate sphere and expression, of personality, but rather as "something external to the self."[18]

Industrialization has robbed the family of most of its former economic functions. It has been estimated that four-fifths of the processes formerly carried on in the American home—knitting, making soap and candles, sewing, cooking, washing, preserving, etc. —have been thus transferred. Practically all tasks except the production of raw materials and a small part of the final preparation for consumption are now carried on by the shop and the factory; and indeed even this last process has been lost by a considerable portion of the city population.

The significance of this transfer of functions is indicated by the extent to which women have followed their former household occupations into shop, office, and store. In 1840 one observer reported that there were then but seven employments open to women, whereas in 1890 there were 360.[19] The man's work has likewise been increasingly dissociated from the homestead and thus from direct cooperation with the other members of the family. These changes have not only impaired the self-sufficiency of the family but also have lessened mutual dependence upon its activities,[20] because the opportunities for work elsewhere and the commercialization of personal service (providing meals, lodging, etc.), especially in urban environments, enables individuals to get along without a home.

[16] Ogburn, William F., "The Decline of the American Family," *New York Times Magazine,* February 7, 1929, p. 1.

[17] Harbeson, John F., "The Automobile and the 'Home' of the Future," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 1924, vol. cxvi, pp. 58-60.

[18] Small, A. W., "Bonds of Nationality," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1914-1915, vol. xx, p. 653.

[19] Wright, Carroll, *Industrial Evolution of the United States,* Flood and Vincent, New York, 1895, p. 202.

[20] Weatherly, U. G., "How Does the Access of Women to Industrial Occupations React on the Family," *American Journal of Sociology,* May, 1909, vol. xiv, pp. 740-752.

Unless the functions still retained by the family are adequately esteemed, and unless the moral union is sufficient to meet the changed conditions, the association is subject to disruption. This may be seen by the statistics given above, and by the fact that the majority of all the divorces in the United States are granted to those members of the population who are most adversely affected by the industrialization of society—those whose homestead occupations are scattered and whose familial relations are further subjected to the corroding effects of poverty, excessive fatigue, crowded tenements, high mobility, and a disintegrated neighborhood environment. Various studies of desertion and non-support indicate that these factors are largely localized where married women become wage earners;[21] and that these residential areas coincide with sections having high rates of infant mortality, juvenile delinquency and dependency. Patterson's study of the cases brought before the Court of Domestic Relations in Philadelphia in 1916 showed that 70 per cent of the gainfully employed women in this group were receiving wages of less than ten dollars per week,[22] and that 63 per cent of these cases were families paying a rent of five to fifteen dollars per month.[23]

Although the functional changes described do not increase the economic burden equally for everyone, they are, nevertheless, potential sources of disharmony, even in wealthy families. But the tensions find various expressions. For example, on the one hand, the wage earner's unavailing struggle to provide for his family leads to frequent desertions, but, on the other hand, the maladjustments of the higher-income groups most frequently result in divorce. Where women are exempted from economic responsibilities, they tend to engage in avocations which are designed to be ornamental rather than useful. In the middle classes, even though the income is insufficient to warrant idleness, most forms of gainful employment may nevertheless be avoided because of class pride. The loss of the traditional methods of gaining status by proficiency in home industries or other worth-while pursuits, together with the changed attitudes regarding marks of merit, leads to pretense and petty ri-

[21] Russell, Bertrand, "Styles in Ethics," *Our Changing Morality*, edited by Freda Kirchwey, A. and C. Boni, New York, 1924, p. 7.

[22] Patterson, S. H., "Family Desertions and Non-Support," *Journal of Delinquency*, 1922, vol. vii, p. 282.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 277; Thompson, Warren S., "The Wage System and Family Survival," *Social Forces*, 1925-1926, vol. iv, pp. 399-407.

valries. This futile striving in trivial things, according to Myerson, is the cause of the "nervous housewife"[24] in the wealthy and middle-class groups, and a frequent source of dissensions and divorce.[25]

(2) VARIATIONS IN STANDARDS AND ATTITUDES.—Although changed material conditions thus seem to be an important factor in social disorganization, they operate only through the existing culture and attitudes, which, however, may also be modified when the material culture changes. Consequently, functional relocations do not effect familial disunion unless the institutional rules and attitudes permit it. Even the strains incidental to high mobility, severe poverty, and deteriorated neighborhoods do not have an equal effect upon families which have different cultural backgrounds and attitudes. In other words, variations in divorce and desertion *within a given culture* may be due either to differences in attitudes or to the unequal incidence of tensions, or to both. On the other hand, differences in the frequency of family disunion in *one culture group as compared to another* in the same nation may be ascribed to differences in institutional vigor, providing the material culture conditions are comparable. We shall observe variations in the incidence of family disorganization in (a) different types of neighborhoods, (b) rural versus urban communities, (c) immigrant versus native groups, and (d) occupational groups; and these data will show more fully how attitudes and institutional vigor modify reactions to comparable material conditions.

(a) Recent studies indicate that family instability varies according to the degree of the breakdown of standards in the community; for in the disorganized metropolitan areas the norms either have given away completely or the community is unable to exert effective guidance in sustaining its familial efficiency or solidarity.[26] This is illustrated by Mowrer's study of family disorganization, in which he defines five types of localities in Chicago: (1) non-family sections in the center of the city and in the adjoining central business district; (2) the "emancipated" family sections—districts of room-

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[24] Myerson, Abraham, *The Nervous Housewife,* Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1920, p. 63.

[25] Duflot, Joseph L., "A Study of Critical Situations in the Organized Family," *Journal of Applied Sociology,* 1925-1926, vol. x, pp. 169-174; Frazier, E. Franklin, "Certain Aspects of Conflict in the Negro Family," *Social Forces,* 1931-1932, vol. x, pp. 76-84; Mowrer, Harriet, "Personal Disorganization and Domestic Discord," *Social Forces,* 1931-1932, vol. x, pp. 388-394.

[26] Krout, Maurice, "A Community in Flux," *Social Forces,* 1926-1927, vol. v, p. 281.

ing houses, kitchenette apartments, and residential hotels, where there are few or no children and only casual relations with the neighborhood; (3) paternal family areas—tenement districts and immigrant colonies, for the most part, where families are large and familial solidarity is associated with paternal authority; (4) equalitarian family areas—residential districts of the middle and professional classes, where families are small and the status of husband and wife are approximately equal; and (5) maternal family areas— the suburban commuters' sections, characterized by single houses and separate yards, owned by families who are striving to maintain the traditions which idealize the homestead. Family disintegration was found to be highest in the first and second sections and to diminish successively in the other zones. The second zone is characterized by both divorce and desertion; the third, by desertion particularly; the fourth, by divorce; while the fifth is virtually free from both types of disunion.[27]

Thus the rate of desertion and divorce may be said to indicate the breakdown of traditional standards in both the family and the community; while the loss of standards, in turn, is correlated with the indices of social change, such as mobility, clash of culture, etc. Family disorganization among Polish peasants, for example, is found to be associated with two major factors—the emigration of individual members abroad, and the movement of entire families to the city.[28] Mowrer's study shows a correlation between divorce and desertion and population impermanence as indicated by the number of rooming houses, apartments, kitchenette suites, etc.[29] The migratory habits which are forced upon the poor by necessity may be adopted by the upper classes as a matter of choice, as is shown by their preference for hotels and "flats." These urban nomads may at any time "fold their tents like the Arabs" and settle again among other strangers where casual and impersonal relationships make it easy to break away from the traditional controls. Such close connection between high mobility and family disunion indicates that changes in personal attitudes are produced by the lack of participation in a stable local group and its institutions.

(b) Dissimilar rates of family disorganization are also found

[27] Mowrer, Ernest R., "City Life and Domestic Discord," *Survey*, 1926, vol. lvii, p. 299; Park, R. E., "Sociology," p. 30.

[28] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 1134.

[29] Mowrer, Ernest R., *op. cit.*, p. 122.

between urban and rural areas and between different sections of the same country. In 1924 the divorce rates in Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, New Orleans, Norfolk, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Richmond, San Francisco, and St. Louis were higher than those of the rural sections in the respective states, the net average being about 50 per cent more for these cities than for the remainder of their states; but in New York City the rate is below that of the entire state, owing to the high proportion of foreign-born in the city's population. The most accurate data available —those dealing with the comparative divorce rate of the native-born white males of native parentage—show the ratio of divorced men to married men to be 1.60 per cent for urban sections and .89 per cent for rural areas. The average percentage of divorced men and women in urban and rural populations of five selected states is shown in Table 6.

Table 6

PERCENTAGE OF RURAL AND URBAN DIVORCED PERSONS IN THE POPULATION, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, COMBINED, FOR ILLINOIS, MISSOURI, OHIO, MARYLAND, AND TEXAS, BY SPECIFIED RACIAL AND NATIVITY GROUPS, 1920[30]

| Racial and Nativity Groups | Urban | Rural |
|---|---|---|
| Native white of native parentage......... | 1.12 | .50 |
| Foreign or mixed parentage.............. | .87 | .43 |
| Foreign-born........................... | .53 | .40 |
| Negro................................. | 1.76 | 1.11 |

Statistics for other countries show rural-urban contrasts similar to those found in the United States.[31] This condition may be explained in part by the fact that the rural population retains more of the former familial functions, mores, and solidarity; and in part by the fact that the greater mobility and impersonality of relationships in the city unduly weaken the control of public opinion, a powerful factor in restraining divorce in many rural communities. The influence of urbanization and industrialization upon rural families is shown by the fact that, according to some findings, the nearer these families are to urban centers and the more their mem-

[30] Groves, E. R., and Ogburn, W. F., *American Marriage and Family Relationships,* Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1928. p. 373.

[31] Sorokin, P. A., Zimmerman, Carle, and Galpin, C. J., *op. cit.,* vol. ii, pp. 5 ff.

bers are involved in industrial activity, the greater is the tendency toward disunion.[32] However, increased divorce and desertion cannot be ascribed offhand to urban influence, for the rates differ even from one rural or urban area to another. In some Polish peasant communities located near industrial centers, the families retain their patriarchal organization of a hundred years ago, even though there is free contact with the urban centers.[33]

These data also differ from one section to another. The Mountain, Pacific, and West South Central states have rates about three times as high as that of New England, and about five times as high as that of the Middle Atlantic division. The comparative ranking of the states in regard to family disunion has varied at different periods. Only a few of the states which led in the divorce rate in 1867 continued to do so in 1929.[34] According to the United States Report on Marriage and Divorce for 1928, these sectional variations are due to many factors: differences in the racial and nationality composition of the population and in the proportion of foreign nationalities, the prevalence of the Roman Catholic faith, interstate migration for the purpose of obtaining divorces, and variations in divorce laws and in the practices of the courts regarding the granting of divorces.[35] In reality, communities differ as widely in mores as in magnitude.

(c) Immigrant populations have traditions of solidary family relations, and their divorce rates are small as compared to the average rate for the native-born population, being lower, in general, than that of the native population. In 1920, for the five states mentioned in Table 6, the average percentage of divorced males in the population, 15 years and over, was as follows: for native-born persons of native parentage, 0.72; native white of foreign or mixed parentage, 0.64; and for the foreign-born, 0.46. The corresponding percentages for the female population was 0.86, 0.75 and 0.53.[36] In the section in Chicago known as Little Sicily, Mowrer found that no case of divorce or desertion was recorded in the Court of Domestic Relations or in the Superior or Circuit Courts. An Italian social worker states that no case of desertion has been known in this district, for although poverty is prevalent, the

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[33] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 1249.
[34] Cahen, Alfred, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
[35] *United States Marriage and Divorce Report*, 1928, p. 16.
[36] Groves, E. R., and Ogburn, William F., *op. cit.*, p. 371.

Sicilian does not consider desertion of his family an expedient for solving his economic difficulties—his scale of values and his religion do not permit such action.[37]

(d) Equally wide variations in divorce rates appear in the different *occupational groups* within the American culture. The greatest percentage of divorced men are actors, musicians, commercial travelers, and telegraph and telephone operators; but farmers, blacksmiths, draymen, clergymen and agricultural laborers have a comparatively low rate.[38] This occupational incidence does not rest on income, thus clearly indicating causes unconnected with economic pressure. The explanation lies rather in unlike attitudes, personality traits, and social situations, such as those suggested in previous paragraphs.

That family disunion does not depend directly, if at all, upon poverty and the difficulties of supplying the means of subsistence also appears from the negative correlations between divorce or desertion and large families,[39] for the lower rates of disunion are generally found among ethnic groups which have a high birth rate. The same conclusion follows from a comparison of different nations. The low divorce rate of England, Sweden, and Holland cannot be ascribed to their superior wealth, for on this basis the United States should have the lowest rate. Moreover, if poverty or low income were an independent factor in divorce and desertion, these would increase during business depressions. But several investigations refute this inference. For example, A. D. Smith's study in Boston in 1901, E. E. Eubank's study in Chicago in 1915, and S. H. Patterson's study in Philadelphia in 1920 fail to show any increase in divorce during unemployment and economic depressions; on the contrary, according to the last-named survey, there is a slight decrease of new cases under these conditions. Max Herzberg asserted (1913) that poverty does not appreciably affect desertion.[40] Ogburn and Thomas found that in prosperous years more divorces are granted than in years of depression.[41] While this negative correla-

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[37] Burgess, E. W., "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," *The Family,* March, 1926, vol. vii, p. 7.

[38] Groves, E. R., and Ogburn, William F., *op. cit.,* p. 355.

[39] Cahen, Alfred, *op. cit.,* p. 112.

[40] Patterson, S. H., "Family Desertion and Non-Support," p. 266.

[41] Ogburn, William F., and Thomas, Dorothy S., "The Influence of the Business Cycle on Certain Social Conditions," *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association,* September, 1922, vol. xvii, series 2, pp. 324-340.

tion between divorce and economic cycles may be due to the lack of funds to meet the cost of court proceedings in the years of depression, there is no evidence available to show that this is the only factor. The advantages of being a member of a family group may also deter desertion during periods of unemployment.

In view of the facts presented, the explanation for recent trends and present variations in primary group disorganization must be sought in both the unlike attitudes and cultural antecedents. But because the changes going on in society may modify the attitudes (or, as Thomas and Znaniecki say, human nature),[42] disorganization increases in momentum until the adaptive culture has made adequate adjustments and has gained in control efficiency. Nevertheless, the mores underlying familial solidarity are still vital in the opinion of the majority of the population, and, as regards both the neighborhood and the family, various constructive forces are now at work. Although the family has decreased in size and has lost various functions which have been absorbed by other associations, it is not decadent, for among the majority of the population it is as sound and vigorous as it was under former conditions.[43] Back of this vigor lies the recognition that the primary group is not a mere survival of the past, "but a spontaneous expression arising in all societies, in all classes, never absorbing completely the interests of its members but still constituting the most important form of social life for the majority of mankind."[44] Only in certain sections of the larger cities have the primary groups lost their importance, and even here their loss is felt to be a dangerous trend.

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[42] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.,* vol. ii, pp. 1831 ff.

[43] Cf. Woodhouse, Chase Going, "A Study of 250 Successful Families," *Social Forces,* 1929-1930, vol. viii, pp. 511-532.

[44] Park, R. E., and Miller, H. A., *op. cit.,* p. 41.

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# Population Displacement and Loss of Morale

In addition to the strain placed upon an association by the loss of functions and the failure of attitudes to readjust to the changed conditions, other important causes of loss of standards are: a rapid rate of population displacement, whereby the social metabolism is disturbed; the clash of cultures, whereby the authority of institutions is undermined; and the increase of individuation, which is both cause and effect of cultural and structural changes.

## DISTURBED SOCIAL METABOLISM

The natural rate of population increase is a slight annual excess of births over deaths, the young being assimilated into the life of the homogeneous group. In addition, a small number of adult strangers can usually be incorporated and made to conform to the local mores. This gradual absorption of people into a culture and their incorporation into the group organization may be said to constitute the normal social metabolism—a replacement of individuals by others who acquire the culture and assume the functions of those departing and thereby maintain the continuity of the group. However, a great disaster or a rapid exodus of members and, in particular, a large inflow of strangers, disturbs this normal social process.

Such pathologies in the social metabolism are roughly indicated by the volume of movement into, and the egress from, a group or a local area, and by the variations of the local population from the usual age and sex ratio. Because ingress has a more apparent effect upon disorganization we shall consider chiefly this source of a disturbed social metabolism, rather than that produced by a loss of numbers.[1] The effect of the ingress of strangers obviously varies with their cultural and racial character; but if the inflow is large and continuous the local group is disorganized, even though the

[1] For the general effect of the loss of numbers in producing social changes, see chap. xxi; for the effects of rural depletion, see Anderson, Wilbert, L., *The Country Town, A Study of Rural Evolution,* Baker and Taylor Company, Inc., New York, 1906, pp. 245-267.

newcomers are native-born. In the words of Thomas and Znaniecki, "A community which has a continual influx of strangers cannot preserve its integrity and sooner or later dissolves itself into a vague and incoherent social body. . . ."[2]

In view of this connection between mobility and the deterioration of local standards, the rate of population turnover may be taken as an index of change, if not of the degree of disorganization. A disturbed metabolism due to high mobility is typical of new countries and is an incidental effect of the recent changes in the spatial social structure. Thus, the extremely high mobility rate which has characterized the American people throughout their history may be considered to be a major factor in the prevailing disregard of traditions. The movement of people in and out of a community—migrant laborers, hobos, sight seers, traders, etc.—is likely to prove disturbing because of the contrasts in cultures and mores which are thereby introduced. Such conditions exist in an extreme form in frontier regions and even in the transition zones of great cities,[3] which are, in fact, modern "social frontiers" where newcomers are detached from their usual political and social controls. In sections such as the "world of furnished rooms," where the average length of residence at one address is less than four months, the inhabitants are largely anonymous,[4] and their conduct is little influenced by the opinion of neighbors. This anonymity increases with the size and the rate of population drifts and mobility. The entrance of tens of thousands of strangers annually into a metropolis has been likened to a tidal wave which first inundates the places of weakest resistance—the points of low rent and high deterioration—dislodging the inhabitants, who overflow into adjacent areas until the momentum of the wave has spent its force on the outer urban zone.[5]

Accordingly, all sections of the city suffer a disturbance in the normal stability of the social organization. The following stages in community decline are described by Burgess: (1) the residential use of the land, home ownership, and a high degree of community interest; (2) tenancy and a declining community spirit; (3) the

[2] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.,* vol. ii, p. 1202.

[3] Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *The City,* p. 57.

[4] Hayes, E. C., *Introduction to the Study of Sociology,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1915, pp. 60-73.

[5] Burgess, E. W., "The Natural Area as the Unit for Social Work in the Large City," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work,* 1926, p. 509.

encroachment of industry or business upon the district; (4) the rooming-house stage, with transiency and indifference to neighborhood opinion; (5) the intrusion of races or nationalities of imputed inferior culture and status; (6) the invasion of vice and crime by selection of types and the degradation of local standards; (7) social chaos as found in the slum, where public opinion has ceased to be effective; and (8) the complete occupation of the section by industry and business.

In this process of ecological succession (see Chapter XVI) the stable outlying residential communities reorganize their institutions. Churches, schools, and "improvement associations" are resumed by the new community personnel. But the areas of transition deteriorate because the social metabolism is excessive, and probably also because the degenerate, or at least the defeated and helpless, individuals are segregated there, either through attraction to the section or their inability to move away from it. Here also missions and charity organizations arise to deal with the wastages of the deteriorated social organization. Accordingly, these agencies are signs of the declining efficiency of the local regulative forces, as are also the presence of disesteemed races or nationalities, cheap lodging houses, and pawn shops.

In the main, efficient standards are based on prolonged association and established personal relations and on mores, religion, or other sanctions; and they tend to deteriorate when these conditions fail. The absence of such institutional factors, and not deteriorated property, is the criterion of the slum; for there insensibilities to— or at least the absence of protest against—delinquency, crime, vice, and ganging prevail. Not only is there no united remonstrance and ameliorative effort, but even sensation-seeking gossip—one of the first signs of a failing ability for collective action—ceases because people are so distrustful of one another or so indifferent about the demoralization that there is not even recrimination. "This is the mark of complete disorganization of local [institutional] life, for when there is no protest against the radical violation of the mores the last vestige of community [standards] has disappeared."[6] In turn, this absence of standards produces personal degeneration and attracts demoralized individuals, thereby establishing a vicious circle of personal and social disorganization.

As a means of evading such undesirable intrusions, a group may

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[6] Zorbaugh, Harvey, *op cit.*, p. 249; Steiner, J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 81.

temporarily stave off disorganization by moving. For example, the Swedish colony formerly located at Elm and Sedgewick Streets in Chicago moved four times during fifty years in the effort to avoid the disorganization threatened by the invasion of strangers; and the present community, located beyond Cicero Avenue, is disintegrating.

### CULTURE CLASH AND THE DECAY OF MORALE

Even a few newcomers, if they bring objectionable or contradictory mores, may discredit the folkways of the receiving group, and under other circumstances the standards of both contacting groups may be undermined. This clash between unlike standards is epitomized by a proverb of the Ewe people of west Africa: "The stranger's son makes the people angry."[7] Strangers may disregard local traditions and thereby discredit them. The greater the differences in the clashing cultures, the more pronounced are the consequences likely to be. A complex group, like the Chinese or Hindus, is more able to resist the influence of another highly competing civilization.[8] But when the culture of a modern nation is introduced among preliterate peoples the traditions of the latter tend to deteriorate rapidly, for ancient adjustments and forms of control break down before new ones can be put in their place. Such disorganization may disrupt the practical arts, as well as the functional and ranking structures and agencies of social control.

These generalizations may be illustrated by almost any case of contact between preliterate and modern peoples. The competition from the Euro-American factory-made implements rapidly put an end to the more primitive handicrafts, for when the labor of many hours is reduced to a few minutes by the use of modern tools, primitive arts, such as pottery, spinning, weaving, grinding, etc., tend to fall into disuse. When the musket competes with the arrow, matches with the old fire-making devices, lanterns and kerosene lamps with reed torches, metal utensils with native pottery, and the power-loom cloth with hand-woven native fabrics, not only the former practical arts, but even simple living habits are likely to be displaced. Loss of the former native industries may also interfere with

[7] Ellis, A. B., *The Ewe-Speaking People of the Slave Coast of Africa*, Chapman, London, 1890, p. 262.

[8] Rivers, W. H. R., *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1913, pp. 474-479; Price, Maurice, *Christian Missions*, p. 42.

the ceremonial practices and beliefs with which they were connected; and, conversely, when beliefs and sentiments are discredited, the economic organization is affected in so far as the ceremonial observances required the preparation of paraphernalia or otherwise supplied incentives for exertion.

Furthermore, constellations of functions and interdependencies of persons are changed when old occupations are neglected. For example, old class distinctions were broken down among the Trobriands by contacts with outsiders.[9] Christrian doctrines concerning the "brotherhood" of man were considered a disturbing element when introduced into India with its caste system. Among the Polynesians, the serfs formerly did the manual labor while their masters fought, but the peace enforced by the foreigners lessened these distinctions. The authority of chiefs and rulers was dimmed by the disrespect shown them by the Europeans. Similar results followed among the Kafirs, where the British destroyed the old clan organization. This was accomplished by striking at the heart of the system—the power of the chief; for he was forbidden to wage war against rival clans and was thereby dishonored in the eyes of his own people. When Europeans introduce the plantation system among primitives it not only helps to disrupt tribal life but also frequently leads to depopulation.[10]

Changes in familial organization, such as the substitution of monogamy for polygamy or the patriarchate for the matriarchate, disrupt the old stabilized forms of control. In matrilineal groups antagonisms are aroused by the introduction of the white man's system of inheriting property through the father. Before the arrival of the whites, the American Indians had safeguarded their familial organization by penalties; but when native customs were displaced by alien folkways, the old forms of control no longer held. In the Samoan Islands government schools, by demanding the absence of children from the native households for school attendance, upset the allotment of duties, and adults found it necessary to perform the trivial routine tasks formerly assumed by the young.[11]

The basis of authority and public opinion whereby a group regulates conduct likewise deteriorates through contact with other cul-

[9] LeRoy, Alexandre, *Religion of the Primitives,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922, p. 235.

[10] Beer, G. L., *African Questions at the Peace Conference,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923, p. 30; Sumner, W. G., *Folkways,* p. 112.

[11] Mead, Margaret, *Coming of Age in Samoa,* p. 28.

tures because a people loses respect for its own customs. In one group, for example, celebrations and games (foot-racing, lance-throwing, fencing, and wrestling) under the new teaching came to be considered marks of heathenism and were abandoned. The elders were wont to bewail the merry days when the village was not so dull, for the native mores had adequately regulated these old activities and subordinated them to other values.[12] But the foreign amusements were borrowed without taking over the white men's scale of values and controls. For instance, cricket became a "national danger" in Toga and Samoa—whole villages would form sides and play from dawn till dusk for several weeks so that plantations were neglected and it became necessary to limit the game to certain days of the week. In Fiji in 1926 dancing upset the customary living habits. In the Marquesas gambling was pursued with such abandon that it had to be suppressed by the very people who introduced it.[13] The abolition of such collective enterprises as war raids may devitalize native institutions. Among the Melanesians, for example, head-hunting was deeply rooted in the magical beliefs of the people, and among the natives of Eddystone Island it was connected with the making of canoes. Accordingly, the curtailment of primitive warfare has at times so interfered with discipline and control and with other motives for exertion that apathy and deterioration have ensued.

Beliefs and sanctions are likely to be discredited when they are ignored or desecrated by strangers. Thus, secret societies (a chief agency of control among primitives) usually break down under the criticism of incredulous and disrespectful foreigners. Magical fraternities in North America declined with the coming of the whites. The entrance of European traders into the Bismarck Archipelago led the great Dukduk secret society to retire into the interior. When the man who offered sacrifices to the native deity became a Christian, the sacred precincts were explored, bull-roarers were used as children's playthings, "and the old men sat and wept over the profanation and the loss of their power and privilege."[14] Among

[12] Pitt-Rivers, G. H., *The Clash of Culture and The Contact of Races,* Routledge and Sons, London, 1927, p. 190.

[13] Cf. Rivers, W. H. R., "The Psychological Factor," in *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia,* University Press, Cambridge, 1922, p. 108; Goldenweiser, Alexander, "Race and Culture in the Modern World," *Journal of Social Forces,* 1924-1925, vol. iii, pp. 127-136.

[14] Webster, Hutton, *op cit.,* p. 127.

the Ao Nagas, a hallowed rock which, as the reputed home of a mighty spirit, served as a symbol of the moral sanctions, was desecrated by the Euro-American iconoclasm. The Polynesian rule of *tapu* (through which obedience was secured on penalty of personal calamities) was broken down by the same clash of ideas; for when the natives saw that the whites could violate these *tapus* with impunity—could break into the sacred groves and eat forbidden fruit, or could raise a hand against the persons of sacred chiefs without harm—they did likewise.[15] The methods used by some missionaries to wreck the *tapu* system were severe, as when one well-known missionary, in trying to stamp out "superstition," tramped back and forth over an area which was sacred to the dead.[16] "The whole history of European contact with the natives of the Pacific, especially [the history] of recent British administration," says Pitt-Rivers, "has been the story of willful destruction of native culture and morality in a vain endeavor to replace it with a culture and morality neither capable of being thoroughly absorbed nor of ever proving efficient."[17]

Such sudden destruction does not permit new standards to develop *pari passu*. Nothing is devised to take the place of the old tribal law which, though unwritten, is often more efficient than the coercive devices imported by the conquerors. One of its chief sources of strength lies in its completeness, for it guides the relations between persons, supplies protection to private property, supports a sense of personal obligations, and gives authority to government.[18] When the tribal unity is once lost it cannot be restored by the foreigners' abstract formulæ, which, at best, are but vaguely understood.

Similar disorganization has also occurred in the history of more advanced peoples. Much of the social and personal disorganization characterizing the period of the Renaissance, for example, has been attributed to the hasty introduction of the heterogeneous mores from other peoples.[19] The same factors contributed to the decadence of ancient Rome, as is shown by the following description of the conditions prevailing near the time of her collapse.

[15] Roberts, S. H., *Population Problems of the Pacific,* George Routledge and Sons, London, 1927, p. 72.
[16] Pitt-Rivers, G. H., *The Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races,* p. 224.
[17] *Ibid,* p. 198.
[18] Roberts, S. W., *op. cit.,* p. 71.
[19] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways,* p. 93.

They had lost faith in the old, and there was as yet nothing to take its place. With the decay of primitive standards of conduct the primitive systems of control also fell away. Thus it is not strange that in the time of the empire the conduct of the people was often marked by wild caprice. While this state of mind did not necessarily seek expression in games and combats, the fact that they met with such popular favor and were indulged in to such excess when they were offered indicates that there was, then at least, a state of mind ready for just such expression.

Another evidence that they were fast breaking with the old was the fact that even national feeling was declining or perhaps it was only the tribal feeling that was losing its hold, no real national sentiment having as yet ever existed. Lecky says in his *History of European Morals* that "the period between Panætius and Constantine exhibited an irresistible tendency to cosmopolitanism. . . . The character of the people was completely transformed, the landmarks of all its institutions were removed, and the whole principle of its organization reversed." It would be impossible to find a more striking example of the manner in which events govern character, destroying old habits and associations and thus altering that national type of excellence which is the expression of national institutions and circumstances.[20]

In modern societies one of the most outstanding examples of the disorganization resulting from the clash of competing cultures is supplied by immigrants and especially by their children; for they are in close contact with two cultures but may not be adequately incorporated into either group.[21] The loss of standards is the more likely if, and because, (1) the adaptive institutions are inefficient, (2) public opinion is not continuous, so that an individual by moving can escape into districts unregulated by his group, and (3) attitudes themselves tend to undergo changes in consequence of residence in disorganized areas. Standards may also deteriorate in a new environment because the conditions to which they formerly applied no longer obtain. The loss of public concern and inefficient control by leaders are different phases of the same process of disorganization; and controls are uncertain under these various circumstances because unanimity of opinion is lacking.

A breakdown of the regulative systems usually begins among the younger persons because they are typically the more mobile and

[20] King, Irving, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.

[21] Young, Pauline V., *The Pilgrims of Russian Town*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932, pp. 160-216.

less stabilized element of the population, they have not fully acquired the values and sentiments of their group, and they view the situation from their own limited experiences. Also, they generally lack the sense of responsibility assumed by older people and are less inhibited and quicker to accept superficial distinctions as significant. Consequently they are more inclined to discard the established traditions for new conventions. If they do thus assimilate the new, they may refuse to become interested in the achievements or the culture of their ancestors. It is said that the young Kafir men, on returning to the kraals from the gold fields or mission stations, refuse to obey their elders. Even small children take over the model of lawlessness; their parents are powerless to control them when they threaten to complain to the foreign magistrates who know little of native customs or law. Thus the struggle between the old and the new becomes a conflict between the elders and the young. Among African tribes in contact with Europeans, internal dissensions result in the development of "left," "right," and "center" parties—to use a metaphor from European politics. The first is represented by the younger generation, which imitates western customs, as opposed to the second, which comprises the elders and chiefs who wish to maintain the tribal customs. The moderate group stands between these extremes.[22]

As long as only a few individuals disregard rules, unanimity of opinion is maintained by treating the variant conduct as abnormal; but if the majority hesitates between contradictory opinions, regulation becomes ineffective. If the older members of the community likewise break with tradition the loss of unanimity and solidarity become inevitable unless new consensus is developed. Furthermore, disorganization does not always follow contacts with contradictory standards, for the effects vary with the solidarity of the groups concerned and the volume and rate at which the exotic culture is imported. In Japan, for example, while new arts and mannerisms are being adopted, the accepted religious and ethical sanctions are maintaining their former regulative power. Japan, says one writer, is a living witness to the fact that the strange can be merged with the old, "that people may ride on subways, play baseball, work in spinning mills, study scientific agriculture, build skyscrapers, navigate the seas, demand votes for women, and yet retain withal in

[22] Cf. Jones, Thomas J., *Education in East Africa,* Phelps Stokes Fund, New York, 1922, pp. 186 ff.; Stonequist, Everett V., *op. cit.,* p. 43.

their relations to one another, ancient sentiments and customs. Loyalty, for instance, such as bound feudal folk to their Lord, is not [quickly] destroyed in industrialization; it may only change its forms."[23] Here again, the effect produced by changes in one part of the culture upon other parts and upon personality depends on the attitudes and organized opinion.

### INDIVIDUATION

Intense self-assertion need not stand in the way of effective co-operation or lessen the vitality of the mores. Individualism, that is, self-interest and independence of thought and action, may exist along with groupal solidarity and rigid traditions; in fact, vigorous but socialized individualism is necessary for an efficient society. On the other hand, when, or if, egoism becomes prominent, it contributes to the disintegration of traditions. Such extreme disregard of the customs of a group and the following of individual preferences and whims may be called individuation. Some of the causes and consequences of this tendency will become clear from a few illustrations.

The structural changes in the family are likely to produce egocentrism because as individuals participate in the impersonal wage economy, they can more readily regard their earnings as private possessions than they can under home economy; and they can more easily spend their income for individual, instead of collective, necessities or enjoyments. This also makes it easier than it was formerly for persons to reject traditional obligations and to pursue new "vanity values" and hedonistic interests in which they may indulge with less and less reference to primary group associates. The resulting "cupidity," in the opinion of Thomas and Znaniecki, is one of the most frequent causes of social—at least familial—disorganization.[24] This release of individuals from close personal connections with primary groups—the atomization of society, as we may call it—is incompatible with a type of social organization in which income and expenditure were more largely matters of collective concern and control. While this dissociation of the individual from his family permits him to climb higher in the socio-economic scale than he could if he tried to raise the status of his near relatives as much as he does his own, he may sink lower than

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[23] Beard, Miriam, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
[24] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 1145.

he would if he shared the status of his family and were safeguarded by it.

Individuation also accompanies culture clashes. For example, European teachings and examples have helped the Kafirs to develop exaggerated ideas of individual rights, and similar results were produced by the substitution of the European system of individual land tenure for their traditional communal system. The division of labor was accompanied by wage payment, and natives learned to sell and trade and keep what they had won, thereby helping to destroy the cooperation which had been the mainstay of the old familial and tribal organization. One observer relates:

> From the moment when a native puts on his first shirt up to the day when he passes his last examination, the whole civilizing process forces the attention of the man to himself. He is not slow in finding out that the white man stands up for his own personal "rights"; nor does it take him long to discover that the European is absorbed in the pursuit of his own personal interest, even competing keenly with his fellows for his bread and butter. Hitherto the Kafir had sunk his personality and his individual rights for the good of his clan; to set himself in opposition to, or in competition with, his fellows was in his eyes a great offense. From the white man he learns the new idea—new at least in its intensity—that the individual has inalienable "rights"; he consequently determines to have them with a vengeance and to pay out the clan that has so long tramped on his private interests. . . . Individualism at first spoils the native; breaks up the clan, sets the black man against the white; binds certain black men together in new ways; leads to discontent and crude self-assertion; introduces poverty where it was unknown before; and, finally, is used against those who introduced it.[25]

In this way the native may be said to be "de-tribalized." He is set adrift from the old frame of customs, since as a wage earner he may change masters at will or take up his abode among strangers. "He may live, if he will, without wife or children or home or tribe and have no obligations that money cannot discharge. Tribal opinion, once omnipotent, no longer exists for him."[26] Ungrouped individuals are correspondingly unwilling or unable to participate in or to uphold the existing conventions. When some of the Ao Naga tribesmen of Assam became Christians they refused to cooperate in the old

[25] Kidd, Dudley, *Kafir Socialism*, p. 154.

[26] Leys, Norman, *Kenya*, Hogarth Press, London, 1924, p. 301.

festivals which had formerly been held for the purpose of averting calamities.[27] The Amerinds' contact with the white man's culture is said to have made them "false, suspicious, avaricious and hard-hearted."[28]

Polish peasants, in their business relations with outsiders, first apply the principles of solidarity to which they are accustomed in their own group; but later, when they have been frequently subjected to the competitive methods of strangers, they are likely to discard all principles in driving a bargain, and even in trade with members of their own group they attempt to get all they can and give as little as possible.[29] A Japanese who accepted Christianity asked his government for exemption from supporting his indigent mother—it did not occur to him that as an adherent of a foreign faith this obligation continued to rest upon him. To the extent that immigrant groups become assimilated, they tend to cease supporting their own needy members and to follow the general practice of relying upon public poor relief. As long as these groups are solidary, they consider it disgraceful to allow their members to become objects of public charity. Individuation may reach the point where it paralyzes efficient corporate effort, for the pursuit of private aims stands in the way even of the quest for private good through the common weal. It is said that in Burma, contact with the white man's culture has caused the peasants to become so egocentric that they lose their sense of duty to their community. The united action which formerly prevailed, as, for instance in constructing bridges and digging wells, is becoming rare.[30]

Periods of rapid change in traditions are characterized by individuation and secularization—the loss of attitudes of reverence for institutions and other conventional values, and the tendency to regard them from a mere utilitarian and rational point of view. Ibn Khaldun, observing the deterioration of the sedentary Berbers, proclaimed that "cities fall because of the eventual extreme individuation of their inhabitants." Montesquieu made a similar statement about Athens, whose mobile and individuated citizenry was not aroused to a common defence even by the declamation of a

[27] Smith, William C., *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[28] Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* vol. i, p. 548.

[29] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.,* vol. i, pp. 184 ff.

[30] Fielding-Hall, Harold, *A People at School,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1906, p. 187.

Demosthenes.[31] The following description of conditions existing in that city during the period of her decline shows clearly the reciprocal influence of such individuation and social disorganization.

> The Athenians deteriorated to such an extent that they lost all sense for their collective honor and safety, and took no advice that tended to reform them. The foundation of the Athenian social structure was thus undermined. Egocentrism ran riot; in the military service Athenian officers acted independently of their country, whenever foreign pay chanced to suit their own individual advantage. The leaders of Athens became open to bribery. Even at an earlier period, when the individuating influence of the Persian War had not yet exerted its full effect, some flagrant cases of selling information to the enemy occurred. In other words, secularization and individuation had brought about far-reaching personal demoralization and social disorganization among those sections of the populace most affected by contact with the secularizing and individuating influences of the metropolitan economy.[32]

Parallels of these conditions can readily be found in the political corruption and loss of ethical standards in American cities today; for not only are graft, malfeasance in office, and alliance between officials and criminals frequent, but a portion of the population has even ceased to censure this demoralized behavior. (The connection between these facts and the growth of secondary social relations has already been noted in previous chapters.)

Another type of social disorganization is that incidental to mob behavior. In such temporary aggregates, the rules of conduct which operate under normal conditions are ignored because, first, the individuals constituting such a crowd fix their attention so exclusively on one idea that they are uncontrolled by contradictory considerations; and, second, inhibitions are removed because the mob supplies its own approving environment—that is, each person sees and hears approval expressed by others for the inclinations which he himself feels. Just as it is a social group "which demands the repression of our primitive impulses, [so it is] that the unconscious would on certain occasions make use of this same social in order to realize its primitive desires. . . . *In the crowd the primitive ego achieves its wish by actually gaining the assent and support of a section of society. The immediate social environment is all pulled*

[31] Adapted from Becker, Howard P., *Ionia and Athens: Secularization,* unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1930.

[32] Adapted from *ibid.*, pp. 173-175.

*in the same direction.* . . . Everybody is perfectly aware of what is being said or done; only the *moral significance* of the thing is changed . . . the social is actually being twisted around into giving approval of the things which [the culture forbids]."[33]

Crowd behavior, which is especially likely to appear in times of stress and rapid social change, is at once an incipient form of social organization and of disorganization. It is also related to the customs and mores, as is seen by the fact that some forms of mob violence appear only in restricted culture areas. For example, lynching is found only in America, and there only in the more isolated or retarded districts and social classes,[34] where it survives as a form of "popular justice" although it may be neither "popular" (general) or just.

Further connections between personal behavior and social organization will appear in the following chapters, in which the nature of personality is considered in the light of the sociological principles so far discussed. Personal demoralization as the correlative of social disorganization will be considered in more detail in the last division of this book.

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[33] Martin, Everett D., *The Behavior of Crowds: A Psychological Study,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1920, pp. 35-36.

[34] Young, E. F., "The Relation of Lynching to the Size of Political Areas," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1928, vol. xii, pp. 348-353.

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# THE PERSON IN RELATION TO CULTURE AND THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

# CHAPTER XXIX

## The Individual and the Person

We shall now give more systematic attention to the relation between social organization and culture, on the one hand, and the behavior of individuals, on the other hand. The principle here involved may be summed up by the statement that the individual and collective aspects of society are correlatives. Reference has been made repeatedly to the fact that established institutions, interdependency, and, in general, the individual's position in a social structure, limit his choices, mold his habits, and guide his impulses in conventional or approved directions. For this reason, persons who have lived in the same civilization and under similar circumstances will have similarities in personality traits. However, dissimilarities are also found because of differences both in individuals and in their experiences within their group. "The reality is never the individual, pure and simple, but always the individual-in-a-given-social group."[1]

### PHASES OF PERSONALITY

When the characteristics of the behavior so produced are considered as attributes of the individual, they are variously spoken of as human nature, temperament, personality, and character. The phrase, human nature, is popularly used with implied praise or censure to connote the traits of behavior which are universal among human beings living in association. Cooley has defined human nature as "sympathy and the innumerable sentiments into which sympathy enters, such as love, resentment, ambition, vanity, hero-worship and the feeling of social right and wrong."[2] But even these characteristics vary with social relations, as may be seen from the data already presented. Therefore the discussion now to be undertaken may omit the consideration of these general qualities and deal in particular with the dissimilarities between individuals within

[1] Bartlett, F. C., *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[2] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, p. 28. Cf. Zorbaugh, Harvey, "Human Nature," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1929-1930, vol. iii, pp. 262-274.

a group and in different groups; for it is precisely these distinctive traits that are implied in the terms temperament, character, and personality.

Temperament, according to Kreuger and Reckless, "is the performance tone of activity—the rapid, slow, jerky, steady, irritable, bombastic, energetic, feeble, lethargic (etc.) way of doing things." Otherwise stated, temperament is "the specific reaction pattern to given situations," and as such, constitutes a trait of personality.[3] The term character usually denotes the more permanent organization of the habits of an individual: his stability and dependability, his dominant sentiments and attitudes—in brief, his life organization. Like temperament, character varies from one person to another, and also from one group to another.[4]

The points of view as to the nature of personality are of two general classes: (1) the part played by the individual in a group, and (2) the individual as a behaving entity. These two viewpoints, however, are merely different ways of considering the same fact. According to the first, personality is regarded as the impression produced by an individual upon other persons, and the place of esteem or disesteem he occupies among them. His reputation affects his behavior inasmuch as he is aware of others' appraisals, and his behavior, in turn, affects his status among his associates. In other words, personality may be described as the sum of those traits which affect an individual's status and rôle in a social group.

The second viewpoint also enables us to consider personality in connection with a group, for the conditioning and stimulation supplied there, become part of the individual as a behaving entity. On this basis, J. B. Watson defines personality as the organized habits, socialized instincts and emotions, and their combinations and interrelations;[5] while Kimball Young describes it as "the sum total of images, ideas, aptitudes and habits of the individual, organized in terms of his social participation. Personality," he says, "is an outgrowth of the conditioning of the individual to the personal-social and cultural environment."[6]

[3] Kreuger, E. T., and Reckless, Walter C., op. cit., pp. 19, 21, 364.

[4] Gordon, R. G., Personality, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1926, p. 2; Bogardus, E. S., "Personality and Character," Sociology and Social Research, 1930-1931, vol. xv, pp. 175-179; Allport, G. W., "Personality and Character," Psychological Bulletin, 1921, vol. xviii, pp. 441-455.

[5] Watson, J. B., Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1919, p. 397.

[6] Young, Kimball, Social Psychology, p. 201. Cf. Bernard, Jessie, "Culture as Environment," Sociology and Sociological Research, 1930-1931, vol. xv, pp. 47-56.

The effect of this environment varies because the individuals in each group differ in experience, intelligence, temperament, and special abilities and disabilities; and because culture and the social organization differ with time and place. Inasmuch as culture plays so large a part in forming attitudes, we may say, by way of emphasis, that personality is the subjective aspect of culture.[7] But in addition, what each is and does depends upon the presence of, and the rôle played by, other persons. Each helps to produce the social structure which limits and supports his own conduct: the individual and the group mutually determine each other.

### BEHAVIOR SYSTEMS

This point of view, that an individual's behavior is a part of a larger system of activity, has been implicit in all that has been said regarding the individual in the preceding divisions of this text. Further such standpoints are not peculiar to sociology, but underlie even the biological and physical sciences. Indeed, the interaction or the reciprocal influencing of like elements seems to be a universal fact. "Everything that exists, so far as it is known, is in interaction with other things."[8] We could not call the world one, Simmel says, if each of its parts did not somehow influence every other.[9] The *elements* (objects, individuals, or groups) which belong to a given class of beings or things exert distinctive influences upon one another. Below the human level there is interchange which is mechanical, tropic, and physiological in character. A few examples of these types of interaction will help to illustrate our viewpoint and, by way of analogy, will suggest the dependence of individual behavior upon the system of relations in which it is contained, even though, as will readily be seen, the nature of the causation is dissimilar in the physical and the social sciences.

Interaction of the mechanical type is illustrated by the reciprocal forces exerted between the liquid sea and the solid land systems; for geologists have found that rocks below the ocean change as a dynamic equilibrium is established between the heavier sea bottom and the lighter land area. Likewise, the atoms in a molecule, as well as the planets in the solar system, "react on one another and have their profit and loss from the exchange of influences; in fact,

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[7] Faris, E., "The Concept of Social Attitudes," p. 408.

[8] Dewey, John, *Experience and Nature,* pp. 174-175.

[9] Simmel, Georg, "The Problem of Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1909, vol. xv, p. 296.

the visible universe, so far as we know it, appears to be made up of such . . . structures, each having for its share the task of receiving impressions from the others within the limits of its environment and of sending forth its influences to all the like individualities within range of its actions."[10] The system to which the objects or elements belong explains their behavior, and their behavior is a part of the given system. The system and the behavior of the elements are consequences (or functions) of each other.

Within the body, cells mutually influence one another and by their reciprocal influences or exchange of services constitute organs. These also interact with each other through physiological processes. Some organs receive nutrition from others and reciprocate by other distinctive services. There is a division of labor between the masticating, digesting, circulatory, and locomotive organs, whereby the function of each part is integrated into that of other parts. The relation between the organs (themselves systems made up of lesser systems) constitutes the organism as a whole. Each organ exists for and is dependent upon the entire organism, that is, upon the system in which it exists, so that a change in one part results in changes in other parts. For example, the over-exertion of one organ affects others in that its fatigue is carried or "referred" to those which are not directly concerned. Or, again, an increase in the secretions of the pituitary or thyroid glands produces changes in the functioning of other parts. The individual's entire behavior may undergo modifications when one organ or its function changes.

Some animals react to one another as part of their physical environment and enter into symbiotic relations with each other. Intruding parasites live off their host, which may succumb or make adjustments to the new conditions. Among the higher species, interaction between animals occurs on the basis of selective responses and instinctive reactions. According to Mead, fighting, parental care, hunting, and a great part of animal play are the results of primitive impulses set in motion by stimulations between individuals, especially between those belonging to the same species.

The mechanical and physiological types of interchange are not social as judged by the nature of the elements or the integration involved. Physiological functioning has no direct reference to norms or the previously formed attitudes of a conscious personality. The contrast between the inter-stimulations of the higher animals and

[10] Shaler, N. S., *The Neighbor*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1904, pp. 1-2.

the adjustments of persons is likewise so marked that examples of the former must be regarded as analogies, not as explanations, of human conduct. The causation of social behavior is typically of a distinct kind. It is habitudinal, purposive, institutional, and obligatory; and it is made effective through a conscious personality who feels fear, hate, and obligation, and is aware of the experience and regard of others. However, this does not mean that the reaction is always or necessarily deliberate and reflective, but that it is an adjustment made in the business of living, wherein impulses, temperament, previous conditioning, and perceived meanings of the situation are involved according to the intelligence, the habits, and the aims of the subjects.

### METHODS OF STUDYING PERSONALITY

Underlying the acquired habits and attributes of individuals are their innate qualities. Indeed, biologists even speak of the organism —the integrated and functioning entity—as personality, just as psychologists define it in terms of mental unity. Both the organic and psychological phases are necessarily contained in the rôle played by the subject in a group; but their description does not suffice for the sociological viewpoint of personality, as already defined.

The distinction between the biological-psychological and the sociological viewpoints of personality may be summed up by the terms *individual* and *person*. By *individual* we shall understand the organism with its innate physical and mental capacities. We are individuals at birth, but we become persons when we acquire status in a group, a reputation, a rôle, and a conception of our place among our associates and even among our contemporaries generally.[11] This idea is conveyed by the etymology of the word *person*. The Latin *persona* originally referred to the voice sounding through the mask of the player on the stage; later it designated the mask; still later, it referred to the characters of a drama; subsequently, it meant the part an individual played in life; and finally, it denoted the subject of legal rights. All of the individual traits, including his abilities and even his physical appearance, as well as many cultural and institutional factors, are involved in determining the person's place

[11] Cf. Ritter, William E., "Individual and Person," *American Journal of Sociology,* September, 1929, vol. xxxv, pp. 271-274; Eubank, E. E., "The Concept of the Person," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1927-1928, vol. xii, pp. 354-364.

in his group. In brief, a person is an individual with status—a definition from which only feral individuals are excluded.

Physiology and psychology specialize in the study of the individual, while sociology studies the person. Physiology deals with the activities and functions of cells and organs and their interrelation within the organism on which they depend and for whose completion they exist. Sociology, on the other hand, is directly concerned, among other topics, with the relations between individuals, their organization for collective living, and the effect of this social organization on personality. A few examples will serve to show the contrast between these two types of facts and viewpoints.

The organism reacts involuntarily to physical and chemical agents. These reactions are somewhat regular and predictable, as are other biological phenomena. A case in point is Davy's observation that a rise of 10 beats per minute in the pulse rate is, on the average, accompanied by a rise of 0.3 to 0.4 degree in body temperature.[12] In making tests on members of a football squad after the most crucial game of the season, Cannon discovered that the majority tested had an excess of sugar in their systems. Toxins are produced by continued work which may block connections in nerve currents. The likelihood of recovery from smallpox is increased by vaccination prior to infection. Recent investigations by Müntz and Regnard have proved that an individual, when carried to very high regions, or when subjected for some time to experimental rarefactions, acquires the power of absorbing large quantities of oxygen,[13] while Darwin reported on an ethnic stock, living at high altitudes, whose stature changed on descent to the plains.[14] It has been found that blood pressure rises with an increase in the ratio of weight to height, while the pulse rate decreases with age.[15] The young tend to have physical traits resembling those of their parents or grandparents, and especially those of their racial group. These are biological facts and must be explained in terms of body chemistry, heredity, etc.

[12] Williams, M. H., and Pearson, Karl, "A Statistical Study of Oral Temperature in School Children," *Draper's Company Research Memoirs, Studies in National Deterioration,* no. ix, p. 74.

[13] DeVarigny, Henry, "The Air and Life," *Annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution,* 1893, vol. xlviii, part one, p. 539.

[14] Darwin, Charles, *Descent of Man,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1896, p. 35.

[15] Johnson, Burford, *Mental Growth of Children,* E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., New York, 1925, p. 39.

The physical facts are present in the associations of individuals, for behavior has organic equivalents. Furthermore, the intensity, if not the kind, of reciprocity between persons may be influenced by bodily changes, such as extreme fatigue, growth in maturity, and senile decline. But the principles of heredity, the facts as to blood- and tissue chemistry, the laws of growth, and the structure of the neural system do not, of themselves, explain differences between culturally derived action-patterns; for these vary even when the physiological conditions are constant, and, conversely, they may be uniform when individuals vary in some respects. (See Chapters VI and VII.)

The psychological field of specialization pertains to the function- ing of the organism in ways which are called "mental." Conventional psychology deals with such concepts as perception, memory, feel- ings, emotions, desires, imagination, motivation, and reasoning. Thinking is a function of the organism; and the mental processes, as such, can be studied irrespective of any particular type of content with which the mind may be engaged—whether, for example, it be molding clay or controlling the behavior of persons. In other words, psychology deals abstractly with behavior, in that these mental processes may be distinguished from the objects with which they are occupied. However, as already implied, the psychological phases are contained in, and underlie, the institutions, rules, and customs which are formed in the business of collective living.

The sociological approach undertakes to study the external or collective (institutional) action ways or patterns, whereas psy- chology deals with inner or neural patterns. Sociology records col- lective phenomena, communication, social organization; it observes how individuals construct associations, the forms these assume under various conditions, and the influences thereby exerted upon indi- viduals. Because such data vary from one group to another, per- sonality differences cannot be assigned merely to capacities or inborn predispositions; for similar abilities may utilize the culture in different ways, and individuals with different abilities may use it in very similar ways. (See subsequent chapters.)

### THE INDIVIDUAL'S DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY

In so far as the personal habits and the social situation (culture and social organization) are related phases of the same fact, it is

impossible to ascertain what proportion of the first may be ascribed to the nature of the individual, and what proportion to external influences: to determine the respective influence of heredity and environment, nature and nurture. Indeed, it is logically futile to ask which of the two is the more important, although it is pertinent to inquire as to the extent to which changes may result from a given amount of variation in either of the two indispensable factors.

The difficulties underlying research on this problem are shown by the disagreement among writers as to the relative importance of nature and nurture, or, among some recent investigators, as to the results of variations in either of these elements upon individual performance. Francis Galton believed heredity to be ten times more important than environment. A recent writer finds that heredity accounts for 63 per cent of the performance level, and environment, for 37 per cent.[16] Another says: "The best estimate the data afford of the extreme degree to which the most favorable home environment may enhance the I.Q. or the least favorable environment may depress it, is about 20 I.Q. points."[17] Still another holds that but 3 per cent is contributed by environment.[18] Less significance is ascribed to heredity by Burt, who estimates that native intelligence contributes 33 per cent; general experience or the informal education of everyday life, 11 per cent, and formal schooling, 56 per cent.[19] The usual correlation of resemblance between parents and children as observed by biometricians is about 0.50. Such contradictions imply either that the methods of measurement are not comparable, that the subjects or their circumstances differ greatly, or that the attempts to express the data in quantitative ratios are insufficient.

In addition to such difficulties, the premise underlying some of

[16] Hirsch, N. D., "A Summary of Some of the Results from an Experimental Study of the East Kentucky Mountaineers," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, XIII, 1927, part i, pp. 18-21.

[17] Burks, Barbara Stoddard, "The Relative Influence of Nature and Nurture upon Mental Development," *National Society for the Study of Education*, XXVII, 1928, part i, p. 223.

[18] Courtis, A. A., *Why Children Succeed*, Courtis Standard Tests, Detroit, 1921, p. 271.

[19] Burt, Cyril, *Mental and Scholastic Tests*, P. S. King and Son, London, 1922, pp. 183 ff. For an exhaustive list of these opinions, see the *Twenty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, parts i and ii, Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Illinois, 1928.

these studies is invalid, for the individual as he exists at any one time, and not his heredity, is to be placed in antithesis to environment. Mental tests measure not the heredity, but the performance, of the individual. Heredity was present at the beginning of his life cycle as potentialities for growth, and the development he subsequently attains is the result of indefinitely complex factors operating in conjunction with these potentialities.[20] The development reached at any one time is a factor in determining how the individual and the environment combine in producing further growth or decline. The outcome of the integration between the successively varying organism and the environment constitutes the individual's *developmental history*. However, the capacities set limits to possible growth, for plasticity is limited and varies with different traits, individuals, and species.

This will become clear from a few random examples. A certain kind of corn has in its seed the determiners for redness, and under ordinary circumstances its kernels are red, but when the corn is not grown in the sunlight it does not develop this potentiality. On the other hand, no amount of sunlight will make the kernels of other kinds of corn red. Therefore, this trait is the joint product of potentialities in the seed and of the developing medium, the environment.[21] A certain type of fish, the funfulus, has two eyes while it inhabits the deep sea water; but Stockard found that by increasing the amount of magnesium chloride in the water in which its eggs were hatched, fishes were produced with a single median eye. The eggs of this cyclopean fish, when hatched in ordinary seawater, again produced fish with two eyes.[22] The duplication of legs in the fruit fly has been found to take place only in relatively low temperatures, for at ordinary temperatures the young have the "normal number of legs."[23] The gill-bearing stage of amphibia may be greatly, and in some cases, indefinitely, prolonged by controlling environmental conditions. If tadpoles are prevented from creeping

[20] Gesell, Arnold, *Infancy and Human Growth*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928, pp. 356 ff.

[21] Emerson, R. A., "The Genetic Relations of Plant Colors in Maize," *Memoir 39 of the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station*, Ithaca, New York, 1921.

[22] Stockard, C. R., "The Development of Artificially Produced Cyclopean Fish," *Journal of Experimental Zoology*, 1909, vol. vi, pp. 285-337.

[23] Morgan, Thomas H., *A Critique of the Theory of Evolution*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1916, p. 66; Jennings, H. S., *Biological Basis of Human Behavior*, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1930, pp. 130-133.

on dry land they retain tails, and lungs do not develop, even though the animals grow to a considerable size.[24]

The same principles of dependence between heredity and environment and the limited plasticity of human beings may also be cited. A deficiency of iodine in the food and water results in the retarded development of children. Stature may be stunted by inadequate food.[25] Disease and fatigue slow down the speed of reactions. The skin may bleach or take on a tan under appropriate environmental conditions. Stature and other physical traits of immigrants undergo changes in America. However, hereditary nature sets limits to these variations, for even under favorable conditions the Japanese and the Alpine peoples do not attain the stature of the Scotch or the Polynesians, and the fair Nordics, when exposed to the tropical sun, do not become as dark as Africans.

Thus Mendelian traits appear, or fail to appear, because of environmental conditions. What the individual shall become is determined jointly by hereditary materials (the genes) and the conditions under which they operate. Under different conditions they would produce other results, so that like inheritance does not necessarily produce identical characters. An individual does not have a given set of traits merely because he has inherited the basis for them. "It is not true that what an organism shall become is determined, foreordained," in heredity as some of the popular uninformed writers on eugenics would have us believe.[26]

Accordingly, heredity and environment are inseparably involved in the development of abilities. While heredity sets the limits (as, for example, in stature, resistance to disease, acuity of perception, speed of reactions, susceptibility to fatigue, memory-span, complexity of coordinations, and intelligence), environment is the complementary factor which determines the degree to which such potentialities develop. The ability attained represents the direction and distance of development of the original capacities under given, although in many details unmeasurable, circumstances. Potentialities for "abnormal" traits are as truly inherited as are those for

[24] Swift, Edgar J., *Youth and the Race,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912, p. 89.

[25] See Chapin, F. Stuart, *An Introduction to the Study of Social Evolution,* The Century Company, New York, 1913, pp. 123-124; Hrdlička, Aleš, "Anthropology of the Old Americans," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology,* 1922 vol. v, number 3, pp. 228 ff.

[26] Jennings, H. S., "Heredity and Environment," *Scientific Monthly,* 1924, vol. xix, p. 225 ff.

"normal" traits; and the fact that the organism has developed in a given way, whether "normal" or "abnormal," proves that it had the inherent capacity to do so, the actual outcome being determined by the conditions surrounding growth; but most probably it had capacities to develop some traits more or less than it actually did.

The recognition of this point is, as Cooley says, the *pons asinorum* in testing clear thinking on this subject. One has not crossed the asses' bridge if he "is capable of asserting as a general proposition, that heredity is more important, or more powerful than environment, or *vice versa.*"[27] While we can readily agree with the adage, "The wolf-cub will become a wolf, even though it grow up among men," this aphorism is beside the point in accounting for differences in personality. Although both heredity and environment are always present in producing a given result, one may speak of the factor which deviates from a given constant standard as the "cause" of the resulting variation in achievement or behavior. In this sense, then, the "cause" is merely the variation in one of the indispensable and inevitable factors.

Inasmuch as sociology is concerned with the part individuals play in a group, the question as to the origin of their qualities is secondary to the inquiry as to how these qualities, however acquired, help to determine persons' rôles. We shall therefore consider both the way the social situation reacts upon individuals and the way their differences affect personal rôles. But these factors, in turn, are inseparable from the culture and the social organization. In all events, "we must," as Dewey says, "start from acts which are performed, not from hypothetical causes for these acts."[28]

In the following seven chapters we shall consider the observable factors which affect the behavior-patterns characterizing different groups and distinguishing the persons within a group. Chapter XXX deals with the personality of races and nationalities or other large groups. Chapters XXXI-XXXIII pertain to the significance of the social organization in determining achievement and conduct of individuals. Chapter XXXIV considers the conventional rôles prescribed for age and sex groups; and Chapters XXXV and XXXVI review the effect of the personal relationships, especially those within primary groups, in determining the personal rôle. In connection with all of these an attempt is made to see the reciprocal connection

[27] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Process*, p. 207.
[28] Dewey, John, *The Public and its Problems*, p. 12.

between the individual's attributes and the social and cultural factors.

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# CHAPTER XXX

# The Personality of Races

Every durable national and racial group shows some distinctive personality traits. This is true of preliterate as well as literate groups. The Eskimos, the Australian aborigines, the Mongols, and the Congo Negroes are said to exhibit more "individuality in their modes of life, customs, and beliefs, than did the [ancient] Greeks and Romans or than do the Italians, Germans, or English of today."[1] Popular opinion holds that races differ in temperament, intelligence, and capacities. Thus Englishmen are described as taciturn, Frenchmen and Italians as volatile, Russians as phlegmatic, Chinese as passive; and members of the so-called lower races are supposed to be lacking in self-control and in mental aptitudes which would enable them to attain the high level of civilization already reached by more advanced peoples.

Although such uncritical attitudes are in part stereotypes or caricatures and overlook the variations prevailing within the group, they nevertheless suggest more or less uniformity of behavior or performance among the members of a racial or nationality group. When such uniformities are found within a group which has some distinctive physical traits, they are often erroneously supposed to be linked with these physical peculiarities. To be sure, the customs and achievements of races might, in the absence of any contradictory facts, be thus explained with some *a priori* plausibility. However, the uniform traits may by similar reasoning be ascribed to the prevailing culture and circumstances, as will be seen from our consideration of the unreliable criteria of race, the non-prognostic value of such criteria, and the variability of personality and culture independently, or in spite, of race.

## THE CRITERIA OF RACES

The term race is lacking in precision and at times is wrongly used to connote *cultural*, rather than anthropometric, distinctions. In the

[1] Dixon, Roland B., *op. cit.*, p. 3.

first sense the term refers to historico-civic groups, whether or not they possess distinctive physical characteristics. In the second sense it connotes the physical traits distinguishing a group having a common origin. But even on this basis there is no clear-cut criterion of race; for the physical traits usually regarded as most characteristic of races—stature, head-form, facial angle or slope of the face, and pigmentation—are not always distinct, and they overlap considerably.

By head-form we mean the relation of the width to the length of the skull, which is expressed in terms of the percentage of width to length and is known as the cephalic index. Individuals with an index of 75 are classed as long-headed (dolichocephalic); those with an index of 83 or above are classed as broad-headed (brachycephalic); and those with a medium index, as mesocephalic. But wide variations may prevail within any one so-called racial group. Thus, among 607 Germans, Kollman discovered that 16 per cent were long-headed; 41 per cent, broad-headed; and 43 per cent, intermediate. In a collection of Chinese skulls, Ranke found the percentage of long, intermediate, and broad types to be, respectively, 12, 34, and 54.[2] Similar ratios have been found among American university students.[3]

Pigmentation, according to various authorities, is among the most superficial of the somatic traits.[4] Virchow, who found that both the fairest and darkest skin colorings show dark pigment under the microscope, concluded that differences of color are differences of quantity, not quality.[5] Furthermore, pigmentation does not appear alike under all conditions, and it is greatly influenced by the state of health and by exposure to the weather. It may also change with the age of individuals. In some cases the characteristic racial color of the hair is not constant until the individual has reached middle age, while but one-fourth of the people retain the hair color they had in the first two years of life.[6] Identical eye and hair color exists in some members of the different primary races— white, red, yellow, and black—and similar pigmentation occurs in

[2] Finot, Jean, Race Prejudice, Archibald Constable and Company, London, 1906, p. 68.

[3] Hayes, E. C., "Racial Groups in a University," Scientific Monthly, 1928, vol. xxvi, pp. 158-159.

[4] Hrdlička, Aleš, "Pigmentation of the Old Americans," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1921, p. 446.

[5] Hertz, F., op. cit., p. 38.

[6] Ibid., p. 41.

many individuals of different *secondary* races—that is, subdivisions such as the Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean branches of the Caucasian race. Races which differ markedly in complexion, as is true of whites and Negroes, for example, overlap in other traits. This is the case with reference to stature, cephalic index, and brain-weight, and the overlapping is much more noticeable than the differences.[7] Moreover, pigmentation varies greatly among individuals classed as belonging to the same race. For instance, the most prominent men and women in contemporary Canada, according to a study by M. A. Thomas, have blond characteristics with regard to eye color, but not hair color.[8] Hrdlička found the Old Americans to be largely a mixture of blonds and brunettes.[9] A study of ten million school children in Belgium, Austria, Germany and Switzerland disclosed the fact that in the last three of these countries combined, 25 per cent were fair-haired, 15 per cent were brown-haired, and 60 per cent had a combination of dark hair and light eyes or light hair and dark eyes.[10]

This overlapping of traits may be ascribed largely to race mixture, which still further confuses the idea of distinct races. The Europeans, as well as all but a few isolated peoples, are a blend of different racial stocks, and consequently a member of any race may be highly composite. For example, Charles Darwin, whom we are accustomed to regard as a typical Englishman, had among his ancestors various Irish, Scottish, Saxon, Flemish, Italian, and Bavarian princes, kings, and kinglets. He claimed descent in several lines from Alfred the Great and Barbarossa, from Charlemagne and the Saxon emperors of Germany. He had Norwegian and much Norman blood in his veins. In his family tree were Franks, Alamans, Merovingians, Burgundians, and Lombards. He was also directly descended from the Hun rulers of Hungary and the Greek emperors of Constantinople.[11]

Accordingly, we may subscribe to Haddon's opinion that a racial type is an abstraction, and to Garth's statement that "what we call

[7] Woodworth, R. S., "Racial Differences in Mental Traits," *Science,* new series, 1910, vol. xxi, p. 171.

[8] Thomas, M. A., "Hereditary Greatness in Canada," *Journal of Social Forces,* December, 1925, IV, p. 309.

[9] Hrd̈ička, Aleš, "Pigmentation of the O'd Americans," pp. 471 ff.

[10] Kelsey, Karl, *The Physical Basis of Society,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1920, p. 293.

[11] Pearson, Karl, "The Science of Man," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution,* 1921, p. 426.

races are merely temporary eddies in the history of human kind in which common human traits—at least somatological traits, if not mental traits—have become emphasized."[12]

### SOMATIC TRAITS NOT DIAGNOSTIC

Racial traits are not uniformly associated with achievement, temperament, and other personality traits such as altruism, cruelty, stoicism, vivacity, introversion, extroversion, and so on, as one group of writers[13] has erroneously maintained. Starting with the assumption that differences in customs are paralleled by differences in organic nature, these so-called "racialists" have built up the idea of a hierarchy of races led by the fair, dolichocephalic, Nordic stock. The significance of bodily traits as an index of capacity or of predilection for given types of behavior is disputed by another school, sometimes called environmentalists or "race-slumpers"[14] because they place emphasis upon the cultural and other situational factors.[15] These writers produce a large volume of evidence to show that there is no uniform or consistent connection between the aforementioned physical traits and the type of culture or the degree of collective or individual achievement attained.

(1) HEAD-FORM has been asserted by some faddists to be a criterion of the racial capacity to acquire civilization. Dolichocephalism, which is characteristic of the Nordic stock, they believed denoted high mental capacity and a "nature" endowed with independence, intelligence, restless energy, democratic independence, and creativeness. According to this viewpoint, Nordics are the natural leaders in civilization. These speculators have also tried to find proof for their theory in the fact that in some parts of Europe the dolichocephali constitute a larger ratio of the urban than of

[12] Garth, Thomas R., *Race Psychology*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1931, p. 221.

[13] This racial interpretation of society, sometimes called Gobinism after the author of the famous essay on the *Inequality of Human Races*, published in 1854, has been further discussed by Stuart Chamberlain, V. de Lapouge, F. K. Gunther, Madison Grant, William McDougall, Ernest Cox, Lathrop Stoddard, and many others. The adherents of these theories have been called "racialists" by McDougall (*Is America Safe for Democracy?* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1921, *passim*). The opponents of these doctrines he calls "race-slumpers."

[14] Outstanding representatives of this school are Franz Boas, Robert Lowie, Frederich Hertz, and A. L. Kroeber.

[15] Convenient summaries may be found in Hertz, F., *op. cit.*; and Hankins, F. H., *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926.

the rural population.[16] Ammon fancifully argued that the brachy-
cephali, although superior in technical skill, industry, and persever-
ance, are "narrow formalists" who may adapt themselves to village
life and agricultural occupations, but who will die out in three
generations if subjected to the strain of great cities. Lapouge opined
(without intending to be humorous) that the dolichocephali are
Protestant and the brachycephali Catholic by "affinity."[17] The
inaptness of these unfounded speculations is indicated by the fact
that in other localities the urban population is less long-headed than
the rural. Furthermore, wide variations are found in the culture of
those having similar head-form, while the reverse is equally ap-
parent. This is seen by the fact that the dolichocephali include
North Europeans, primitive Australians, most Negroes, Corsicans,
Portuguese, and Papuans, with their diverse cultures. Among the
brachycephali are a large proportion of the Slavic peoples, the
Swiss, the Magyars, the South Chinese, and the Mongols. In the
intermediate group are the Japanese, North Chinese, North Ameri-
can Indians, Bushmen, and others.

Various investigators[18] have even secured data which seem to
show that the cephalic index is modified by environmental changes.
Franz Boas, who found that the head and facial forms of immi-
grants' children changed considerably from those of their respec-
tive family strains in other countries, concluded that the long-
headed Sicilian becomes more round-headed in America, and the
round-headed Bohemian and Hebrew, more long-headed.[19] Similarly,
Leslie Spier's study dealing with 320 children of Japanese immi-
grants in Seattle and 521 children in Southern Japan show that the
American-born children become more brachycephalic.[20] However,
there are decided limits to such plasticity, and it has not been
proved that the results found are either representative or permanent.

[16] Ripley, W. Z., *The Races of Europe*, K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company,
London, 1923, pp. 41 ff.

[17] For a review of literature bearing on these points, see Sorokin, P. A., *Con-
temporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 277 ff.

[18] Among these, Franz Boas, C. Röse, and Leslie Spier may be mentioned as
stressing the effect of environmental conditions. The opposite point of view is
illustrated in the article by Pearson, Karl, and Tippett, L. H., "On the Stability of
the Cephalic Indices within the Race," *Biometrika*, 1924, vol. xvi, pp. 118-138.

[19] Boas, Franz, "Changes in Bodily Forms of Descendants of Immigrants,"
61st. Cong., 2d. Sess., *Senate Document*, no. 208, Washington, 1910.

[20] Spier, Leslie, *Growth of Japanese Children Born in America and Japan*, Uni-
versity of Washington Press, Seattle, 1929.

Neither dissimilarities nor changes in head-form are known to have any significance as regards intelligence or capacity, nor is there any demonstrated correlation between normal variations in the size of the head or the brain and ability. This is true of races as well as of individuals within a racial or national group. Pearson found little or no association between the breadth or length of head taken singly, and the teacher's estimate of the pupil's intelligence.[21] Comparisons of grades made by long-headed and broad-headed students fail to show any correlation between these morphological types and attainment.[22] Both long and broad heads were represented among the gifted children studied by Terman; but the majority, as is true of the total population, were of the intermediate type. Kant, Laplace, and Voltaire were broad-headed; Plato, whose original name was Aristocles, was dubbed Plato because of his round head. No evidence can be advanced to show that these famous men would have been more capable if they had had other cranial proportions.

(2) THE FACIAL ANGLE,[23] which is supposed by popular writers to distinguish the superior from the inferior races and individuals, is not uniformly associated with any one type of civilization. Populations with a high facial angle do not always have a high civilization; but neither is the reverse true. For example, the people of the New Caledonian Islands have a higher facial angle than do the Parisians, and the Chinese exceed the French, the Turks, and the Kalmucks.[24]

(3) DIFFERENCES IN SKIN COLORING are most often singled out as signs of comparative capacity. "The leaning towards symbolization sees in a dark pigmentation of the skin the sign of a dark soul's life."[25] However, both *ethnographic* and *experimental* evidence shows that mental qualities are not uniformly associated with the color of the skin. As to the first type of evidence, it is sufficient to recall that the chief racial types of pigmentation are found among preliterate, as well as among more advanced, peoples; and that political supremacy has passed successively to different races,

[21] Pearson, Karl, "On the Relationship of Intelligence to Size and Shape of the Head," pp. 105-106.

[22] Terman, L., *Genetic Studies of Genius,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1925-1926, vol. i, pp. 166-167.

[23] By facial angle is meant the angle formed by drawing one line from the front of the upper jaw tangent to the forehead and another line to the base of the skull.

[24] Finot, Jean, *op. cit.,* pp. 81-82.

[25] Hertz, F., *op. cit.,* p. 38.

irrespective of color. The early advancements in civilization were made, not by the blond, but by the dark-complexioned types. In fact, the blond groups of today contributed little to the culture of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Syria, and Phœnicia.[26] Even England and Germany are considerably non-Nordic in composition.[27]

Experimental evidence likewise fails to show any consistent connection between pigmentation and performance. Studies by Karl Pearson, dealing with 1,000 Cambridge graduates and 5,000 school children;[28] by Havelock Ellis, dealing with 424 British men of genius;[29] and by Hirsch, dealing with 5,504 children in Massachusetts,[30] show that in the white race there is no correlation between pigmentation and performance or mental test scores. However, various intelligence tests applied to Negroes and whites have almost uniformly resulted in a lower rating for the former; and, similarly, in the United States, Orientals, Indians, and Mexicans have usually made an inferior showing as compared to whites. Garth's résumé of the racial I.Q.'s is as follows: whites, 100; Chinese, 99; Japanese, 99; Mexicans, 78; southern Negroes, 75; northern Negroes, 85; American Indians (full-blooded), 70.[31] But experimenters are cautious about ascribing these differences to "racial" factors, for the results of such tests are untrustworthy unless social status and the cultural environment are constant. This is not true of the data so far recorded, for the races are not, in general, subjected to the same influences. Although the Negro lives side by side with the whites, the very color of his skin is against him. "We might entertain the idea that after all he lives in what might be called, for him, an exotic environment."[32] Similar handicaps, though not so marked, exist for Mexicans and American Indians. It is impossible, therefore, to infer from these data alone what the performance would have been if the environmental differences had been eliminated.

If, then, the somatic traits already discussed, exclusive of the pathological, are not uniformly associated with performance among races or individuals, they cannot be used as an index of conduct,

[26] Kelsey, Karl, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

[27] Thomas, F., *op. cit.*, p. 274.

[28] Pearson, Karl, "On the Relationship of Intelligence to the Size and Shape of the Head," *Biometrika*, 1906-1907, vol. v, p. 133.

[29] Ellis, Havelock, *A Study of British Genius*, Hurst and Blackett, London, 1904.

[30] Hirsch, N. D., "A Study of Natio-Racial Mental Differences," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, May–July, 1926, vol. i, nos. 3 and 4, pp. 231-406.

[31] Garth, T. R., *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

capacities, or customs of the peoples possessing them. In short, their prognostic value is apparently nil.

(1) CULTURE AS AN INDEPENDENT VARIABLE.—That there is no direct proportional relation between culture and race[33] is further shown by the following conclusions:

(a) Similar cultures may be borrowed by people of unrelated stocks. This is apparent from the many examples already given, such as the assimilation of the Roman culture by various other peoples; of the western civilization by Orientals; of the Spanish, by the Mexican Indians; and of the American, by immigrants of various races. From the almost universal fact of culture diffusion it appears that no race has an inborn inaptitude for the arts and institutions achieved by another.[34] It is well known that "men of one level of civilization, when brought into contact with representatives of a more complex civilization, rapidly learn to take on the manners and arts of the more cultured group, thus showing that civilization depends not on some variation in individuals, but on the accumulations of devices of adaptation."[35] When such borrowing does not occur, it is usually due to the discernible sociological factors already discussed (Chapter XXII).

(b) Various branches of the same race may at any one time have unlike institutions and behavior ways. This is obviously true of many groups which, although of the same descent, live under distinct cultural conditions. Some dwellers in the mountain districts of southeastern Europe live by agricultural methods not widely different from those found among the Amerinds at the time of Columbus, while some of the fisher folk on the coast of Europe may be compared with preliterate Asiatics. Wide differences also exist between the cultured Chinese and the primitive Amur River tribes, between the Negroes in America and in Africa, or between the educated Indians of Spanish America and the tribes of the prairies and of the virgin forests. The Navajo and Hopi Indians,

[33] See especially Krout, Maurice H., "Race and Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1931, vol. xxxvii, pp. 175-189; Hertz, F., *op. cit.*; Wissler, Clark, *Man and Culture;* Zeleny, L. D., "Race and Culture," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1929-1930, vol. xiv, pp. 438-449; Goldenweiser, A. A., "Race and Culture in the Modern World," pp. 127-136.

[34] Hobhouse, L. T., *Social Development*, pp. 128-129.

[35] Judd, Charles H., *Psychology of Social Institutions*, p. 152.

although of the same stock, have customs which vary as widely as do those of the Africans and Chinese.[36] The Anglo-Saxons in the mountains of Kentucky and Vermont have widely different reaction-patterns, for accidental differences in experience and culture cumulation have molded them in unlike ways.

(c) Leadership has not remained in the hands of one race, as would probably have been the case if achievement depended on racial inheritance. Instead, it has passed successively to various peoples. The relative positions in the scale of civilization occupied by the Greeks, the Phœnicians, the Arabs, and the Anglo-Saxons has varied from century to century; but the changes in culture were apparently not paralleled by corresponding biological changes. During the past four thousand years the Chinese have undergone no known physical changes, whereas their culture has been alternately in advance and behind that developed by Occidentals. Even in the fifteenth century, the standards of civilization were much higher in China than in Europe,[37] although recently the reverse has been true in many important respects.

(d) A variety of behavior-patterns may be assumed by members of a given race at different times. Examples have already been cited of savages who acquired the behavior-ways of the Euro-American culture under conditions in which no innate changes could have occurred. Indeed, a people may pass from vulgar cruelty and insensibility to extreme gentleness, or *vice versa*, in a few generations;[38] or they may change from a primitive culture to a high level of civilization, and later relapse again, as did the Mongols and the ancient Romans. The people of Puritan England exhibited very different qualities from those of the Elizabethan period. In the time of the historian, Gibbon, the English were regarded as turbulent and the French as orderly; but the events of the early nineteenth century reversed these traditional characterizations of the two peoples. Native Hawaiians are said to have been of cheerful and playful disposition, but their children were trained in the mission schools to be decorous and serious.[39] The contrast between immigrants to the United States and their children is often

[36] See also Wallis, W. D., *Introduction to Sociology*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927, p. 106; and Lowie, Robert H., *Culture and Ethnology*, pp. 49-65.

[37] Giles, H. A., *The Civilization of China*, Williams and Norgate, London, 1911, p. 201 ff.

[38] Cf. chaps. xxi to xxiv.

[39] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, p. 112.

as great as if they belonged to separate races.[40] The Norwegians are alleged to be heavy and brooding, while their racial brothers, the Danes, are said to be lively like the French. Equally contradictory traits are ascribed to closely related Slavic nations, such as the Czechs, Poles, and Servians. While the Chinese, historically, have been pacifists, their racial kin—the Japanese, Turks, Bulgars, Tartars, and Magyars—have as generally been warlike.[41]

(2) SOCIAL MODELS VERSUS BIOLOGICAL DETERMINISM.—Although various educational- and mental-test scores record differences in the performance of foreign-born versus natives and northern European versus southern European, as well as Negroes versus whites, these inequalities may be most plausibly ascribed to the social situation and to various nurtural factors (see Chapter VIII). In addition, the so-called temperamental traits—pride, stoicism, taciturnity, deliberateness, vivacity, and even speed of work—may be explained in the same way. For example, tests of American Indians indicate that these people are more readily fatigued mentally than are whites; but these results have been shown to be intimately connected with schooling. Their low rating with reference to speed may likewise be attributed to the fact that the culture of the Indian does not put a premium upon rapidity of work, and that the superiority shown by the whites in this respect is attained at the expense of accuracy.[42] While the supposition as to an innate racial temperament is acceptable as a hypothesis for research, at present no such innate traits can be inferred from somatic differences or from biochemistry and endocrinology, nor can they be discovered from ethnographic data or the results of mental tests. The conclusion seems plausible that "such differences as are found are . . . due to nurtural factors—tradition and æsthetic ideals of the group."[43]

If differences in racial capacity and temperament, that is, innate predisposition, do exist, they may facilitate the selection of some forms of behavior and customs rather than others. However, no evidence is available to show that preferences for one culture trait rather than another, are due to an inherent temperament. R. E.

[40] Cf. Park, R. E., "Behind Our Masks," p. 137.

[41] Hertz, Frederich, op. cit., p. 176.

[42] Klineberg, O., "Racial Differences in Speed and Accuracy," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1927-1928, vol. xxii, pp. 273-277.

[43] Garth, T. R., op. cit., p. 135.

Park has offered this explanation for the Negro's "sunny disposition" and love of music.[44] But this race shows other traits in different environments, for, according to some old records, the earlier plantation slaves were morose. While the passivity and non-assertiveness of some oriental groups have been ascribed to hereditary and physiological factors, this explanation is clearly inappropriate, for in various situations these same people exhibit a high degree of perseverance. Indeed, the theory of a racial explanation for unlike performance and preference is easily refuted by contradictory data.

Therefore, the fact that one people is lacking in attainments of a given type—for example, the Americans in art and the Anglo-Saxons in music—while excelling in another line, such as government or science, does not so much denote racial inaptitude as the lack of interest culturally or collectively induced. In the same way, the preference of savage peoples for tangible values and overt activities rather than for the pursuit of abstract thought, indicates the prevailing run of attention rather than a difference in the development of sensory powers or the fact of a lower order of mentality. Thus inequalities between races, so far as is at present known, "are due to just what they appear to be, to differences in knowledge, in tradition . . . in the accumulation of invention and the like, rather than to genetic differences. . . ."[45]

In other words, every racial and national group has a "type of mind reflecting and reflected in the various phases of the culture."[46] An interrelated system of attitudes and presuppositions marks it off from other similar groups. The action ways which are established in the group are impressed upon individuals; and because every civilization has its distinctive and appreciated pattern-types (models of behavior supplied by culture and embodied in attitudes), the prevalent types of personalities also vary from one group to another and from one era to another in the same group. The Chinese, for example, have stressed studiousness and scholastic attainment and discouraged strenuous activity in play. In this connection one ob-

[44] Park, R. E., "Education in its Relations to the Conflict and Fusion of Cultures," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1918, vol. xiii, p. 61; Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 136.

[45] Jennings, H. S., *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1930, p. 181.

[46] Wallis, W. D., "Mental Patterns in Relation to Culture," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1924-1925, vol. xix, p. 181.

server relates: "To stroll, bird cage in hand, on the city wall in the cool of the evening and give birdie an airing, is their idea of a gentleman's exercise. When the tennis court was first used by the American professors in a certain North China university, the Chinese could not understand the absurd antics and caperings of their erstwhile dignified teachers. 'Can you not afford to hire coolies to do this for you?' asked an interested but scandalized observer."[47] Oriental fatalism, mysticism, inhibition, courtesy, indirection, and passivity are social heritages, just as are occidental individualism, speed mania, self-styled progressivism, and the "strenuous" life. The erstwhile humility of the Negroes was certainly derived from the social situation embodied in traditions which forced him to develop an *"apologia pro vita."*[48] The pattern-type of the Amerind and other primitives prescribed composure and even stoicism— repression of the signs of pain, fear, anxiety, haste, and curiosity. Such behavior-patterns are impressed even in infancy. One writer asserts that the stoicism of savage children is due largely to their early training so that no matter what happens they will remain serenely calm. "They may be left for hours without food or drink. They may be hung upside down, dropped, or trodden on. In fact, any calamity may befall them, but still they are silent."[49]

If there are inherent differences in racial, temperamental, intelligence, or any other attribute, it is not known what these are, for their functioning is inseparable from the culturally produced attitudes. At most, such differences would merely facilitate some behavior-ways rather than others; but they would not compel their adoption, or offset the effect of culture and circumstances. If unlike capacities and temperament exist in large unselected groups, they merely cooperate with known social factors; for existing practices are themselves of major importance in determining the adoption of new action-ways and their transmission from one generation to another. When the culture of a group is homogeneous, individuals are conditioned accordingly, and reaction-patterns and attitudes are correspondingly uniform and stable. Second nature thus formed may be so similar in all the members of a race as to be mistaken for innate racial traits. In fine, the description of the culture of a

[47] Ross, E. A., *The Changing Chinese*, p. 338.

[48] Bond, H. M., "Self-Respect as a Factor in Racial Advancement," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1928, vol. cxxxx, pp. 21-25.

[49] Hambly, W. D., and Hose, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

racial or national group is at the same time a résumé of its personality traits—the prevailing mode of self-assertion, the scale of values, and the life organization of the constituent individuals.

Although physical traits have no prognostic value with reference to the customs, capacity, or temperament of a group, they nevertheless have social significance inasmuch as they frequently affect the social position of an individual. They become objects of attention and discrimination and may be taken as symbols of rivalries and conflicts[50] or as marks of rank and status, thereby supplying occasions for sentiments and rules of conduct.[51]

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[51] See chaps. xxxiv and xxxv.

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CHAPTER XXXI

# Regional Culture and Personality Differences

It is now clear that certain uniform ways of behavior which characterize a group depend less upon unique capacities than upon culturally induced attitudes. Because groups occupy position in space, the action-ways and pattern-types characterizing them will also be more or less definitely located geographically. Such locality differences are observable in a comparison not only of civilizations and nations but also of regions or sections of the same nation. The contrasts between sections of the United States, for example, have been said to be as pronounced as those between the nations of Europe[1] in regard to forms of livelihood and practical arts, dialects, level of intelligence, and the frequency and diversity of the learned pursuits.

Regional differences may be due either to unlike cultural antecedents and unequally favorable positions in the spatial organization of society, or to a restricted range of social contacts, with the resulting independent direction of cultural development; for, because distance tends to isolate and proximity to facilitate contacts, individuals acquire the culture of their own, rather than of another, region. In so far as personal behavior and the social organization are correlatives, a description of such sectional differences in personal performance throws light on the social situation. Conversely, a description of the institutions and social situations discloses factors which account for individual differences in attainments, providing correction is made for other variable factors such as those to be noted. We shall discuss, first, sectional differences in the frequency and type of individual achievement, giving illustrations which pertain especially to the United States (Chapter XXXI), and, second, differences between the rural and urban areas (Chapter XXXII). In Chapter XXXIII we shall discuss another phase of the relation

[1] Goldenweiser, Alexander, "Race and Culture in the Modern World," pp. 127-136.

between social organization and the personal rôle, as illustrated by the functional position in the social structure.

Many of the recorded facts bearing on such sectional differences clearly show variations in achievements and traditions. Although other available data are less conclusive, they are nevertheless more reliable than *a priori* generalizations. In connection with the theme of the present chapter we shall discuss, first, the criteria of sectional differences, including (1) the distribution of notables, and (2) the variable· ranking in intelligence test scores; and, second, the interpretations of these data.

### SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES

(1) DISTRIBUTION OF NOTABLES.—The unequal distribution of literary attainment in the different sections of the United States is

Table 7

AMERICAN LITERATI BORN PRIOR TO 1851 CLASSIFIED BY FIELD OF CHIEF ACTIVITY AND REGION OF BIRTH[1]

| Field of Chief Activity | Place of Birth | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | New England | Middle Atlantic | South Atlantic | Rest of United States and Canada | Total |
| Patrons.................... | 6 | 2 | .. | 2 | 10 |
| Librarians.................. | 14 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 23 |
| Actors..................... | 10 | 13 | 5 | 5 | 33 |
| Orators.................... | 13 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 24 |
| Publicists.................. | 37 | 17 | 10 | 7 | 71 |
| Narrators.................. | 25 | 32 | 6 | 7 | 70 |
| Erudite.................... | 85 | 47 | 15 | 10 | 157 |
| Popularizers................ | 136 | 80 | 11 | 22 | 249 |
| Speculative................. | 30 | 12 | 3 | 5 | 50 |
| Prose writers............... | 69 | 54 | 21 | 22 | 166 |
| Poets...................... | 61 | 40 | 17 | 14 | 132 |
| Dramatists................. | 1 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 15 · |
| Total...................... | 487 | 316 | 99 | 98 | 1000 |
| Per cent of notables ........ | 48 | 32 | 10 | 10 | .. |
| Per cent of population (1830). | 13 | 25 | 25 | 37 | .. |

[1] Adapted from Edwin L. Clarke, "American Men of Letters," *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law,* 1916, vol. lxxvii, p. 47.

summarized by Clarke in a study of the birthplace of 1000 literati born prior to 1851. (See Table 7.) From these data it appears that New England produced nearly one-half, and the Middle Atlantic section nearly one-third, of these notables, whereas their percentage of the total population was, respectively, 13 and 25. The South Atlantic states, with 25 per cent of the population, produced 10 per cent of these literati; the other 37 per cent of the population yielded slightly less than 10 per cent. The data also imply that the areas differed somewhat in the type of literary expression, but such criteria are necessarily inconclusive. However, the unequal incidence of literary attainments in proportion to the population is clearly shown.

Nearing's study of the geographic distribution of American "geniuses" shows that one-fourth of the notables recorded in *Who's Who in America* (1912-1913) came from New England, which at that date had but one-fourteenth of the total population of the United States.[3] From a similar study by Visher it was found that New England produced twice as high a ratio of scientists, authors, painters, sculptors, artists, and educators per million of the population as did the Middle Atlantic or the North Central states. This ratio was also about six times larger than that of the South Atlantic states, and about ten times that of the South Central states.[4] In the production of scientists, New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the East North Central states have held a leading place.[5]

Of the wealthy men who died before 1924,[6] New England contributed 38 millionaires per million of the population in 1830; the Middle Atlantic states, 31; the East North Central states, 15; the South Atlantic states, 7; and the South Central states, 3. However, in the number of millionaires living in 1924, the Mountain states were first; the Middle Atlantic states second, the Pacific states third, and New England, fourth. Such a shifting in the ratios of individual wealth is attributable to the industrial and business relocation—that is, to factors arising from the social organization, not

[3] Nearing, Scott, "The Geographical Distribution of American Genius," *Popular Science Monthly*, 1914, vol. lxxxv, pp. 189-199.

[4] Visher, Stephen S., "The Geography of American Notables," *Indiana University Studies*, 1928, vol. xv, p. 42.

[5] Cattell, James McKeen, *American Men of Science*, editions i, ii, iii, and iv, 1906-1927.

[6] Sorokin, P. A., "American Millionaires and Multi-Millionaires," *Journal of Social Forces*, May, 1925, vol. iii, pp. 627-640.

to causes inherent in the geographic environment of the several regions.

(2) DIFFERENCES IN MENTAL TEST SCORES for people in the several sections have been found in various studies. The most extended data on this point are found in the tests applied to the recruits in

Table 8

PERCENTAGE OF WHITE AND NEGRO DRAFTED MEN MAKING SPECIFIED GRADES, BY CAMPS

| Source of Recruits[a] | Camp | Whites[b] Per Cent Scoring | | | Negroes[b] Per Cent Scoring | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | A and B | C | D | A and B | C | D |
| Mich., Eastern Wis....... | Custer | 12.5 | 67.1 | 20.6 | 3.1 | 38.6 | 58.3 |
| New Eng., N. Y.......... | Devens | 16.7 | 63.5 | 20.1 | 1.8 | 65.7 | 32.4 |
| N. Y., N. J., Del........ | Dix | 11.8 | 50.9 | 37.3 | 0.5 | 15.1 | 84.4 |
| N. D., Minn., Ia......... | Dodge | 11.1 | 70.8 | 18.3 | 2.2 | 47.3 | 50.5 |
| Kan., Mo., S. D., Neb., New Mex., Calif....... | Funston | 12.7 | 71.2 | 16.1 | | | |
| Ga., Ala., Tenn.......... | Gordon | 9.2 | 57.7 | 33.0 | 0.4 | 13.7 | 85.9 |
| Chicago and Northern Ill., Wisc................ | Grant | 12.2 | 69.6 | 18.2 | 0.9 | 22.8 | 76.3 |
| Va., W. Va., Pa.......... | Lee | 5.8 | 51.7 | 42.7 | | | |
| Mont., Ida., Wyo., Wash., Ore................. | Lewis | 18.7 | 72.9 | 8.4 | 9.4 | 66.9 | 23.6 |
| Pa., Md., D. C.......... | Meade | 8.7 | 53.8 | 37.4 | 0.3 | 15.7 | 84.0 |
| Ark., La., Miss., Southern Ala.................. | Pike | 7.3 | 60.9 | 31.8 | 0.2 | 15.0 | 84.8 |
| Ill., Ind., Ky.[c].......... | Taylor[c] | 14.5 | 62.9 | 22.6 | 0.8 | 19.0 | 60.3 |
| Tex., Okla.............. | Travis | 9.5 | 56.4 | 34.4 | 0.6 | 29.2 | 70.2 |
| New York City.......... | Upton | 11.3 | 66.6 | 22.1 | 2.1 | 53.7 | 44.1 |
| New York State........ | Wadsworth | 11.8 | 61.2 | 27.0 | 0.1 | 7.0 | 91.8 |

[a] Ayres, Leonard P., *The War with Germany: A Statistical Summary*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1919, p. 26.

[b] Computed from *Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences*, 1921, vol. xv, pp. 679, 720.

[c] Showalter, Wm. J., "The Geographical and Historical Environment of the National Army Cantonments and National Guard Camps." *National Geographic Magazine*, 1917, vol. xxxii, pp. 438–476; *New International Yearbook*, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1919, pp. 425–426.

For other data, see Sasse, Fred A., *Rookie Days of a Soldier*, G. C. Green Publisher, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1924.

the various army training camps during the World War (Table 8). In the main, the grade score of the camps varied as did the distribution of notables.

The ranking of colleges according to the grades made by their students on the army mental test shows approximately the same sectional variations (Table 9).

Table 9

| College | Per Cent of Students Making A and B Grades |
|---|---|
| Massachusetts Agricultural College | 95.5 |
| Rutgers | 94.0 |
| Brown University | 88.5 |
| Colorado College | 85.5 |
| Johns Hopkins freshmen | 85.0 |
| Notre Dame | 82.6 |
| University of Minnesota freshmen | 79.9 |
| Southern Methodist University | 79.3 |
| University of Idaho | 76.6 |
| University of Florida | 66.9 |
| Lincoln Memorial, Tennessee | 36.4 |
| Atlanta Southern Dental College | 17.4 |
| Twenty colleges combined | 75.4 |
| Army officers (whites, principal sampling) | 84.1 |

INTERPRETATION OF SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES

Many explanations have been offered for these and other sectional variations in cultural and social facts. Among these suggested causes are (1) geographic influences, (2) hereditary inequalities, and (3) differences in social organization.

(1) THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS may be considered summarily as to their effect on (a) physiological efficiency, and (b) opportunities for contact with significant culture models.

(a) The evidence for the direct influence of geographic conditions upon physiological and mental efficiency in the sections under discussion is largely negative. Studies on this topic have failed to show any uniformity of the seasonal influence upon working efficiency, or of humidity and temperature upon mental activity.[8] Some investigators are even inclined to believe that the climate found in

[7] *Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences*, 1921, vol. xv, p. 871.
[8] Hollingworth, H. L., and Poffenberger, A. T., *Applied Psychology*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1917, pp. 98-119.

the low-score areas is more favorable for efficiency than that of the high-score sections.[9] Lack of correlation between climatic conditions and attainment is also implied by the fact that centers of civilization—Carthage, Alexandria, Constantinople, St. Petersburg, Paris, London, and Peking—differ greatly with regard to climatic conditions. Even granting that some factors associated with a given locality (such as the incidence of hookworm infection in the south, where it has been found that mental test scores vary inversely with the intensity of this infection)[10] may have produced physiological differences between individuals in the respective latitudes, the evidence for such an inference is very meager. Variations in efficiency exist even within the same latitude and, in fact, in the same locality. Moreover, changes in the level of achievement which occur during short periods of time within a given area cannot be attributed to climatic influences.[11]

(b) While the geographical environment helps to determine the ease or the frequency of social contacts, these are also regulated by the stage of inventions and the prevailing attitudes, as may be seen from the fact that people do not react alike to distance and other geographic conditions. For example, in one group it is customary to ignore the inconveniences incidental to bad roads, long distances, and inclement weather, while in another there is the opposite response to the same conditions. This is shown by the results of detailed studies. Hypes found that "those who live in sight of the church are about as likely to be non-churchgoers as those who live far away. . . . Distance [formerly] . . . narrowly circumscribed . . . activities . . . but . . . it is now playing a rôle of diminishing importance."[12] However, in reference to school attendance, distance is important; for, according to Cooper and Cooper, "Pupils within a quarter mile of school attend thirty days more than pupils between two and one-half and three miles from school. Attendance variations for distance show no tendency to disappear except that pupils transported to school in official busses, who live more than

[9] Sorokin, P. A., *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 149-159.

[10] Smillie, W. G., and Spencer, Cassie R., "Mental Retardation in School Children Infected with Hookworm," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1926, vol. xvii, pp. 314-321; Gault, Robert H., *Social Psychology*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1923, pp. 84-87.

[11] Ogburn, William F., "The Historical Method in the Analysis of Social Phenomena," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1921, vol. xvi, p. 71.

[12] Hypes, James R., *op. cit.*, p. 48.

three miles from school, attend more regularly than pupils not transported who live one mile from school."[13] Because the topography of the low-score areas does not offer unusual obstacles to communication, isolation incidental to location affords no more adequate explanation for the disparate achievement than do the direct physiological and mental effects of the climate.

(2) HEREDITARY EXPLANATIONS FOR THE SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES are likewise so inadequate as to suggest a societal origin for these variations. This may be seen from the following facts:

(a) If inequality in attainment were due to heredity, it is obvious that there would be differences in the degree of eminence, as well as in the ratio of notables; but such differences are not indicated by the available information. It is difficult to believe that there are such variations in the racial stock as to cause one section of the country (Massachusetts) to produce fifty times as high a ratio of scientists as another part (South Atlantic states).

(b) The native white stock shows as wide a sectional variation in achievement as other elements of the population do. The highest attainments are not found in the regions having the largest proportion of native-born. For example, North Carolina, which ranks first in the percentage of native-born white population, ranked thirty-seventh in mental test scores in 1918,[14] and the people in the southern uplands who represent the purest Anglo-Saxon stock in America are one of the most retarded groups. On the other hand, New England, one-half of whose population is composed of immigrants and their children, has a uniformly high rating in the criteria of achievement which have been discussed. In general, the correlation between the percentage of the foreign-born white population of the several states on the basis of the 1910 census, and the ranking in the army tests in 1918 was high, namely, 0.65.[15]

(c) Some states which rank high in mental test scores have, in the past, been largely peopled by migration from the southern states which show low scores. This is noticeably true in the case of Utah.[16]

[13] Cooper, Richard, and Cooper, Herman, *The One-Teacher School in Delaware,* University of Delaware Press, Newark, 1925, p. 16.

[14] Bagley, William C., *Determinism in Education,* Warwick and York, Baltimore, 1925, p. 68.

[15] Alexander, H. B., "A Comparison of the Ranks of the American States in Army Alpha and in Social Economic Status," *School and Society,* 1922, vol. xvi, pp. 388-392.

[16] Bagley, William C., *op. cit.,* pp. 84-85.

If the low score in the southern states were due to heredity, performance would not improve so readily after migration.

(d) The comparative educational ranking of the respective states, as well as of the geographic divisions, has fluctuated from time to time, although there has not been a corresponding variation in population composition. During the decade 1890 to 1900 the comparative ranking order of the school systems dropped in Florida, Kansas, New Mexico, and Utah; since 1900 it has risen. While all of the states raised their rating, the newer sections improved more than the older ones.[17] The relative proportion of wealthy men,[18] eminent persons in *Who's Who*,[19] and prominent scientists[20] contributed by the various states, has likewise fluctuated greatly and in very brief intervals of time. These variations, as Cattell and others have noted, are to be attributed to social changes such as improvement in the educational system and increased opportunities for the pursuit of learned careers.

(e) The attainments of both the colored and white races vary according to sections. For example, the colored draftees from the north scored much higher than those from the south. In five sample southern states, 86 per cent of the Negroes had a score of D, while in five sample northern states only 45 per cent fell in this lowest grade.[21] Furthermore, the scores of the colored draftees in some of the high ranking areas (see Table 8), excelled those of the whites in some camps in the low-score areas. Thus one Negro camp surpassed five white camps in the total per cent scoring A and B; two surpassed ten out of the fifteen white camps in the per cent scoring C, and two had a lower ratio in grade D than did five of the white camps. Distribution according to states showed that the median score of Negroes from Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Ohio surpassed those of the white recruits in Mississippi, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Georgia. Negro as well as white children score higher in Chicago than in Nashville.[22]

The higher scores of the northern Negroes have been cited as in-

[17] Ayres, Leonard P., *An Index Number for State School Systems,* Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1920, pp. 28, 51.

[18] Sorokin, P. A., "American Millionaires and Multi-Millionaires," pp. 627-640.

[19] Nearing, Scott, "The Younger Generation of American Genius," *Scientific Monthly*, vol. ii, 1916, pp. 48-61.

[20] Cattell, James McKeen, *op. cit.,* edition iii, p. 787.

[21] See *Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences,* 1921, vol. xv, p. 734.

[22] Peterson, Joseph, "Comparison of White and Negro Children in the Rational Learning Test," *National Society for the Study of Education,* xxvii, 1928, Part I, p. 341.

dications that migrants have superior endowments.[23] On the other hand, it has been held that those who migrate are the inferior and the maladjusted. In this connection Bagley says that the supposition that the Negroes in the north "should have been drawn to the states whose school system [rating] coincided almost precisely with the ranking of their . . . intelligence [test scores], and that those who remain in the south should have also picked states to live in that had schools consistent with their own [mental test scores] . . . seems to be carrying the hereditarian theory to the breaking point."[24]

(3) DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION and the type of "opportunities" supplied are more easily observed than are the improbable causes for the sectional inequalities which are discussed above. In a differentiated society with a suitable culture and a favorable run of attention, a densely settled population usually indicates specialized and élite vocations, points of high stimulation, and fruitful communication between persons, thereby favoring a corresponding advancement in individual achievement. A study of the circumstances connected with eighteenth-century French progress led Jacoby to the opinion that "Civilization, taken in its broad and general sense, that is, as a multiform complex of intellectual and moral qualities of the population . . . is the result of the accumulation of inhabitants upon a more or less restricted territory."[25] Sumner and Keller conclude that "The first foci of civilization were precisely where environmental conditions combined to favor numbers and the contact of numbers."[26] George R. Davies observes a high correlation between the density of population settlement and the ratio of literati to the total population in different sections of the United States. For 1850, 1860, and 1870, the coefficients of correlation were, respectively, 0.60 (0.08), 0.72 (0.06), and 0.76 (0.05).[27]

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[23] Cf. Winston, Sanford, "The Migration and Distribution of Negro Leaders in the United States," *Social Forces*, 1931-1932, vol. x, pp. 243-255; "The Relation of Educational Status to Inter-State Mobility," *ibid.*, 1929-1930, vol. viii, pp. 380-385; Sorokin, P. A., "Leadership and Geographic Mobility," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1927-1928, vol. xii, pp. 121-123.

[24] Bagley, William C., *op. cit.*, p. 73; Boas, F., *Anthropology and Modern Life*, pp. 56-57.

[25] Quoted by Ward, Lester F., *Applied Sociology*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1906, pp. 172-173.

[26] Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 48.

[27] Davies, George R., *Social Environment*, A. C. McClurg and Company, Chicago, 1917, p. 102.

However, the degree of population concentration is relatively insignificant in this respect unless it is at the same time an index of a suitable culture and social organization.[28] More trustworthy criteria of a stimulating environment are supplied by the existing institutions and attitudes, and the sums spent for education and for other constructive measures. This is indicated by the close association between such factors as the presence of libraries, the quality of the school system, circulation of magazines, high literacy, diversified vocations, and the production of notables.[29] In studying eminent men of the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, A. H. Yoder found only one to be "self-educated."[30] Both Cooley and Odin found that the eminent men they studied had received at least an elementary education and, with but few exceptions, "adequate education."[31] Over half the American literati born prior to 1851 had A.B. degrees.[32] School attendance and the length of the school term are significant indices of the run of attention. In 1900 the average length of the school year was 70.5 days in North Carolina and 191 days in Rhode Island.[33] In 1920 the grade school attendance of all races and nationalities in the northern states was higher than in the southern states. Where the literacy of the native-born whites is high, that of the foreign-born and Negro population is also high. The states ranking high in school efficiency likewise stand high in regard to literacy, leaders, mental test scores, and the per capita income and circulation of magazines. Similar correlations have also been noted between these items and the regularity,[34] length, and extent of schooling; the percentage of persons gainfully employed in manufacturing and in the learned professions; health as reported by insurance companies; and the effectiveness of transportation facilities,

[28] Cf. Jefferson, Mark, "The Geographic Distribution of Inventiveness," *Geographical Review*, October, 1929, vol. xix, pp. 649 ff.; Gilfillan, S. C., "Inventiveness by Nation: A Note on Statistical Treatment," *ibid.*, April, 1930, vol. xx, pp. 301 ff.

[29] See Clarke, Edwin L., *op. cit.*, p. 47; Reeder, W. G., "Which States Read the Most," *School and Society*, 1923, vol. xviii, pp. 235-239.

[30] Yoder, A. H., "The Boyhood of Famous Men," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 1894, vol. iii, pp. 134-156.

[31] Cooley, C. H., "Genius, Fame and a Comparison of the Races," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 1897, vol. ix, pp. 327 ff.; Ward, L. F., *Applied Sociology*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1906, pp. 211 ff.

[32] Clarke, Edwin L., *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[33] Bagley, William C., *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[34] Ross, Frank A., "School Attendance in the United States in 1920," *Census Monograph V*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1924, p. 98.

including railroad mileage.[35] Because all of these elements reinforce one another, the correlation between any two of them tends to be high, as is indicated by Tables 10 and 11.

Table 10

CORRELATIONS OF SCHOOL RATINGS FOR 26 STATES BY DECENNIAL DATE, WITH ADULT WHITE LITERACY, MENTAL TEST SCORES, MAGAZINE CIRCULATION, BIRTH STATES OF NOTABLES, AND PER CAPITA INCOME[36]

| Date of School Rating | Adult White Literacy | Per Cent A and B Scores on Army Alpha Tests, 1918 | Median White Alpha Test Score, 1918 | Per Capita Circulation of 10 Magazines | Birth States of Notables | Per Capita Income, 1919 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1880........ | 0.70 | 0.83 | 0.83 | 0.90 | 0.92 | 0.78 |
| 1890........ | 0.80 | 0.83 | 0.82 | 0.92 | 0.86 | 0.88 |
| 1900........ | 0.89 | 0.88 | 0.89 | 0.96 | 0.87 | 0.86 |
| 1910........ | 0.89 | 0.87 | 0.87 | 0.97 | 0.87 | 0.84 |
| 1920........ | 0.82[a] | 0.82[a] | 0.83[a] | 0.93 | 0.79 | 0.63 |

[a] School ratings for 1918.

Table 11

INTER-CORRELATIONS BETWEEN I.Q., MAGAZINE CIRCULATION, LEADERS, INCOME, AND SCHOOL RATING[37]

| | A and B Alpha (Army Mental Test Scores) | Magazines | Leaders | Income | Schools (Rating) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Army Mental Tests...... | | 0.91 | 0.87. | 0.73 | 0.88 |
| Magazines.............. | 0.91 | | 0.85 | 0.84 | 0.97 |
| Leaders................ | 0.87 | 0.85 | | 0.71 | 0.91 |
| Income................ | 0.73 | 0.84 | 0.71 | | 0.88 |
| Schools................ | 0.88 | 0.97 | 0.92 | 0.88 | |
| Averages........... | 0.85 | 0.89 | 0.84 | 0.79 | 0.91 |

That the social situation and culture supply behavior-patterns and objectives of endeavor is further suggested by the florescence

[35] Huntington, Ellsworth, "Quantitative Phases of Human Geography," *Scientific Monthly*, October, 1927, vol. xxv, p. 304.
[36] Bagley, William C., *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

of literary, artistic, and philosophical movements in certain periods, as illustrated by the frequency and eminence of literati in the Elizabethan period or in nineteenth-century America, and the creativeness of the Periclean era in art, literature, architecture, and sculpture.[38] Because of the prevailing scale of values, early New England writers did not turn their attention to the drama to as great an extent as did those in other sections of the United States. For two hundred and fifty years the Quakers omitted the cultivation of the fine arts from their educational curricula. The result was a loss of artistic skill, but a gain in scientific success.[39] It has been said that it would be as difficult for an American brought up in the western part of the United States to be a good painter, as for a Parisian to become a good baseball player, because of the differences in encouragement given the respective activities in the two localities. The technique of baseball is acquired early in America, and every indication of ability in it meets with appreciation; while in France the lack of encouragement for this type of activity would prevent its adoption by youths, even if they were born with unusual aptitude in this particular line.[40] In other words, "society, . . . while dependent upon biological processes for the production of its men of [unusual] talent, still gets out of these men of talent, in any age, very much what, . . . in a proper way, it asks for."[41]

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*Clarke, Edwin L., "American Men of Letters," *Columbia University*

[38] Cooper, Lane, *The Greek Genius and Its Influence,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1917, pp. 63-76.

[39] Clarke, Edwin L., *op. cit.,* p. 48; Brinton, D. G., *The Basis of Social Relations,* p. 69.

[40] Cooley, Charles H., "Genius, Fame and a Comparison of the Races," p. 353.

[41] Royce, Josiah, "The Psychology of Invention," *Psychological Review,* 1898, vol. v, p. 123.

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*Cooley, Charles H., "Genius, Fame, and a Comparison of Races," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1897, vol. ix, pp. 317-358.

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# CHAPTER XXXII

## Rural-Urban Differences

### VARIATIONS IN PERFORMANCE

(1) PRODUCTION OF NOTABLES.—Much the same kind and degree of dissimilarity is found between country and city as between regions. The rural districts have generally produced a smaller proportion of notables than cities have. A study by R. Clyde White shows that rural areas contribute only about one-half as many leaders per hundred thousand population as the cities do.[1] A larger ratio of American men of science and letters have come from cities than from farms, particularly from farms located in sections remote from urban centers. On the basis of the population of 1870, farmers fathered about one-fourth less than their share of the 1922-1923 *Who's Who in America* notables.[2] Of 885 men of science, 21.2 per cent were born on farms; of the 247 living millionaires studied by Sorokin, farmers produced about one-half their expected share; and Kassel finds that the fathers of only one per cent of the most eminent men in history were farmers.[3] Of the railway presidents, senators, and representatives in office in 1909, the rural areas supplied, respectively, 55.4, 64.0, and 70.6 per cent.[4] On the other hand, of the presidents of the United States (prior to 1909), governors (1869-1909), and cabinet members (1869-1903), 92.0, 91.2, and 83.0 per cent, respectively, were born on farms or in villages.[5]

(2) UNLIKE MENTAL TEST SCORES.—According to several inves-

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[1] White, R. Clyde, "The City Drift of Population in Relation to Social Efficiency," *Journal of Social Forces*, 1923, vol. ii, pp. 18 ff. Cf. Sorokin, P. A.; Zimmerman, C. C., *et al.*, "Farm Leaders in the United States," *Social Forces*, 1928-1929, vol. vii, pp. 35-45.

[2] Visher, Stephen S., "The Geography of American Notables," p. 78; also "The Fathers of Subjects of *Who's Who in America*," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1924-1925, vol. xxx, pp. 554-555.

[3] Kassel, Charles, "Heredity and Genius," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, April, 1924, vol. xxiii, pp. 113-123.

[4] Spillman, W. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 405-407.

[5] *Ibid.*

tigations, rural and urban children score unequally in mental tests.[6] A few examples will serve to indicate the general character of the findings on this topic. According to W. H. Pyle, rural children of eight years are "little over half as efficient" as city children.[7] A study by L. W. Pressey reports that 22 per cent of the rural children perform as well as the average of the city children, and that this comparison becomes less favorable to rural children in the higher age groups.[8] However, other inquiries show the reverse. It has also been found that the discrepancies decrease when the country children are selected from agricultural areas where economic conditions are good.[9] Most of the available studies indicate that rural children are, on the average, more retarded than urban children, although there are wide differences and even contradictions of opinion regarding the amount and duration of this relative retardation. Among 28 studies dealing with differences in achievement by rural and urban children, Sorokin and Zimmerman found that 20 ascribed a better achievement to urban children, 6 found negligible differences, and 2 gave superior ratings to rural pupils.[10] C. N. Rabold and C. C. Peters found country pupils to be more homogeneous in information and achievement, there being fewer superiors and inferiors among them.[11] A study of 425 twelve-year-old Negro boys who had moved to New Orleans from rural districts showed a uniform improvement in intelligence test scores as the length of urban residence increased.

According to some studies, rural-urban differences exceed those of natio-racial groups. Data on twelve-year-old boys in three urban and seven rural groups in France, Germany, and Italy show that the urban groups are markedly superior to the rural groups, but that

[6] A convenient summary of existing measurements may be found in Sorokin, P. A., and Zimmerman, Carle, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology,* pp. 236-240; see also Baldwin, Bird T., *et al., Farm Children,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1930, pp. 231-261; Armstrong, Clairette, "A Study of the Intelligence of Rural and Urban Children," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 1931, vol. iv, pp. 301-315.

[7] Pyle, W. H., *Nature and Development of Learning Capacity,* Warwick and York, Baltimore, 1925.

[8] Pressey, L. W., "The Influence of Inadequate Schooling and Poor Environment upon Results with Tests of Intelligence," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 1920, vol. iv, pp. 91-96.

[9] Pressey, S. L., and Pressey, L. C., *Mental Abnormality and Deficiency,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926, p. 83.

[10] Sorokin, P. A., and Zimmerman, Carle, *op. cit.,* p. 250.

[11] Rabold, C. N., and Peters, C. C., "How Country Pupils Differ from Town Pupils," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 1929-1930, vol. ii, pp. 279-306.

the latter do not differ much among these nations.[12] Investigations by Darsie and others record the absence of significant differences in measurable general intelligence between urban children of Japanese, Chinese, and American parentage.[13]

(1) RURAL-URBAN DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES.—The differences in achievement by rural and urban folk are popularly ascribed to an inequality of capacities. But such speculations are based on prejudice or on mere inference; and they require the support of a second supposition—that cities draw from the rural areas the superior individuals whose higher capacities are in turn transmitted to their city-born offspring. Such inferences are improbable on *a priori* grounds, and they are unsupported by any available data. If properly interpreted, the various studies dealing with the comparative health, the frequency of mental and physical defects, and death rates, as well as the ranking in intelligence test scores and the incidence of notables, fail to prove urban superiority, and in some respects such criteria give the higher rating to the rural population.

If correction is made for the age composition of the rural and urban areas, the former has the lower mortality rate for all age periods, the rate rising steadily as the density of settlement increases.[14] Cities also have a higher ratio of insanity and of serious physical defects. The former very high urban death rate was due to the unfavorable sanitary conditions; and the recent rapid decrease in urban sickness and mortality rates must be ascribed to improvement in these conditions, and not to the changed quality of the stock. The same logic as to the predominating influence of environmental factors applies also to the various other data concerning both rural and urban areas. While the migration of young people from the farm to the city has a favorable effect on urban vital statistics, the declining urban death rate cannot be ascribed to the

[12] Klineberg, O., "An Investigation of Psychological Differences between Racial and Environmental Groups in Europe," *Ninth International Congress of Psychology, Proceedings and Papers*, 1929, pp 261-263.

[13] Darsie, M. L., "The Mental Capacity of American-Born Japanese Children," *Comparative Psychology Monographs*, No. 3, 1926, series 15, p. 84; Murphy, G., and Murphy, L. B., *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[14] See Bureau of the Census, *Mortality Statistics, Annual Reports;* also Thompson, W. S., *Population Problems*, pp. 152-158; Johnson, Roswell H., "Eugenics of the City," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, 1925, vol. xx, pp. 66-77.

attraction of the superior rural population, with a corresponding deterioration of the rural stock, for the country still has the lower mortality rates.[15]

Although the city attracts young adults in larger numbers than it does children and aged persons, there is no evidence that it selects the superior, for all types are attracted to it, depending on circumstances. Investigations have shown that in some localities, the children of unsuccessful farmers migrate to the city and, in other areas, this is true of children of successful farmers. Some people who are settled in fertile and prosperous rural sections migrate to the city voluntarily; others in the same locality do not. Similar variations are also found among people settled in poor farming areas. The explanation of the rural exodus is thus too complex to be covered by any one simple formula; it depends upon the type of city and the farming conditions, as well as upon the traditions of the people, and their variable attitudes, especially those derived from culture antecedents. Because the city draws people from greater distances than rural areas do, it contains more diverse population types, but this diversity is due to complex cultural and social factors and not to the heritable qualities of the people.

(2) DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL CONTACTS AND PARTICIPATION.—A similar explanation may be offered for the rural-urban differences in achievement. The significance of traditions and of the social situation in determining the type and level of performance is indicated by the decreasing urban excess productivity of notables[16] and by the pursuits in which the rural and urban people excel. In such vocations as agriculture, teaching, politics, and the ministry, which occupy a prominent place in the traditions of rural America, the country has made the more outstanding contributions. In other occupations, such as art, business, journalism, engineering, law, and medicine, which are facilitated by the urban environment, the city provides a correspondingly favorable situation. In some vocations, especially those requiring elaborate equipment or large resources, the opportunities, and consequently the incentives and necessary models, are usually lacking in rural communities; and this has been

[15] Cf. Thompson, W. S., "Rural Demography," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1924, vol. xix, pp. 150-160.

[16] Holmes, Roy H., "A Study in the Origin of Distinguished Living Americans," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1929, vol. xxiv, pp. 670-685; White, R. Clyde, *op. cit.,* p. 18.

offered as an explanation for the relatively large contribution of cities to the list of scientists.[17]

The unlike mental test scores are thus criteria of dissimilarities in rural and urban social-cultural conditions, such as comparative educational facilities and opportunities for social contacts. A high degree of rural isolation is shown by many investigations. For example, from data compiled by the Institute of Social and Religious Research concerning 53 southern and western communities, it is seen that country children have less group play than village children.[18] Country people have relatively less access to libraries,[19] books, magazines, and newspapers;[20] fewer opportunities to appear before audiences, and a smaller range and diversity of activities than do village and city residents.[21] They spend a smaller proportion of their income for recreation and "advancement." Investigators also find that the differences in ability of rural and urban children are associated with the type of training and the quality of schooling, the rural districts having a lower regular school attendance, a shorter school year, and poorer educational systems.[22]

The influence of unlike experiences is further shown by the fact that the peculiar aptitudes of farm people may not be repeated in their urban-trained children. For instance, one study discloses that, although a group of rural children made high scores in memory tests, the children of parents who had moved into towns did not retain the ability characteristic of the country district.[23] Again, test scores vary according to subject matter. In investigations made about 1883, when primers traditionally dealt with rural themes, country children scored higher than city children on 86 per cent of the ques-

[17] Ward, Lester F., *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[18] Sims, N., *Elements of Rural Sociology,* Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1928, pp. 386-388.

[19] Hawthorn, Horace B., *The Sociology of Rural Life,* The Century Company, New York, 1926, pp. 383-384.

[20] Rankin, J. O., "University Reading Matter in Nebraska Farm Homes," *University of Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 180,* 1922, p. 191.

[21] Hawthorn, H. B., *op. cit.*, p. 117; Baldwin, Bird T., *et al., Farm Children,* pp. 140-149; Lehman, H. C., "A Comparison of the Play Activities of Town and Country Children," *Pedagogical Seminary,* 1926, vol. xxxiii, pp. 455-476.

[22] Zimmerman, Carle and Smith, Lynn, "Migration to Towns and Cities," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1930-1931, vol. xxxvi, p. 44.

[23] Bicksteth, M. E., "The Application of Mental Tests to Children of Various Ages," *British Journal of Psychology,* 1917-1919, vol. ix, pp. 66-67.

tions;[24] and, according to some more recent tests, differences in experiences have produced higher scores for rural children, especially in the subjects usually stressed most by country schools — arithmetic, penmanship, spelling, and physical geography.[25] This holds true also for some forms of craftsmanship and for a knowledge of objects and themes that are within the first-hand experience of farm children. On the other hand, country children have been found to be less skilled than town children in describing pictures and ships, naming coins, making change, and in other similar tests which may be supposed to have been influenced by the urban environment.[26]

Differences in attitudes based on unlike experiences in meeting social situations are also indicated by the fact that country children, according to some investigators, do not meet these tests in the free and easy way observed among city children. An emphasis on speed, which has not, in most respects, been customary in rural life, confuses and inhibits efficient efforts in such tests.[27] In brief, the responsiveness of performance to these various elements in the social situation indicates that the experiential factors are the only plausible explanations for the recorded dissimilarities.

(3) LIFE ORGANIZATION AS ADAPTATION TO THE SOCIAL MATRIX.— If, as one writer observed, the rural and urban types are "psychological antipodes,"[28] this is due to the fact that dissimilarities in the social situations require very unlike adaptations. The severity of personal competition in the urban environment helps to produce versatility, and the heterogeneity of the population tends to generate at least a superficial type of cosmopolitanism. At the same time, the very multiplicity of contacts necessitated by the city leads to impersonality and a sense of freedom; for while persons of many vocations and areas are brought into close proximity, they often live in totally different worlds. Furthermore, the diversity of cultures, opinions, and tastes, with which the city-dweller must deal,

[24] Hall, G. Stanley, *The Content of Children's Minds,* E. L. Kellogg and Company, New York, 1893, p. 28.

[25] Sorokin, P. A., and Zimmerman, C., *op. cit.,* p. 250.

[26] Gray, P. L., and Marsden, R. E., "Intelligence Tests in Rural Schools," *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy,* 1921-1922, vol. vi, pp. 229-230.

[27] Baldwin, Bird T., *et al., Farm Children,* p. 255.

[28] Coudenhove-Kalergi, Count R. N., "The New Nobility," *Century,* November, 1924, vol. cix, p. 3. Cf. Sorokin, P. A., "Rural-Urban Differences in Religion, Culture, Beliefs, and Behavior," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1928, vol. xxiii, pp. 233-239.

tends to produce attitudes of tolerance. Being practiced in meeting varied situations, he is likely to be more expansive, articulate, and —at least superficially—more alert than his country cousin. The "touch-and-go" contacts of city life lead to resourcefulness in dealing with other people, and in many instances to an apparent superficiality and an emphasis on external appearance, inasmuch as this is the way quick impressions are produced. On the other hand, the need for cooperation arising from specialization and the varied forms of interdependency produce what MacIver aptly calls "associative individualism"[29] among urban dwellers.

Because rural heritages are in a large measure founded on the economic self-sufficiency of the community and on isolation, the ruralist has personality traits which depend both on occupation or function and on the prevailing primary social relations where qualities of character, rather than external display, count most heavily. While the urbanite must standardize his habits and his time in accordance with high-gear machine processes and rapid transit schedules, the countryman must adjust his routine to natural forces, seasons, and climate. He is conservative by circumstances, and thus is ready to try new political and organizational schemes only when they appear to offer advantages. For example, studies of rural-urban attitudes in various parts of America have shown that farmers favored capital punishment, maintenance of the existing race relations, and prohibition; and that they opposed the eligibility of women to certain offices, teachers' pensions, compulsory medical inspection in schools, etc. In Switzerland, the rural areas were more opposed to the League of Nations and insurance for the aged and orphans than the cities were.[30] Although the farmer more nearly resembles the semi-skilled or skilled workman as regards income and opportunities, his socio-economic status (even if he is a tenant) permits of more self-direction than does that of the urban wage earner.

If the farmer's philosophy of life and his daily routine reflect his contact with nature and his place in the ecological structure, his mode of living is nevertheless becoming more like that of the city-dweller; and like the urbanite, he is developing more associative individualism in consequence of the changing social structure inci-

[29] MacIver, R. M., *Society: Its Structures and Changes,* p. 372.

[30] Sorokin, P. A.; Zimmerman, Carle C., and Galpin, Charles J., *op. cit.,* vol. ii, pp. 548-576; Rice, S. A., *Report, Institute of Methods of Rural and Sociological Research,* United States Department of Agriculture, 1930, pp. 11-20.

dental to improved transportation and communication, intensified competition for a specialized market, and the growth of interest groups, or other forms of rural social differentiation. This change in rural life has been described as "urbanization";[31] and, in fact, the rural and urban areas are becoming increasingly subject to similar influences, as is indicated by specialization, variety of associations, mobility of the population, newspaper circulation,[32] mechanization of farm work, declining birth rate, increasing divorce rate, cooperative movements, commercialized amusements, vocational preparation by formal schooling, etc.

### FAVORED TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

It must be remembered, however, that urban areas do not uniformly have favorable, nor rural districts consistently unfavorable, cultural and social situations; for conditions in either section vary more widely than the averages of the two differ from each other.[33] This fact alone would be sufficient to account for the above-named discrepancies shown by the various studies. The mere size of the city is incidental and does not necessarily imply the presence of creative attitudes or constructive forces. This is shown by the distribution of the birthplaces of persons of distinction and by the differences in the ratio of notables in cities of various sizes. According to a study made in 1916, the following cities contributed per 100,000 population the designated number of living notables: Cambridge, 47; Nashville, 39; Columbus, 25; Lynn, Massachusetts, 24; and Washington, D. C., 20.[34] In the production of scientists the several types of urban centers rank as follows in descending order of importance: (1) towns or villages having less than 8,000; (2) small cities of 8,000 to 30,000; (3) large cities; and (4) rural

[31] Clark, Carroll D., "Some Indices of Urbanization in Connecticut Rural Towns," *Social Forces,* 1930-1931, vol. ix, pp. 409-418.

[32] Geisert, Harold, *Newspaper Circulation in Illinois as an Index of Community Structure and Culture Variation,* Master's Thesis, University of Illinois, 1929, p. 80; Barnes, Irene, "Influence of Urbanization on Newspaper Contents in Minnesota," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1930, vol. xxv, pp. 160-162; Park, R. E., "Urbanization as Measured by Newspaper Circulation," *American Journal of Sociology,* July, 1929, vol. xxxv, pp. 60-79.

[33] Pressey, S. L., and Thomas, J. B., "A Study of Country Children in a Good and Poor Farming District by Means of a Group Scale of Intelligence," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 1920, vol. iii, pp. 283 ff.; cf. Baldwin, Bird T., *et al., Farm Children,* pp. 135 ff.; Thomson, John G., *Urbanization,* E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., New York, 1927, p. 39.

[34] Nearing, Scott, "The Younger Generation of American Genius," pp. 48-61.

areas. In proportion to their population, the larger cities, on the average, appear to have contributed about eleven times as many notables as the country, the small cities nearly twenty times as many, and the villages slightly more than twenty times as many.[85]

In France, according to Odin's study, the localities most productive of notables are: (1) centers of political, ecclesiastical, or judiciary administration; (2) those offering opportunities for cultivating the acquaintance of intelligent and scholarly men; (3) those affording important public intellectual resources, such as higher institutions of learning, libraries, museums, bookstores, and publishing houses; (4) communities which have a high proportion of wealth or well-to-do families.[36] State capitals and the chief cities of the United States with not more than 9 per cent of the total population were the birthplace of 32 per cent of the men of letters born before 1851.[37]

From these facts it may again be concluded that individuals follow a plan of life which, in general, is a reflection of the social organization. Capacities are given direction by the existing facilities and the encouragement or approbation of the group. If nine-tenths of civilization is a cultural product, nine-tenths of the remaining tenth, it has been asserted, may be modified in any way which the community desires.[38] W. I. Thomas says, "Wherever society furnishes copies and stimulations of a certain kind, a body of knowledge and a technique, practically all its members are able to work on the plan and scale in vogue. . . . But when society does not furnish the situation, or when it has preconceptions which tend to inhibit the run of attention in given lines, then the individual shows no intelligence in these lines."[39] S. N. Patten observes that the "differences in men, whether mental or physical, are due to the effect of these objective conditions to which men must adjust themselves in several local environments."[40]

Accordingly, the variations discussed are most readily explained by the presence or absence of adequate techniques, an atmosphere

[85] Visher, Stephen S., "The Geography of American Notables," p. 77.

[36] Ward, L. F., *Applied Sociology*, pp. 193-194.

[37] Clarke, Edwin L., *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[38] Spiller, G., "Darwinism and Sociology," *Sociological Review*, 1914, vol. ii, p. 240.

[39] Thomas, W. I., *Sourcebook of Social Origins*, p. 169.

[40] Patten, S. N., "The Organic Concept of Society," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1894, vol. v, p. 405.

of attainment in given directions, the facilities supplied by the group,[41] and the type of social organization. In order to establish the hypothesis of a selection of superior types by the city, it would be necessary to show that all had had similar traditions and contacts with the given type of culture and that their developmental histories had been identical. In the absence of such data, the supposition of inherent differences in large unselected groups of people living in different regions is valueless in explaining performance. If differences in capacities are present, they will affect the level of achievement, providing exertions are also on an equally high level; but the possession of suitable capacities does not guarantee a high degree of effort or an estimable organization of attitudes. Therefore, capacity does not of itself determine an individual's place in the social world of which he is a part.

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[41] Cf. Cooley, Charles H., "Genius, Fame, and a Comparison of the Races."

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*Zimmerman, Carle C., and Smith, Lynn, "Migration to Towns and Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1930, vol. xxxvi, pp. 41-51.

# Vocation and Personality

The foregoing chapters have emphasized especially the influence of culture in determining the action ways and thus the personality traits of individuals belonging to racial and regional groups. We shall now discuss the effect an individual's place in a functional structure has upon his performance and life organization. In every society, and especially in one which is highly differentiated, individuals acquire a distinctive status in consequence of the place they occupy in the hierarchies of associations and the functions they perform in their group. Not only are the economic functions considered to be criteria of ranking, but they also tend to color the outlook on life, determine the daily routine, and supply opportunities for social participation and for personal development; or, conversely, they result in isolation and handicaps.

Although vocations with the attending wealth and leisure, or the reverse, do not operate independently of capacity, it is certain that they do exercise a most significant influence upon those who follow them. Occupation and social position help to develop individual abilities; they also offer occasions for acquiring self-control, forethought, and a sense of responsibility, as may be seen by the way these traits change with circumstances, such as election to an office. We shall consider these principles under the following topics: the attitudes that arise because of the functions performed, and the opportunities resulting from socio-economic status.

## ATTITUDES AND VOCATION

Individuals acquire the attitudes and outlook on life characteristic of their class and vocational or other special interest group because of any one or all three of the following reasons: first, assimilation of the traditions and attitudes of the group; second, similar interests in a situation which is very similar for all members of the group; and, third, conformity to the public's expec-

tations of persons in a given social position. All of these factors may be involved simultaneously, though in unlike degrees.

Individuals whose communication is contained largely within a restricted circle, who have interests in common, and who must make similar adjustments, tend to cumulate similar traditions, habits of thought, and points of view which find expression in their character and their unconscious mannerisms. In the words of Emerson, "Each religious sect has its physiognomy. The Methodists have acquired a face; the Quakers, a face; the nuns, a face. An Englishman will pick out a dissenter by his manners. Trades and professions carve their own lines on face and form."[1] In the same way, each vocational group tends to have its own "representative man," or stereotype. The shop-girl, reporter, pawnbroker, labor agitator, ward boss—each has a traditional rôle and more or less distinctive attitudes.[2] In a stratified society, the segregated classes, as well as the aristocracy, develop their own requirements of excellence and their characteristic modes of conduct. The gestures of power among the aristocracy may be paralleled by requirements of humility and patience among the lower classes. In general, the individual's organization of attitudes reflects his functional position.

The influence of functions upon the personality of those who perform them appears most clearly in long-established vocations, such as those of minister, judge, and soldier. The term "parson" has the same etymology as "person"; and it is significant that this term came to be applied to the one vocation which stood out from the mass of secular functions. The longer and more exacting the period of initiation into an occupation, the more deeply are such attitudes impressed. Some occupations are entered so casually and pursued so temporarily that no distinctive attitudes might be expected to develop; but even casual workers, because of their adjustments to similar situations, develop a life organization peculiar to their insecure, disesteemed, and shifting functional position.[3]

[1] Emerson, R. W., *English Traits*, Phillips, Sampson and Company, Boston, 1856, p. 54.

[2] Donovan, Frances, *The Saleslady*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929; *The Woman Who Waits*, R. G. Badger and Company, Boston, 1920; Wirth, Louis, "Some Jewish Types of Personality," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1925, vol. xx, pp. 90-96; Groves, E. R., "The Psychology of the Woman Who Works," *The Family*, vol. viii, 1927, pp. 92-97; McGill, K., "The School-Teacher Stereotype," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1930-1931, vol. iv, pp. 642-650.

[3] Hughes, E. C., "Personality Types and the Division of Labor," *American Jour-*

Members of the clerical and other learned professions not only have highly developed codes of ethics but also are influenced by the expectations of the public; their point of view is colored by their training and the functions they perform. "The professional disposition of the physician renders him suggestible in the face of situations that leave the carpenter untouched. He responds with enthusiasm to a movement for paving the streets because it 'suggests' to him what never occurred to the proposers—the improvement of sanitary conditions."[4] Apropos of the significance of the functional position in determining behavior, William James observes: "A soldier's honor requires him to fight or die under circumstances where another man can apologize cr run away with no stain upon his social self. A judge, a statesman, are in like manner debarred by the honor of their cloth from entering into pecuniary relations perfectly honorable to persons in private life. Nothing is commoner than to hear people discriminate between their different selves of this sort: 'As a man I pity you, but as an official I must show you no mercy; as a politician, I regard him as an ally, but as a moralist, I loathe him.' "[5]

The activity performed tends to be considered as an attribute of personality, as is apparent from the popular habit of imputing distinctive characteristics to the rich and poor, the scholar and street-sweeper, the minister and speculator. In the same way, the majesty of the king is derived from his office, not from the attributes he may possess apart from his position. Each civilization and era has distinctive appraisals of occupations, and the rivalries to excel produce proficiency in the pursuits which are momentarily esteemed. The way in which the significance of the functions may vary with circumstances is seen by the glorification of military heroes during war, whereas peace time stimulates emulation in political and industrial careers. In the feudal period when war and priestly service were held to be the only honorable occupations, members of the leisure class busied themselves in these activities. Today the occupations that offer the largest remuneration or the most exten-

nal of Sociology, 1928, vol. xxxiii, p. 764; Nimkoff, Meyer F., "Personality Problems of Beggars," Sociology and Social Research, 1927-1928, vol. xii, pp. 431-443.

[4] Quoted by Bogardus, E. S., "The Occupational Attitude," Journal of Applied Sociology, January-February, 1924, vol. viii, p. 171.

[5] James, William, Principles of Psychology, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1890, vol. i, p. 295.

sive schooling are most esteemed.[6] A study of the occupational attitudes and choices of 609 college men[7] in North Carolina State College gave the following rating to various occupations, on the basis of their importance to society: clergy, 1; physician, 2; professor, 3; banker, 4; engineer, 5; manufacturer, 6; lawyer, 7; school teacher, 8; farmer, 9; merchant, 10; baseball player, 20; ditch digger, 24. Similar data are recorded for various other American colleges. On the other hand, the students in the government schools of Russia, according to a study made by Davis,[8] ranked laborers, mechanics, and party workers higher than salesmen, bankers, and insurance agents.

As a result of their competitive success, individuals of a given vocation are assigned to somewhat similar standards of living and of place and type of abode; and because such success or failure is felt to imply a rating in the social scale, the intensity of competition is increased by the desire to safeguard or to improve status. Accordingly, persons engaged in similar occupations tend to form associations whereby they may lessen competition among themselves and stand unitedly against opposing groups; and such organization is encouraged by the fact that under present conditions each person is dependent not so much on any one individual as on the specialized pursuits of rival interest groups. The unassociated individual loses both the security and the discipline of a special interest group.

### OPPORTUNITIES AND FUNCTIONAL CLASSES

Not only does membership in a given functional group affect personality through the development of appropriate and unique attitudes, but it also influences attainment through the direction and amount of opportunities supplied thereby. We shall first consider data illustrative of such disparate achievement and then discuss their meaning and explanation.

(1) DIFFERENCES IN CLASS ACHIEVEMENT.—Occupational groups contribute unequally to achievement. In the narratives of history,

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[6] Cole, Robert D., "Parental Occupations and Vocational Choices of Private-School Students," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 1927-1928, vol. i, pp. 205-216.

[7] Anderson, W. A., "The Occupational Attitudes and Choices of a Group of College Men," *Social Forces,* 1927-1928, vol. vi, pp. 278-283, 467-473.

[8] Davis, Jerome, "Testing the Social Attitudes of Children in the Government Schools in Russia," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1926-1927, vol. xxxii, pp. 947-952

royalties and gentry preempt the favored pursuits, just as at the present time the preferred vocational groups supply many of the recruits for their own ranks. As a rule, these classes produce a larger ratio of notables and, on the average, score higher in mental tests than do the lower classes. In Europe the nobility, leisure classes, government officials, and liberal professions supply the highest ratio of notables in proportion to their own numbers (see Table 12). In America, the professional classes, and especially ministers, contribute the highest ratios: Sons of successful professional men are fifty times as likely to become scientists as are boys taken at random; sons of clergymen are nearly twice as likely to become scientists as are sons of other professional men, and they make an even better showing in learned careers other than science, for their ratio is more than twice as high as that of other professional groups (see Table 13).

Table 12

CONTRIBUTIONS BY SOCIAL CLASSES TO THE LIST OF EMINENT PERSONS[9]

Odin's Figures (1895) Concerning 623 French Men of Letters during Six Centuries

De Candolle's Figures (1885) Concerning 100 Foreign Associates of the Paris Academy

| Class | Per Cent | Class | Per Cent |
|-------|----------|-------|----------|
| Nobility..................... | 25.5 | Nobility, aristocratic and | |
| Government official.......... | 30.0 | rich families, and other | |
| Liberal professions........... | 23.0 | leisure classes............ | 41 |
| Bourgeoise................ | 11.7 | Middle class............... | 52 |
| Manual laborers............. | 9.8 | Working class.............. | 7 |

Table 13

OCCUPATIONS OF THE FATHERS OF 18,400 PERSONS IN "WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA"[10]

| Vocational Classes | Notables per 10,000 in Each Vocational Class |
|--------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Unskilled laborers......................................... | 0.013 |
| Skilled and semi-skilled laborers.......................... | 4.0 |
| Farmers................................................... | 9.0 |
| Business men.............................................. | 80.0 |
| Professional (other than clergy)........................... | 142.0 |
| Clergy.................................................... | 315.0 |

[9] Adapted from Ward, Lester F., *Applied Sociology*, pp. 200, 207.

[10] Visher, Stephen S., *Geography of American Notables*, p. 84. (The table is slightly rearranged.)

Although the mental test scores vary by classes for both adults and children, the differences are least marked in communities where the population is relatively uniform as regards social status. Terman assigns common laborers an intelligence quotient of 77, and successful salesmen, 112. C. W. Waugh gives salesgirls a score of 84.5, and buyers, 106. Kollin and Leidler give some moderately successful business men a rating of 93.6 and others 107, with a median of 102. The mental test scores for selected vocations represented in the army mental tests for white drafted men are: teachers, 262; chemists, 253; stenographers, 253; engineers, 250; students, 240; book-keepers, 244; executives, 220; masons, 122; farmers, 97; and fishermen, 79.[11]

Many studies report differences in the mental test scores of children from the several socio-economic and functional classes. Goodenough and Shapiro find that the development of pre-school children from the "upper" social classes is superior to that of children from the lower income groups, although the results differ for different tests.[12] Comparable variations are recorded by other studies dealing with children of school age. The ranking order is usually as follows: first, children of professional men; second, business men; third, skilled workmen; and, lowest on the list, those of unskilled laborers.[13] J. E. Collins' study of nearly 5000 school children may be considered representative of this type of investigation. He records the following median intelligence quotients for children of the several paternal occupational groups: professional, 116; managerial, 112; trade, 110; skilled laborers, 104; and unskilled laborers, 95.[14] L. M. Terman lists the intelligence quotient for children from "very superior" homes at 106, and from "very inferior" homes at 85.[15] In general, the data agree that the

[11] *Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences,* 1921, vol. xv, p. 707.

[12] Goodenough, F. L., and Shapiro, Gertrude, "The Performance of Pre-School Children of Different Social Groups on the Kuhlman-Binet Tests," *Journal of Educational Research,* 1928, vol. xviii, no. 5, pp. 356-362.

[13] Hart, Hornell, "Occupational Differential Fecundity," *Scientific Monthly,* 1924, vol. xix, pp. 527-532.

[14] Collins, J. E., "The Intelligence of School Children and Paternal Occupation," *Journal of Educational Research,* 1928, vol. xvii, pp. 157-169.

[15] Terman, L. M., *The Stanford Revision and Extension of the Binet Simon Scale,* Warwick and York, Baltimore, 1917, p. 179. Cf. Hart, Hornell, "Children of the Poor," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1924, vol. xix, pp. 168-171; White, R. Clyde, "The Intelligence of Children in Dependent Families," *Social Forces,* 1928-1929, vol. vii, pp. 61-68; Iles, R. E., "Ancestry and I.Q.," *Social Science.* 1926-1927, vol. ii, pp. 382-389; Conklin, A. M., "Families

more favorably situated a class is economically and socially, the higher are its achievements.

(2) THE MEANING OF CLASS DIFFERENCES.—Although it is futile to raise the question as to the relative importance of heredity and environment (see Chapter XXIX), it is worth while at this point to consider briefly the meaning of the data which have been presented, and to refer to researches which attempt to evaluate the effect of variations in the factors involved. Before presenting these new data it is desirable to note that investigators often confuse the question of the quality of the organism, as measured by performance, with heredity; and that environment is sometimes erroneously considered to be measurable in units which can be observed by a casual inspection of the home and neighborhood. Furthermore, interpretation of many studies is of doubtful value, even though the data are recorded with great care. A false implication is contained in the assumption that any resemblance in performance shown by parents and children, or any persistence of attitudes for several generations, is necessarily due to heredity, for the subtle effects of a handicap and a low level of culture or, conversely, of superior circumstances, including an estimable organization of attitudes, may persist for generations. Studies which overlook this fact are valueless to a corresponding degree. However, the conclusions of the more significant researches on the heredity and environment of the social classes will be presented.

Some studies of identical twins show that they may have similar emotional and temperamental traits, but significant differences in intelligence, while other studies show the reverse; namely, a similarity in intelligence but wide differences in temperament. Since it is supposed that identical twins have the same heredity, it must follow that even great differences in both intelligence and temperament may be produced in individuals who, according to geneticists, have an identical heredity.[16] This conclusion is further justified by the fact that ordinary twins, who are no more similar in heredity

of Intellectually Gifted Students," *The Family,* June, 1930, vol. xi, pp. 99-106; Sims, V. M., "The Socio-Economic Status of Three School Populations," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 1928-1929, vol. ii, pp. 83-91.

[16] Newman, H. H., "Identical Twins: The Difference Between Those Reared Apart," *Eugenics Review,* 1930, vol. xxii, pp. 29-34; "Identical Twins," *Scientific Monthly,* 1932, vol. xxxii, pp. 169-172; *The Journal of Heredity,* February-April, 1929, vol. xx, pp. 49-64, 97-104, 153-166; Müller, H. J., "Mental Traits in Heredity," *The Journal of Heredity,* 1925, vol. xvi, pp. 433-448.

than are other siblings, nevertheless sometimes show more resemblance in their behavior-patterns than the latter do.[17]

The significance of the environmental factors in accounting for unequal performance is emphasized by several studies on the results of removing dependent children from under-privileged homes to more favorable foster homes. For example, Barrett and Koch found that the mental test scores of a group of orphan children improved about fifteen points during a period of from six to nine months.[18] Jones and Carr-Saunders present data which indicate that the intelligence quotient of orphan children improves with the length of residence in orphanages, and that children from the poorer occupational groups make slightly larger gains in the new environment than do those from other groups.[19] Root finds that children taken from "inferior homes" and placed in "a very superior institutional home" changed their scores, on the average, 5.5 points.[20] In a study of 754 children placed in foster homes, Theis notes that 87 per cent of those children who had excellent care, 80 per cent of those who had average care, and 66 per cent of those who had poor care grew to be "capable." The younger the children at the time of placement, the greater was the likelihood of considerable development. Of those placed in foster homes before they were five years of age, 86 per cent rated A in ability; of those after five, only 72 per cent rated A. Even the children whose parents had been "mentally inferior" showed a large ratio of capables.[21]

An extensive investigation by Freeman shows that residence in the foster home brought an average gain of 7.5 points in the intelligence quotient. Those placed in homes above the average gained

[17] Tallman, G. G., "A Comparative Study of Identical Twins and Non-Identical Twins with Respect to Intelligence Resemblances," *Twenty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, part one, pp. 83-86.

[18] Barrett, H. E., and Koch, H. L., "The Effect of Nursery-School Training upon the Mental Test Performance of a Group of Orphanage Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1930, vol. xxxvii, pp. 102-122.

[19] Jones, D. C., and Carr-Saunders, A. M., "The Relation Between Intelligence and Social Status Among Orphan Children," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1927, vol. xvii, pp. 343-364.

[20] Root, W. T., "Intelligence Quotient from Two Viewpoints," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1922, vol. vi, pp. 267-275.

[21] Of 155 children with inferior parents, 47 per cent were capable and 53 per cent rated A in ability; while of the children whose parents had good ability, 28 per cent were capable and 72 per cent rated A. See Theis, Sophie V. S., *How Foster Children Turn Out*, New York State Charities Aid Association Publication, no. 165, pp. 108, 141, 163.

10.4 points, and those in homes below the average gained 5 points.[22] A study by Burks records an advancement of 5 or 6 points as a result of an improvement of the environment by placement in foster homes.[23] Other studies which made retests show measurable improvements after changes from one environment to another.[24] Such results indicate not only an improvement in intelligence test scores incidental to the change in the social situation, but also an increasing similarity between foster children and "own" children in the same home.

In a general way, the environment may be considered to have been held constant within the foster home, while the heredity supposedly differed between the foster and "own" children. But if the heredity of siblings is considered to be more alike than that of unrelated children, these studies, especially the one made by Freeman and his associates, illustrate the effect of holding heredity constant while varying the environment, for children from the *same* family were placed in *different* foster homes. The results measured showed that the intelligence quotient of siblings became more dissimilar the longer the subjects remained in the disparate environments.[25]

From these studies it appears that if there are innate class differences it is impossible to determine their quantity or nature from the data on mental tests or the ratio of notables. Accordingly, other explanations for the facts reviewed must be taken into consideration. Of these, we shall consider *unlike developmental histories* and *disparate social situations* and opportunities.

(3) Unlike Developmental Histories are implied in the measurable differences in quantity and quality of food, type of work, exposure to occupational diseases, degree and duration of fatigue, frequency of infections, rate of growth, and average duration of life. These factors are of themselves highly responsive to various

[22] Freeman, Frank N., *et al.*, "The Influence of Environment on the Intelligence, School Achievement and Conduct of Foster Children," *National Society for the Study of Education,* 1928, vol. xxvii, part i, pp. 103-217.

[23] Burks, Barbara Stoddard, *op. cit.,* pp. 219-316.

[24] Rogers, Agnes, *et al.*, "The Effect on the Intelligence Quotient of Change from a Poor to a Good Environment," *ibid.,* part i, p. 329. See also Reckless, Walter C., "Case Studies Built Around Observations of Individual Foster-Children in the Playroom of a Receiving Home," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1929, vol. xxiv, pp. 170-173.

[25] Freeman, Frank N., *et al., op. cit.,* pp. 136 ff.

conditions,[26] and, apart from any dissimilarities in heredity, would be adequate to account for unlike performance when the obviously defective individuals are excluded from consideration.

Class differences in stature, morbidity, and longevity are clearly distinguishable. In fact, these disparities have been observed to be greater than they are between members of different races. This is shown by investigations in several countries. In India, for example, the average stature of the highest and middle castes is 64.8 inches, and that of the lowest caste, 64.3.[27] Jacobs shows that well-to-do Jews dwelling in the West End or richer parts of London are, on the average, two inches taller than those who live in the East End where poverty prevails. This author believes that because all the subjects measured were descendants of the same genetic strains, the increase in height must be ascribed to better nourishment.[28] Boas arrived at similar results from a comparison of Jewish children in New York orphanages with those in expensive private schools, for he found that at similar ages, the children in the second group were taller and heavier than those in the first.[29] Table 14 lists the stature of boys of specified ages from good, average, and poor London neighborhoods.

Table 14

ECONOMIC STATUS AND STATURE OF CHILDREN[30]

| Type of Neighborhood | Average Height in Inches of Boys at Specified Ages | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 7 | 11 | 14 |
| Good neighborhood.................... | 45 1/3 | 53 1/10 | 58 1/5 |
| "Average"............................ | 44 4/5 | 51 4/5 | 56 1/4 |
| Poor................................. | 44 | 49 3/4 | 55 1/4 |

[26] Reuter, E. B., *Population Problems*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1923, pp. 221-238; Spiller, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 232-253.

[27] Sorokin, P. A., *Social Mobility*, pp. 217, 220.

[28] Ruppin, Arthur, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

[29] Boas, F., "The Growth of Children as Influenced by Environment and Heredity," *School and Society*, 1923, vol. xvii, p. 306.

[30] Carr-Saunders, A. M., *Eugenics*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1926, p. 127.

Improvement in the standard of living increases stature. The Anthropological Committee of Great Britain showed that favorable results followed the Factory Acts. In 1873 boys of 9 years had an average height and weight equivalent to boys of 10 years in 1833.[31] The average stature of the population of the Netherlands increased from 165.5 centimeters in 1866, to 168 centimeters in 1899, due, it is believed, to improved standards of living and decreased morbidity rates. A similar increase in stature is found in other European countries, the advance, on the average, being from 165.42 centimeters in 1856, to 169 in 1905.[32] During famine years the rate of stature increase attained by children in Russia, Germany, France, and other countries fell below that of prosperous times. Boas' study of Hebrew children born during the years 1895 to 1917 showed periodic changes running parallel to the economic cycle, stature increase being less in unfavorable years than in times of general prosperity.[33]

Greater longevity and a lower morbidity rate are most in evidence among the higher-income groups. This is shown by studies of monarchs, princes, politicians and presidents of the United States, American millionaires, captains of finance, and eminent medical men, as compared to the average for the total population; this is shown also by census data on morbidity and mortality for occupational groups, the health of industrial workers being inferior to that of men in higher occupations. Similar comparisons obtain among the children of the several occupational groups. If, as Sorokin has stated, the social stratification of a society is positively correlated with the "health stratification,"[34] the superiority of the upper classes may be considered a result, no less than a cause, of their advantageous position. The increase of leisure, the provision of adequate food and of hygienic living conditions, the elimination of occupational hazards (such as lead poisoning and excessive fatigue), and the guarantee of proper medical care would contribute directly to mental efficiency and decrease feeble-mindedness, blindness, deafness, stunted growth, deformity, etc., among the poor.

[31] Mitchell, P. Chalmers, *Evolution and the War,* J. Murray, London, 1915, p. 47.

[32] Carr-Saunders, A. M., *Population Problems,* p. 340; Hansen, S., "On the Increase of Stature in Certain European Populations," *Problems in Eugenics,* London, 1912, p. 23.

[33] Boas, F., "The Growth of Children as Influenced by Environment and Heredity," p. 305.

[34] *Social Mobility,* p. 265.

That these adverse conditions and the attitudes frequently associated therewith affect performance is shown by various investigations. The majority of the supernormal children studied by Root came from homes where the general tone was average or above, and where the pride in academic achievement was noticeable.[35] In his study of 1000 gifted children, Terman found these children to be favored with regard to nutrition and posture, the absence of colds, fatigue, and skin eruptions, as compared to the control group.[36] Gifted children also showed more hours of sleep per day, better hearing, and fewer signs of nervousness. Good health, proper habits of hygiene, and cultural advantages are correlated positively, and poor health, the use of coffee, and under-nourishment are correlated negatively, with performance tests.[37] In his study of 423 pupils, R. L. Sandwick compared the number of defects of the 40 pupils making the highest scores with those of the 40 making the lowest scores, with the results listed in Table 15.

Table 15

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN DEFECTS AND HIGH AND LOW MENTAL TEST SCORES[38]

|  | In Groups with Highest Scores | In Groups with Lowest Scores |
|---|---|---|
| Total number of defects..................... | 27.0 | 125.0 |
| Average number of defects per student......... | 0.71 | 3.41 |
| Per cent having no defects................... | 52.5 | 0.0 |

The significance of the functional and competitive position is also suggested by the fact that the social classes differ as regards skill and attitudes in ways which reflect their unlike experience. Children from poor homes are more skilled in self-care, while those from well-to-do professional homes are advanced in vocabulary and self-confidence, assertiveness,[39] and other adaptive behavior

[35] Root, W. T., "A Socio-Psychological Study of Fifty-three Supernormal Children," *Psychological Review Monographs,* 1921, vol. xxix, no. 4, p. 132.

[36] Terman, L. M., *Genetic Studies of Genius,* vol. i, pp. 192, 212.

[37] Hoefer, Carolyn, and Hardy, Mattie C., "The Influence of Improvement in Physical Condition on Intelligence and Educational Achievement," *National Society for the Study of Education,* xxvii, 1928, part i, pp. 386-387; Swift, E. J., *op. cit.,* p. 95; Bader, Louis, "Health and the Family Income," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 1929-1930, vol. iii, pp. 102-114.

[38] Sandwick, R. L., "Correlation of Physical Health and Mental Efficiency," *Journal of Educational Research,* 1920, vol. i, p. 202. For a summary of the bearing of various factors on feeblemindedness, see Myerson, Abraham, *The Inheritance of Mental Disease,* Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1925, pp. 73 ff.

[39] Furfey, P. H., "The Relation Between Socio-Economic Status and Intelligence of Young Infants as Measured by the Linfert-Hierholzer Scale," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1928, vol. xxxv, pp. 478-480.

which seems to be indicative of their place in the social scale. If we accept Freeman's findings that, on the average, differences in environment can raise the intelligence quotient ten points, it follows that the improvement of living conditions would raise the low average intelligence of the unskilled group to a high average intelligence. If, in addition, it is borne in mind that what the tests show is not heredity but the performance of the individual as his capacities have matured up to the given date, it may be seen that in large unselected groups unlike developmental histories are sufficient to account for the observable class differences.

(4) SOCIAL SITUATION AND INDUCEMENTS.—Class differences in social situations consist of unlike objects of endeavor and solicitude, special coaching,[40] encouragement, "sets for efficiency," traditions, standards of achievement, and opportunities for the intensive pursuit of education. Although socio-economic status does not of itself determine the run of attention and the scale of values which enlist endeavor, as disclosed by the cheap display and hedonism of the *nouveau riche*, and the careless use of leisure by many rich and poor alike, the latter are nevertheless under a handicap in many ways, even when attitudes or the scale of values and the objects of endeavor are identical. Where a handicap imposes undue restraints and obstacles, endeavor is stifled proportionately. For example, inadequate standards of living deprive people of many contacts and opportunities. One investigator has found a high correlation between vocational status and sociability,[41] and another reports that children of farm tenants have only two-thirds as many exposures to collective events as those of farm owners have.[42] The meagerness of tenants' reading, as compared with that of landowners', is shown in several surveys. Farm owners have more access to scientific books, the classics, poetry, novels, and newspapers than do tenants,[43] although apparently about the same proportion of each class reads books of a religious character. According to a study of apprenticeship in England, the children of the unskilled are under

[40] Davidson, Percy E., "The Social Significance of the Army Intelligence Findings," *The Scientific Monthly*, 1923, vol. xvi, p. 189.

[41] Hsia, Jui-Ching, "A Study of the Sociability of Elementary Schools," *Contribution to Education, Number 322, Bureau of Publications,* Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1928, p. 33.

[42] For a comparison of white and colored owners and tenants, see Haney, Louis H., *et al., A Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County, Texas,* University of Texas Press, Austin, 1916.

[43] Hawthorn, Horace B., *op. cit.,* p. 243.

a handicap as regards access to persons in the higher vocational ranks, and their chances of favorable apprenticeship are inferior to those of the children of skilled workers.[44] People in the lower-income groups are relatively excluded from the circles of those with higher incomes. Such vocational segregation occurs not only in the place of abode but also in associations.[45] Also unlike choices in the type of high school and college curricula are evident among children from the different occupational groups. It may be seen from

Table 16

PER CENT OF GIRLS FROM DESIGNATED PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL GROUP PURSUING COLLEGE PREPARATORY AND COMMERCIAL CURRICULA IN ONE CITY HIGH SCHOOL[45]

| Parental Occupation | Per Cent Pursuing Designated Curricula[a] | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | College Preparatory | Commercial |
| Professional service............ | 57.1 | 24.3 |
| Proprietors................. | 38.4 | 35.4 |
| Commercial service............ | 31.7 | 43.9 |
| Agricultural service............ | 21.8 | 46.9 |
| Managerial service............. | 18.5 | 43.6 |
| Clerical service................ | 17.4 | 52.4 |
| Public service................. | 13.9 | 58.3 |
| Artisan proprietors............. | 7.9 | 66.7 |
| Miscellaneous trades........... | 7.3 | 62.2 |
| Transportation service.......... | 5.1 | 59.0 |
| Building trades................ | 5.0 | 61.7 |
| Machine trades................ | 4.8 | 66.1 |
| Personal service............... | 3.7 | 74.1 |
| Common labor................ | 0.0 | 87.5 |
| All occupations................ | 20.5 | 50.2 |

[a] The percentage of those pursuing other curricula is omitted.

[44] Lewis, Evan I., *The Children of the Unskilled,* The Century Company, New York, 1926, p. 83.

[45] An example of this tendency is supplied by the fact that sororities, according to one study, pick 80 per cent of their members on the basis of the paternal business and professional occupations. See Miller, Cora K., *A Study of University and Extra-Curricular Records of 370 University of Illinois Women,* Master's Thesis, University of Illinois, 1931, p. 21.

[46] Adapted from Counts, George Sylvester, *The Selective Character of American Secondary Education,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922, p. 57.

Table 16 that children of the lower income groups most frequently rise to the next higher group rather than to those farther removed, as measured by the training required. In this respect a clear distinction exists between the several income groups.

If attainment in given lines is characteristic of the more favored economic group, and if abilities of a specific sort are found in certain families, such as the Yorkes and Coleridges in law, the Wordsworths and Sumers in the church, the Darwins in science, or the Arnolds in literature, this, so far as the data disclose, may be explained as well by the influence of traditions as of innate ability.[47] The occupational attitudes and techniques are transmitted as group heritages from one generation to another. Thus, from early childhood onward, the young are influenced by the occupational outlook of their parents, no less than by the religious and political viewpoints which are dominant in the familial group. "What is handed on [in the family organization] is not merely a set of ideas, but the whole social environment; not merely certain ways of thinking or of acting, but the conditions which prescribe to individuals the necessity for thinking or acting in certain specific ways. . . ."[48] A detailed study of school pupils in one community shows that while some children have a definite vocational interest as early as the ninth or tenth year, this interest is more pronounced as graduation from grammar school approaches; and that, in the main, concern about a vocation is delayed longest among the students from the higher economic groups.[49]

However, it must be remembered that wide differences (whether or not they are due to innate variabilities) exist among individuals. Just as the possession of wealth does not guarantee that attitudes will be developed which will lead to the utilization of opportunities, so, conversely, suitable attitudes and capacities will find some opportunities under meager resources. The environment which is a wholesome stimulus in one case may be detrimental in another. Although these facts have been utilized by the extreme hereditarians to show that genius rises above circumstances, they have as correctly been cited by the opposite school to indicate that only when the environ-

[47] Bosanquet, Helen, *The Family*, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1906, p. 208.
[48] Hobhouse, L. T., *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1911, p. 35.
[49] MacKaye, David L., "The Fixation of Vocational Interest," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1927-1928, vol. xxxiii, pp. 353-370.

ment supplies the means do superior capacities result in comparable achievement.

Without pausing to discuss the various arguments advanced by each school of thought, we wish to emphasize the fact that, regardless of individual differences, the place in the social organization affects individual performance. Those who are economically poorest are not *per se* the poorest stock. It is only the superficially observable differences which have, in the words of Dewey, supplied the favored classes with "the great conceit that intelligence is a personal endowment or personal attainment as [the conceit] of the commercial class is that wealth is something that they personally wrought."[50] Poverty and defectiveness belong to different categories, between which there is no necessary connection, except that when those of low capacity compete in the open market without special protection or advantage, they are usually poor. In fact, more intelligence may be required to make ends meet with a small income than to manage a rich man's business. Circumstances, and not lack of endowment, keep most of the poor in their present status[51]—or, as an old proverb puts it, the misfortune of the poor is their poverty. In this connection Davidson concludes that "performance must be conceived as recording in considerable part the differential effects of unlike social experience. For aught one knows to the contrary, these averages may record such effects *only*, leaving intact an historical assumption as a plausible hypothesis, at least, that the greater social groups in modern societies are equally well endowed."[52] The material goods, the attitudes, the traditions, the individual qualities resulting from the developmental history, and the place occupied in the functional and ranking structures are all involved simultaneously in the careers of the members of each vocational class.

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[50] Dewey, John, *The Public and Its Problems,* p. 211.

[51] Cf. Town, Clara, *Analytic Study of Groups of Five- and Six-Year-Old Children,* University of Iowa Press, Iowa City, 1921, p. 71.

[52] Davidson, Percy E., *op. cit.,* p. 189.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

The Conventional Rôle

Conduct-as-it-should- or may-be within a given culture differs not
only for regional, sectional, functional, and vocational classes, but
also for the adults and the young, and for the sexes. Although be-
havior varies in consequence of maturation and decline and other
physiological conditions, many of the psychological uniformities of
behavior observed in the case of persons having distinctive physical
traits are primarily institutional in character. This will be considered
with reference to age- and sex-groups.

SOCIAL VERSUS PHYSICAL INFANCY AND ADULTHOOD

The profound changes which an individual undergoes from one
age period to another set bounds within which the social-cultural
factors may operate; but they do not account for all the variations
in his behavior-patterns, for a considerable range of alternate rôles
is usually possible. The choice between such alternates must be
ascribed to culture and experience. Infancy and old age and sex
differences become occasions for institutional regulations and serve
as participating factors by making some conventions easier and
more suitable than others. The rate of growth for the organism as a
whole and for its parts varies at different periods in its life cycle.[1]
At the age of eight, the grip, weight, height, tapping-rate, and skull
length have, on the average, reached the following respective per-
centages of their eighteen-year-old status: 22, 55, 70, 73, and 92.[2]
Marked changes occur at adolescence, for the rate of annual growth
in height, weight, and strength is increased twofold, or more.[3]
Hands and feet enlarge; legs and arms elongate. Improvements in
motor coordinations and speed are paralleled by an increase in the
powers of perception, imagination, and memory.[4] The manifestations

[1] Hol'ingworth, H. L., *Mental Growth and Decline,* D. Appleton and Company,
New York, 1927, p. 10.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 20.
[3] Hall, G. S., *Youth,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1907, p. 6.
[4] Hollingworth, H. L., *op. cit.,* p. 105; Johnson, Burford J., *op. cit.*

of old age, such as gray hair, wrinkles, lack of muscular control, imperfect functioning of the heart and sensory organs, are matters of common observation.

While these growing or declining powers permit or, in some cases compel, new social rôles, the latter do not necessarily correspond uniformly or in all respects to changes in the individual. Within the limits of physical or mental powers, his actual practices are due less to constitutional factors than to the ways of the group. However, the usual stages in his life cycle may be regarded as a combination of physical and institutional factors.[5] "No development —that of the child included—in the condition of modern civilized society, can be reduced merely to the development of natural inborn processes and the morphological changes conditioned by the same. . . . These methods and forms of conduct are instilled in him, first of all, owing to the demands made on him by his environment, and the conditions are precisely the factors which may either check or stimulate"[6] the various behavior-patterns and personal rôles which he assumes in the several stages of life.

Rules of propriety prescribe the conduct appropriate for those in the different age periods. This may be seen by the following conventional classification of activities according to social age in western civilization: under 15 years, dependence and obedience; 15-27, experiencing and planning; 28-42, rearing, getting established; 43-56, saving and fortifying; 56 and upwards, ruling, counseling, and exercising authority.[7] The influence of conventional requirements is again illustrated by the following description of the conduct (the pattern type) prescribed by the Samoans for those in different age groups. "Small children should keep quiet, wake up early, obey, work hard and cheerfully, play with children of their own sex; young people should work industriously and skillfully, not be presuming, marry discreetly, be loyal to their relatives, not carry tales, nor be trouble makers; while adults should be wise, peaceable, serene, generous, anxious for the good prestige of their village, and conduct their lives with all good form and decorum."[8] Since the activities for a given age group vary with the culture and

[5] Cf. Gesell, A., *Mental Growth of the Preschool Child*, p. 9, ff.

[6] Luria, A. R., "The Problem of the Cultural Behavior of the Child," *Pedagogical Seminary*, December, 1928, vol. xxxv, p. 493.

[7] Rosenstock, Eugene, *Sociologie*, Walter de Graythcr and Co., Berlin, 1925, vol. i, p. 178.

[8] Mead, Margaret, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, pp. 129-139.

the social situation, the behavior associated with different age periods must thus far be considered to be socially produced.

(1) SOCIAL IMMATURITY.—A half-century ago, John Fiske,[9] and more recently other writers, have called attention to the social significance of infancy; for around it many fundamental institutions are formed. The prolonged helplessness of the child draws parents and offspring more closely together and aids in developing the sentiments attaching to kinship. But conduct and the social rôle vary because of customs and circumstances, just as behavior-patterns within a group vary because of differences in individual experiences and developmental histories.

The wide variations in social maturity (the assumption of responsibility and the abandonment of direct dependency) in children of the same age in different races and in various culture areas, as well as in different economic classes of the same race, indicate that social infancy is not coterminous with chronological infancy. Children in preliterate groups are usually precocious as compared with those in modern groups. The savage child of six or seven has acquired much of the practical knowledge and skill possessed by the adults of his tribe. To be sure, the techniques and knowledge to be mastered are relatively concrete and simple as compared to our own, but social maturity is also hastened by imposed responsibility. For example, a Kafir boy is told, as soon as he cuts his second teeth, that he must withdraw from the society of women and children and associate henceforth with larger boys.[10] The Spartans and others regarded the child as the property of the state, and association with parents and siblings was of secondary importance. It is said of one preliterate group: "Before the age of seven, little girls have begun to take an interest in the duties which will occupy the whole of their [adult] life; and hut-making, manufacture of nets, making thread, collecting vegetable food, and cooking are the order of the day."[11] It is related that as soon as a Seminole boy "has gained sufficient strength to toddle he learns that the more he can do for himself and the more he can contribute to the general domestic welfare, the better he will get along in life. No small amount of the labour in the Seminole household is done by children

[9] Fiske, John, *Excursions of an Evolutionist,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1885, pp. 307-311.

[10] Kidd, Dudley, *Savage Childhood,* p. 84.

[11] Hambly, W. D., and Hose, Charles, *op. cit.,* p. 43.

four years of age."[12] Children in other groups assume responsibilities even earlier. "The Ainus (a light-complexioned people of very primitive culture, located in northern Japan) consider the child who has reached one and one-half years of age and is unable to [care] for himself as 'of no good as an Ainu.' "[13]

Attitudes comparable to these have existed among more advanced people, especially those lacking an economic surplus. Defoe admiringly related of the busy Yorkshire clothiers: "Scarce any Thing above four Years old but its Hands were sufficient for its own Support." In his famous Poor Law Bill Pitt proposed that children should be set to work when they were five;[14] and William Penn, in his *Frame of Government* (1620), declared that all children of twelve years should be taught some useful trade. "Here were the beginnings of the American ideal that work confers usefulness and dignity, and that he who does not render services is a parasite."[15] In 1673 the following order was issued in New York: "If any children be caught on the street playing, racing and shouting, previous to the termination of the last preaching, the officers of justice may take their hat or upper garment which shall not be returned to the parents until they have paid a fine of two guilders." In 1657 boys in Boston were forbidden to play football under a penalty of twenty shillings for each offense.[16] In ancient Greece, boys were expected to walk along the street in silence. In China today custom demands that a boy spend his time in meditation, study, or conversation, rather than in sports, and at sixteen he is said to be as grave and staid as an American grandfather.[17] These examples serve to show that the dependence and irresponsibility which often characterize childhood and youth, especially in modern urban communities, are not due to physical immaturity, but to culture and the social organization. The conduct imposed by these complex social factors may, in turn, be embodied in social policies and legislation, such as child labor- and school attendance-laws.

[12] Miller, Nathan, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 123. See also Todd, Arthur, J., *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1913, pp. 100-101; Milne, Mrs. Leslie, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-60.

[14] Hammond, J. L., and Hammond, B., *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[15] Myers, Gustavus, *The History of American Idealism*, Boni and Liveright, New York, 1925, p. 64.

[16] Corfe, Gertrude, *Inflow and Outgo Social Contacts of Grade and High School Age*, Iowa State College, Ames, 1928, p. 112.

[17] Chrisman, O., *op. cit.*, p. 118.

With the increasing productive efficiency of our agricultural and industrial methods, an even longer dependency and increased school costs or more unemployment may be expected.

(2) CEREMONIAL AND PHYSICAL ADULTHOOD.—Neither does maturation adequately explain the behavior changes which occur at adolescence, for there may be wide variations in a given race in the age of adopting adult ways. In some groups this takes place at the age of 6 or 7, and in others, at adolescence; but in simpler societies the transition to the prescribed adult behavior-pattern seems to be as successful at one age as another. Physical development is continuous and proceeds over a period of years, whereas childish conduct often undergoes a sudden mutation. This may be associated with a stage in growth (as, among the Kafirs, cutting the second teeth), or with chronological age (as the assumption of legal rights in America, or the *toga virilis* in ancient Rome), or with some ceremonial (such as initiation rites among preliterates and confirmation among many present-day societies). In both preliterate and modern groups the growing youths are given to understand that the conduct which is acceptable in children is not suitable for them as adults. The Roro boy receives the name "ibitoe" just before puberty; and thereafter he is expected to spend less time in childish games.[18] Among most peoples there are regulations concerning dress and ornaments, diet, conversation, tattling, forms of address— the use of Mister and Miss, for example—and manners and privileges, the observance of which marks emergence from childhood.

In many primitive societies initiatory rites test the suitability of the neophytes for their new rôles, and impress upon them the type of conduct considered suitable for their prospective status. Even the younger initiates usually endure blows, mutilations, and other torments with stoical composure, for that is the prescribed and esteemed deportment; and if they fail to meet the tests of fortitude they may be required to assume the attire and vocations of women. In Tutu, initiates are told that they must not play with a small canoe or a toy spear, since they are henceforth men and not boys. In the course of the Ba Thonga rites the candidates are warned: "Try now to behave like men; it would be unworthy of you to steal sweet potatoes in the fields as you used to do," the words implying a distinction between the codes and self-control expected

<sup>18</sup> Hambly, W. D., and Hose, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

of children and of adults.[19] The initiates are expected to drop the habit of crying and, in general, to practice self-restraint which has hitherto not been demanded.[20]

In this transition from social childhood to the group's adult personality types, the individual himself is only half the story; the culture and the expectations of his associates supply the other factors. Not only is the individual himself different, but he is treated differently by others. Some of these changes in treatment are definitely prescribed in the folkways, while others are responses to his increasing stature and development. "New things are expected of him and he responds to them, and thus action and counteraction work along till his estate is fully recognized"[21] by himself and others.

(3) SOCIAL VERSUS PHYSICAL DECLINE.—The obvious physical decline which occurs with advancing years is likewise associated with changes in the social rôle. Mental tests show that this decline is not uniform. Thus, Hollingworth's study of 534 adults indicates that scores in word-building, naming opposites, and completion tests remain at a relatively high level; but ability in the substitution test falls off regularly with increasing years. According to the studies of Ranschenburg and Balint, the accuracy of judgment and association decreases and errors increase.[22] On the other hand, Moebius and others have shown that the cortical layers believed to be most closely associated with mental processes may still be developing as late as the age of 63, and that the high point in the powers of attention, reasoning, and judgment often comes during the fifties or early sixties. The opinion expressed by some close students of this question, that the aged abandon the learning attitude[23] even before deterioration sets in, may in general be regarded as valid.

The achievements of many persons of advanced years indicates that efficient old age is not, in all cases, an impossibility,[24] and that the rôle of the aged varies with the general character of the social

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[20] Kidd, Dudley, *Savage Childhood*, p. 122.

[21] Sanford, E. C., "Mental Growth and Decay," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1902, vol. xiii, p. 443.

[22] Hall, G. Stanley, *Senescence*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1922, p. 8.

[23] Beeson, M. F., "Intelligence at Senescence," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1920, vol. iv, pp. 219-234.

[24] Lorand, Arnold, *Building Human Intelligence*, F. A. Davis and Company, Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 74-77.

organization as well as with the capacity and inclination of the individual. Ranke began his history of the world at 80 and finished twelve volumes before death overtook him at 94. Victor Hugo wrote *Torquemada* at 80, and Browning wrote *Asolando* at 76; Verdi was in his eightieth year when he composed *Falstaff*.[25] Most of those whom Francis Galton included in his study of *Men of the Times* were past middle age. Furthermore, leadership by the older men varies from one society to another, owing to differences in the type of pursuits obtaining in different times and places. By reference to the Protestant Reformation, and the Puritan, French, and other revolutions, Gowin concludes that old men rule in quiet periods, while young men conduct reforms.[26] However, the Franco-Prussian and the Russo-Japanese wars, as well as the World War, were directed largely by men of advanced years.[27] In ancient Athens, on the other hand, a man of sixty years was considered to be "old" and was exempt from military duty.[28] In America at the present time there is a tendency to give preference to younger men, and many industries refuse to hire anyone who is more than forty years of age.

Thus society prescribes activities and assigns rôles to those of a given age period. Physiological age affects the efficiency of the activity pursued and sets limits to the possible behavior; but within these bounds, customs, circumstances and the personal relations determine many details as to the mode of deportment.

### MASCULINE AND FEMININE PATTERN TYPES

Culture also largely determines the social rôles held to be appropriate for men and women. Although there are differences in pulse rate, metabolism, stature, weight, and structure, these do not explain why one custom rather than another should persist with reference to the division of labor, the social position, and the personal bearing of men and women.

(1) NATURAL VARIATIONS.—According to some researches women have, on the average, fewer red corpuscles and less chloride of sodium in the blood, an inferior breathing power, and a faster pulse

[25] Chapin, H. D., *Heredity and Child Culture*, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., New York, 1922, p. 212.

[26] Gowin, Enoch B., *The Executive and His Control of Men*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, pp. 264 ff.

[27] *The Outlook*, 1914, vol. cviii, p. 567.

[28] Chrisman, O., *op. cit.*, p. 201.

rate. With regard to quality of voice and development of larynx there are conspicuous differences between the sexes. Color-blindness and hemophilia are not equally distributed between them. The full stature of females is attained approximately at 20, and of males, at 23.[29] The measurement of school children in terms of their proportion to the adult standards of each sex indicates that girls are the more advanced in height, weight, dentition, and brain weight.[30] However, on the average, males are taller at all ages except during the years ten to fifteen. Burt and Moore's measurements of nearly 7000 persons in England showed that, in this sample, the men are 4.71 inches taller than the women, 32.2 pounds heavier, and can pull a weight 35.1 pounds greater. In studying American college students, Sargent found that the men averaged 68 inches in height and 138 pounds in weight, while the women averaged 63 inches in height and 114 pounds in weight.[31] In general, men are more angular and rougher hewn, while women have a greater accumulation of adipose tissue, owing, it is usually supposed, to differences in metabolism, men being katabolic (expending energy) and women anabolic (storing energy).

(2) ADVENTITIOUS DIFFERENCES.—But some of these contrasts are adventitious inasmuch as they are affected by customs prescribing unlike occupations and exertions,[32] as well as unlike demeanor and behavior-patterns. Physical differences between the sexes have been observed to be less marked in Russia than in England or France, because in the latter countries the occupations of men and women are less similar.[33] According to Alexander and Sargent, athletics have caused the disappearance of the ultra-feminine type in America. Similar influences are thought to account for the fact that Danish girls, according to the report of Hertz, increased considerably in height and weight for a given age period during the twenty-seven years in which measurements were kept, while boys

[29] Baldwin, B. T., "The Physical Growth of Children from Birth to Maturity," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare,* vol. i, June, 1921.

[30] Beik, A. K., "Physiological Age and School Entrance," *Pedagogical Seminary,* 1913, vol. xx, pp. 277-321.

[31] Burt, Cyril, and Moore, Robert, "The Mental Differences between the Sexes," *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy,* 1911-1912, vol. i, p. 278; Dunlap, Knight, *Social Psychology,* The Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1925, pp. 27-32.

[32] Finot, Jean, *The Problem of the Sexes,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1913, pp. 145-146.

[33] Ellis, Havelock, *Man and Woman,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1917, p. 5.

made no gains.[34] The effects of occupation have also been said to change the so-called katabolic tendency of men. When men are consigned to domestic tasks, as among the ancient Celts, the Kamchadales, and some other peoples, they are said to have been flabby in appearance.[35]

If these statements are taken at their face value, it is obvious that some of the physical, as well as the attitudinal, characteristics which are popularly called masculine or feminine are not inherent,[36] but are results of dissimilar positions in the social organization and variations in the pattern type which supply the models of the man-as-he-should-be and the woman-as-she-should-be.[37] The allotment of occupations has no consistently logical connection with the differences in strength or with the nurture of the young, for men do not invariably perform the heavier or more exacting tasks. The effect of conventional attitudes is also seen by the fact that while, on the basis of the age of physical maturity, girls would be self-supporting a few years earlier than their brothers are, the reverse is generally true, at least among the native American stock, as statistics of employment and school attendance prove.[38] Thus, factors other than primary sex differences contribute to the functional rôles assumed by men and women.

Like conventional factors also affect various differences in performance recorded by mental tests of girls and boys, such as the special aptitudes exhibited by girls in linguistic accomplishments and by boys in mechanical pursuits. The evidence thus far produced has failed to show any differences in the inherent ability of the sexes. In summarizing the investigations on this topic, W. H. Burnham says: "The psychological studies give no satisfactory evidence of significant psychological differences of a biological character."[39]

[34] Reviewed in *Pedagogical Seminary*, 1913, vol. xx, p. 544.

[35] Vaerting, Mathilde, and Vaerting, Mathias, *The Dominant Sex*, Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., New York, 1923, p. 101.

[36] Hinkle, Beatrice, "On the Arbitrary Use of the Terms 'Masculine' and 'Feminine,'" *Psychoanalytical Review*, January, 1920, vol. vii, pp. 15-30.

[37] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, pp. 203 ff.

[38] Ross, Frank A., *op. cit.*

[39] Burnham, W. H., "Sex Differences in Mental Ability," *Educational Review*, 1921, vol. lxii, p. 273.

Convenient summaries may be found in Ellis, Havelock, *Man and Woman*; Finot, Jean, *The Problem of the Sexes*; Thomas, W. I., *Sex and Society*; Thompson, Helen B., *The Mental Traits of Sex*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1903, pp. 178-180; Wooley, Helen Thompson, "The Psychology of Sex," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1914, vol. xi, pp. 353-379; Burt, Cyril, and Moore, Robert, *op.*

Where differences are observed, therefore, they may be ascribable to adventitious factors. The pattern type, as well as the situation, differs for the sexes. "A large part of a boy's attention goes toward the manipulating of tools and making of contrivances of various sorts. A girl's less active existence must be filled with some other sort of conscious process."[40]

Even in early childhood, boys and girls are given hints as to the respective rôles they are to play. The little girl of three preens herself in emulation of the grown-up lady; she plays with dolls because this rôle is put before her, not because of a mothering instinct; and her brother is pronounced to be a "real boy" when he engages in motor exploits. Differences in social expectations also lie back of the imputed superior tact shown by women in dealing with social situations. Boys are urged to be self-assertive; girls, to assume a more quiet demeanor. Thus in patriarchal societies a boy learns very early that he is the master, the worker, the future support and hope of the family, and he is expected to become able to earn enough to support a family in addition to himself. Girls are usually under no such compulsion, and they are therefore less likely to be impelled by a financial standard of personal success; they are under greater pressure to busy themselves with the social amenities.

That the feminine and masculine types are, in various important respects, due to conventions is also clear from the fact that the rôles are *interchangeable* and undergo *modifications* as the "spirit of the age" changes. The interchangeability of the conventional rôles is suggested by many data from a wide range of sources, such as those assembled by Briffault in his three-volume study, *The Mothers,* and by the functional variations already discussed in Chapter XIII and in the sources there cited. In some societies women are assigned to positions of political leadership, and elsewhere they assume military service, as was once true, for instance, among some Africans, the Patagonians, Apaches, Tasmanians, and other tribes.[41] A temporary interchange of rôles may even be provided for in customs which allow men and women to exchange social positions on festive occasions. Other departures from the usual pat-

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*cit.,* pp. 273-284, 355-388; Hollingworth, Leta S., "Sex Differences in Mental Traits," *Psychological Bulletin,* 1916, vol. xiii, no. 10, pp. 377-384, and vol. xvi, 1919, pp. 371-373; Lincoln, E. A., *Sex Differences in School Children,* Warwick and York, Baltimore, 1927.

[40] Thompson, Helen B., *The Mental Traits of Sex,* p. 180.

[41] Davie, Maurice R., *op. cit.,* pp. 30-45.

tern type may also be permitted. For instance, in the new-world colony of New Amsterdam, on one day each year (Vrowen Dagh) any girl could lash any boy with the cord whip that she was entitled to carry for this purpose.[42] Ethnographic data record that either sex (some writers say the one which is subordinated) may assume the more conspicuously ornamented clothing.[43]

That the masculine and feminine types as-they-should-be also *differ greatly from one time to another* in the same society is clear from our own customs. The "lady" of former centuries is rapidly passing, due to changes in attitudes and in the social organization. The black-bonneted grandmother of the past generation has been succeeded by the sprightly elderly lady; the traditional activities of the old-fashioned mother are also rapidly passing. The masculine rôle likewise changes in response to variations in the social structure and the behavior ways inculcated and unconsciously suggested.

John Stuart Mill maintained that the intellectual and moral differences between men and women, though apparently ineradicable, could not be assumed to be innate until all the characteristics which might be due to traditions and external circumstances were deducted.[44] This would be possible only if all social distinctions could be eliminated, so that boys and girls would grow up under identical circumstances, and expectations and reactions on the part of other persons.[45] Thus in view of the many subtle intellectual and situational differences under which the sexes are reared, there is a factual basis for Mill's statement that "of all vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences."[46] Karl Pearson, who studied five thousand subjects in an effort to discover the connection between certain physical characteristics and abilities, concluded that "there is very little relationship between the external physical and the psychical characters in man."[47] Ac-

[42] Parsons, Elsie, *Social Rule*, p. 5.

[43] Vaerting, Mathilda, and Vaerting, Mathias, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 ff.

[44] Mill, John Stuart, *The Subjection of Women*, J. B. Lippincott and Company, Philadelphia, 1869, p. 41.

[45] Davenport, Isabel, *Salvaging American Girlhood*, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., New York, 1924, p. 265.

[46] Mill, John Stuart, *Principles of Political Economy*, The Colonial Press, New York, 1900, vol. i, p. 311.

[47] Pearson, Karl, "On the Relation of Intelligence to the Size and Shape of the Head," pp. 128 ff.

cordingly, if individuals having similar physical traits—members of the same race or of the same age group and sex group, as well as those of the same vocational status—have personal similarities, these may be due to the folkways and demands of the culture and of the position occupied in the given social organization. Finally, differences in social types may be due to unique personal relations, and we next proceed to this topic.

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# CHAPTER XXXV

## Personality in Primary Group Relations

The preceding five chapters have described the person in respect to culture and the social organization, with the resulting personality traits that characterize the members of one group as compared with another. As we have seen, similarities in temperament, habits of thought, and bodily pose, no less than in clothing and speech, tend to develop within homogeneous groups; and at the same time, differences between group members arise out of unique personal experiences. Within a culture may be found all sorts of people—lazy, industrious, merry, somber, scheming, ingenuous, mystic, rebellious, haughty, humble, and gentle. Variations appear even within a small primary group such as the family. These differences are developed within the general pattern supplied by the culture and are an expression of adjustments to the personal-social environment. This will become clear from the analysis of the following topics: first, the development of behavior-patterns through experience in a personal-social environment, discussed in the present chapter; second, self-appraisals, or the individual's conception of his rôle; third, the effect of unsatisfactory group relations; and fourth, conditions producing personality changes (Chapter XXXVI).

In addition to the personality traits which are due to culture, there are others which must be ascribed to the personal relations among immediate associates. Just as the contrast between one group, such as a nation, and another group is the source of group self-consciousness, so personal consciousness is due primarily to the realization of the self as distinct from other persons. Self-consciousness begins as a social, rather than an individual, phenomenon. Mind is not given to man *en bloc* but is developed through experience, largely with other persons. An individual does not acquire a "self"[1]—a conception of his rôle—except through association with others (see Chapter VIII).

[1] See the writings of Mead, Cooley, Faris, Dewey, Baldwin, Royce, and Park and Burgess.

During the first months of life the infant experiences its environment only in terms of undefined bodily states. People respond to the child's earliest activities (see Chapter VI) by restraining, pacifying, ignoring, coaxing, scolding, or soothing it. As it becomes aware of the symbolic nature of its own and others' acts, it rehearses in language and imagination other people's responses to its own acts. Thereby communication is established. When this stage has been reached, the child who is deprived of close and preoccupying companionship projects imaginary playmates, just as the adult hermit, trapper, herder, or other isolated individual talks to himself. At every stage a person "is really in part some one else."[2]

In fact, social interaction is as essential for the sense of self as is the brain, and one's rôle among his associates is understandable only through the reciprocal responses of all the immediate participants. This process may be further subdivided for purposes of analysis into the trial and error acquisition of a rôle, and the suggested rôle.

### THE TRIAL AND ERROR ACQUISITION OF A RÔLE

(1) EARLY CONDITIONING.—Behavior-patterns are built upon early conditionings which may begin even during the first days and weeks of life. Although individual differences undoubtedly exist among infants—due not only to heredity but also to various prenatal influences, such as malnutrition, poisons, and injuries of many kinds—it is also certain that the stimuli supplied by attendants and by the non-personal environment are unlike for different children, even in the same family. Consequently, variations will occur in the conditioning, and the quality of the early habits thus formed in turn affects subsequent reactions to stimuli and thereby influences all later integrations. For this reason, more or less definite behavior-patterns may be traced to such apparently insignificant factors as routine methods of care given by nurses. Excessive handling and excitation are likely to result in irritable and aggressive, instead of stable and even-tempered, personalities. As the child develops, it continues to experiment, in a trial and error way, with its personal-social environment. It repeats those actions which are most satisfying, and abandons or modifies those which are painful. If a "friendly" reaction is followed by pleasing effects, this action-

pattern tends to become fixed as a habit. Or obversely, if tantrums afford gratification, they will condition displays of temper which may be perceptible even in adult life.

However, trial and error reactions which readily prove success-ful in one group may not do so in another. Therefore, the culture, and even the composition and character of the group, such as the number of associates, their comparative age and abilities, and the occasions which hold the association together, become highly sig-nificant in the study of personality. The age of the parents may be an important factor in the training of their child. The number of siblings and the presence of relatives or of lodgers or other outsiders are important variables. The "only child," if unduly isolated, de-velops unique personality traits. But the question of family size is apparently less important than the adjustments necessitated by eco-nomic and social conditions.[3] Each child in the family is presented with a somewhat distinctive situation as regards parental attitudes, the presence or characteristics of siblings, economic conditions, familial worries etc., all of which may vary at critical age periods for the several children in the same home.[4]

The attitudes of associates and especially of the dominant per-sons, as, for instance, the parents in the family group, are important influences in conditioning behavior-patterns.[5] Unusually laudatory attitudes on the part of parents or associates result in false stand-ards of success and a warped self-appraisal—the insufferable child. Excessively critical attitudes and a lack of appreciation lead to fear and timidity—the docile type. Too much protection is likely to result in over-dependence or rebellion because of the loss of status. Pampering and favoritism produce the domineering and inconsid-erate type—the proverbially spoiled child, who has been condi-tioned to action ways which are generally disapproved and who, in consequence, is destined to be maladjusted socially. Excessive or demonstrative sympathy leads to malingering and hypochondriacal behavior. Harsh treatment and domination produce negativistic

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[3] See citations by Murphy, Gardner, and Murphy, Lois B., *op. cit.*, pp. 343 ff.

[4] Weill, Blanche C., *The Behavior of Young Children of the Same Family,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1928, p. 4.

[5] Wickes, Mrs. Frances, "Individual and Group Relationship in the Family," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1929, vol. xxiv, pp. 264-265; Nimkoff, Meyer F., "Emotional Tensions Due to Family Relationships: The Relation of Parental Dominance to Parent-Child Conflict," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1930, vol. xxv, p. 209; Sheffield, Ada, "Condition-ing Patterns in the Family Circle," *Social Forces,* 1929-1930, vol. viii, pp. 533-535.

action-patterns or excessive submissiveness; undiscriminative ap-
probation develops the "show-off" child or adult who is disinclined
to persevere in difficult tasks and expects reward without effort.

There is considerable disagreement as to the age at which per-
sonality traits become established. Gesell showed that marked dif-
ferences are readily observable in infancy;[6] and Washburn found
that as regards expressiveness, such as crying or laughing, most
children remain "true to type" throughout the first year.[7] Other
writers maintain that personality assumes definite organization at
about the third year. But it is more accurate to say that personal-
ity is determined as soon as a general type of reaction has been
repeated often enough to become well channelized. In the case of
some traits, this may occur as early as the first or second week of
life. In the second year, children show marked differences in their
responses to similar situations, such as the withholding of a toy or
the lack of attention by companions. At that age one child may be
shy and reticent, another aggressive or talkative, while a third may
pout or run away. Nursery school children have clearly marked
personality-patterns or traits—shyness, the expression of sympathy,
curiosity about others, demonstrativeness, stubbornness, a cheerful
or sorrowful mien, suggestibility, companionableness, etc. In their
adjustments with one another, children show a marked con-
sistency of behavior: The pleading child pleads constantly, regard-
less of who its companion is; the commanding child shows a similar
uniformity of behavior.[8] According to observation, one child talked
90 per cent of the time, and others did not talk at all; one child
dominated in 95 per cent of the tests, while another held a leading
position only 5 per cent of the time.[9] The child who has grown
skillful in domination derives even greater skill in this respect from

[6] Gesell, A., *The Mental Growth of the Pre-School Child*; Verry, Ethel, "A
Study of Personality in Pre-School Play Groups," *Journal of Social Forces*, 1924-
1925, vol. iii, pp. 645-648; Pearson, Ruth, "Pre-School Personality Research,"
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Behavior Field," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1930, vol. xxv,
p. 193.

[7] Washburn, R. W., "A Study of the Smiling and Laughing of Infants in the
First Year of Life," *Genetic Psychological Monographs*, 1929, vol. vi, pp. 397-537.

[8] Thomas, W. I., and Thomas, Dorothy S., *The Child in America,* Alfred A.
Knopf, New York, 1928, p. 520.

[9] Anderson, John E., "The Genesis of Social Reactions in the Young Child,"
*The Unconscious, A Symposium,* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928, p. 81.

personal contacts, while the subordinated child becomes more rigidly bound to the rôle it has habitually utilized. A child who is unsociable at the time of entering school makes less progress in sociability than one who has already acquired this adaptability.

However, some behavior-patterns belong only to certain definite relations and situations. For example, the child's behavior in the presence of its older sister or grandmother or chum may be unlike that adopted toward its parents. This is due to the previous conditioning, the meaning the situation (the established relations) has for the subject, or the purpose he has in mind. Therefore, in order to understand a person we must see him in various situations and know something of his experiences with all his associates.

(2) RIVALRY FOR ESTEEMED POSITIONS.—After the first years of childhood the desire to maintain a favorable place among one's associates becomes an increasingly important source of motivation. This is suggested by the tremendous efforts expended to outdo or to please others.

> Evidence of the definition of rôles in a family is seen in the child who feels compelled to prove that he is equal to others or at least is able to do many things. "Do you know what I can do?" he asks. "I can run as fast as you can. I can turn a somerset, but Bobby can't, he is too small. I can't read but I am going to school as soon as I am old enough and then I will learn to read everything." All these and many more statements that one hears are concrete evidence that there is a rôle to play based on the desire for recognition. The struggle to fill a rôle for which the child is poorly equipped or the struggle against a certain rôle are also important situations for studying the processes by which human nature develops.[10]

Since every group has its own standards of excellence or success, individuals rival one another in conventional ways to secure an esteemed position in their group—eminence in a certain skill or quality, acquisitiveness, vindictiveness, humility, asceticism, gluttony, generosity, effusiveness, stoicism, studiousness, slaying opponents, athletic prowess, or whatever is held to have value in a given clique or culture. The effectiveness with which individuals prosecute this rivalry is influenced by their prestige, abilities, and even their physiognomy and stature.

[10] Brown, L. G., "Development of Diverse Patterns of Behavior Among Children in the Same Family," *The Family*, 1928, vol. ix, p. 38.

For this reason physical traits, no less than mental qualities, are significant in the study of personality if, and to the extent that, they are objects of attention and affect social relations. In this (not in any direct linking of conduct with somatic traits popularly held to be prognostic) lies the significance of physical characteristics for the study of personality. Since F. J. Gall (1758-1826) exploited his theory of phrenology, numerous writers have insisted upon a correlation between physical and mental characteristics. The cartoonists' art and the satirists' pen have supplied many erroneous stereotypes. Havelock Ellis maintains that blonds are energetic, sanguine, and ambitious, and that brunettes are passive and contemplative. The corpulent person is quaintly assumed to be good-humored.[11] One writer assures us that fine soft hair most frequently denotes timidity,[12] while another advises us that heavy brows indicate this quality.[13] Aristotle believed that people with thick, bulbous noses were irascible and easily provoked.[14] Some recent theorists have renewed the attempt to classify character according to body build; one of the best known of such attempts is that of Kretschmer.[15] On this basis he defines three types: the asthenic or lean, narrowly built type; the athletic or strongly developed frame; and the pyknic or rotund figure. He considers the first and second types to be introverted, and the third, to be characterized by manic-depressive tendencies. While this subject is deserving of research, the data thus far presented are worthless because the types are roughly classified, the units are inadequate, and no control groups have been studied with correction as to age, occupation, culture antecedents, etc.

More promising is the study of the endocrine system and its effect on physical types and, probably, on mental traits and temperament. Some investigators have attempted to show that deviations in behavior are due to variations in body chemistry, such as the degree of acidity or alkalinity. For example, Gilbert Rich finds that when acidity is high excitability tends to be low, and *vice*

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[11] Blackford, Katherine, *Analyzing Character*, Review of Reviews Company, New York, 1916, p. 138.

[12] Mantegazza, Paolo, *Physiognomy and Expression,* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1914, p. 197.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 35.

[14] *Encyclopedia Britannica,* eleventh edition, vol. xxi, article on "Physiognomy."

[15] Kretschmer, Ernst, *Physique and Character,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1925.

*versa*. However, such studies lack verification, the use of adequate samples, and precision of measurement with reference to the traits which are surmised to be the equivalent of the variations in body chemistry.

Also, for the most part, they ignore the significance of the social factors involved. The carbon dioxide content of the blood, a by-product of fatigue, which is found in excess in some stammerers, is apparently due to the strain under which they labor, and therefore cannot be the cause of their affliction. If, as Karl Pearson believes, delicate children are slightly more self-conscious than healthy children, and the latter are more quick-tempered, assertive, noisy and popular,[16] this difference may be ascribed to the results of the trial and error adjustments among associates. Such a conclusion is corroborated by studies which show that the differences in children's strength may have an observable influence upon behavior-patterns,[17] and that, according to Allen and Pearson, the physical disabilities occurring in early childhood affect personality largely through the relationships thereby produced within the group.[18] Thus, the significance of physical traits for the purpose at hand lies in the way they help to determine or modify the personal rôle and personal adjustments.

Attitudes toward physical traits rest in part on individual psychology (preference for the familiar or aversion for the unusual), and in part on conventions. Each race usually considers its typical individuals attractive. But under some conditions exceptional traits may be esteemed—for instance, the Kafirs have great respect for anyone who has hair on his face; and they imagine a man with a beard to be a great personage. For this reason, one chief forbade his subjects to grow maize which produced silks longer than his own whiskers, lest he lose status through the unfavorable comparison.[19] Under the present condition of food-abundance, adolescents consider slenderness an estimable trait.[20] Even minor physical peculiarities afford a basis for congenial relations or, conversely, for dislike

[16] Pearson, Karl, *Health in Relation to Mentality and Physique,* University Press, Cambridge, England, 1923, pp. 48-60.

[17] Thomas, Dorothy S., *Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior,* Columbia University Press, Teachers College, New York, 1921, p. 56.

[18] Allen, F. H., and Pearson, G. H. J., "The Emotional Problems of the Physically Handicapped Child," *British Journal of Medical Psychology,* 1928, vol. viii, pp. 212-235.

[19] Kidd, Dudley, *The Essential Kafir,* p. 26.

[20] Miller, Cora K., *op. cit.*

and avoidance, discrimination, indifference, or insult and teasing by associates.[21] Consequently, the "ugly duckling" in the family and play group may suffer emotional disturbances and feelings of inferiority, with the resulting secretive and sensitive behavior, or, instead, over-compensating assertiveness. Thus any trait which becomes an object of attention is significant in the development of personality, even if it has no prognostic value as regards mental traits. Most individual differences are so involved in the process of social adjustment; and while individual variations are taken for granted, these are participative and limiting elements within the social process, rather than autonomous forces which find direct expression in personality-patterns.[22]

A person who possesses the traits which are esteemed by the members of his group and who integrates their efforts about himself becomes a leader. Each group has its own requirements for leadership. In gangs, the one who says, "Come on," who steals most, "fights best," plays ball best, is "gamest" or most shrewd may thereby be the center of *rapport*. Among preliterates, prowess, skill in hunting or warring, shrewdness, suggestibility, liberality, wealth, command of vocabulary, the number of wounds received in battle, taciturnity, calmness, communicativeness, or whatever is in keeping with the group's inclinations, bestows prestige and produces leadership.[23]

The characteristics most frequently found in leaders among school children, as reported by one study, are skill in play, power and aggressiveness, health, sociability, impartiality, and fairness.[24] Some investigators find that leaders are usually conspicuous because they are dressed better than others, have prominent relatives, or are more daring, more fluent, better-looking, less selfish, or less emotional than the rest of the clique.[25] Ackerson finds that among

[21] Hall, G. S., *Adolescence*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1916, vol. ii, pp. 112 ff.

[22] Zeleny, L. D., "A Guide for Social Interaction Studies of School Children," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1928-1929, vol. ii, pp. 239-242.

[23] Leopold, Lewis, *Prestige*, F. Fisher Unwin, London, 1913, pp. 151 ff.; Webster, H., "Primitive Individual Ascendancy," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1917, vol. xii, pp. 46-60.

[24] Wellman, B., "The School Child's Choice of Companions," *Journal of Educational Research*, 1926, vol. xiv, pp. 126-132; Caldwell, O. W., and Wellman, B., "Characteristics of School Leaders," *ibid.*, pp. 1-13.

[25] Terman, L. M., "A Preliminary Study in the Psychology and Pedagogy of Leadership," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 1904, vol. xi, pp. 413-451.

behavior-problem children
unpopularity increases with I.Q.
tively higher I.Q.'s show a greater tendency
popularity or unpopularity in comparison with
I.Q.'s who may manifest this trait [sic] in a more indifferent de-
gree."[26] Another observer says that children of extraordinary in-
telligence are not as likely to be leaders in a group of average chil-
dren as are those who are merely superior.[27]

Among college students, prestige is specialized, so that promi-
nence in athletics may be achieved irrespective of other attainments.
According to one study, athletic leaders, on the average, have a low
academic record. Perrin[28] found that the popularity of students was
due less to their physical traits than to the activities in which they
engaged; and this agrees with Karl Pearson's conclusion that there
is a low correlation between popularity and eye- and hair-color and
hair-texture.[29] Gowin finds that executives in industrial concerns,
university presidents, the leading urban clergymen, governors, etc.,
are taller than the average;[30] but there are many well-known ex-
ceptions. Such data may indicate either the development of self-
assertiveness by tall persons, or social selection according to size,
age, and class differences, as discussed in Chapter XXXIII.

Whatever his qualities, the leader plays this rôle only by virtue
of the attitudes of his associates and their willingness to assume
the position of supporters or followers.[31] The public speaker or
teacher is limited and led by the reactions of his audience; the
hypnotist receives, as well as exerts, influence, for otherwise his art
would fail—the leader is himself led: he is responsive to what the
group wants in view of its traditions and circumstances.[32] In fine,

[26] Ackerson, Luton, *Children's Behavior Problems,* University of Chicago Press,
Chicago, 1931, vol. i, p. 249.

[27] Hollingworth, L. S., *Gifted Children,* The Macmillan Company, New York,
1926.

[28] Perrin, F. A., "Physical Attractiveness and Repulsiveness," *Journal of Experi-
mental Psychology,* 1921, vol. iv, pp. 203-217. Cf. Moore, L. H., "Leadership Traits
of College Women," *Sociology and Social Research,* September-October, 1932,
vol. xviii, pp. 44-45; Mehus, O. Myking, "Extra-Curricular Activities at the Uni-
versity of Minnesota," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 1927-1928, vol. i, pp.
545-552.

[29] Pearson, Karl, *Health in Relation to Mentality and Physique,* pp. 25, 30, 39.

[30] Gowin, Enoch B., *op. cit.,* p. 25.

[31] Kincheloe, S. C., "The Prophet as Leader," *Sociology and Social Research,*
1927-1928, vol. xii, pp. 461-468.

[32] Strow, Carl W., "The Turnover of Leadership in the Community," *Journal*

status is determined on the one hand by the extent to which indi-
viduals participate in the common purposes and measure up to the
accepted norms, and on the other hand, by the extent to which they
are able to secure adherence to their own purposes.

But leadership is only one of many types of personal relations
found in every group, for differences in ability, chance success, and
variations in attitudes produce manifold personal relations. The
minuteness of these adjustments varies inversely with social dis-
tance, so that the most subtle *nuances* of personal position and the
keenest self-feelings are likely to be found in the family and
play group.

### THE SUGGESTED RÔLE

In addition to the trial and error procedure in making adjust-
ments to the personal-social environment, an individual may acquire
a rôle because of the *rapport* between himself and another person
who supplies the suggestion and the behavior models. In this way
even subtle mannerisms are transferred from parent to child,
thereby leading the uncritical to suppose that the similarities are
necessarily inherited. Although a child may act very much like one
parent—may have similar mannerisms, be quick-tempered and im-
pulsive, or the reverse—it is certain, according to Kantor, that if
circumstances had been different, and the other parent had been
equally and exclusively *en rapport*, the child would have acquired
the latter parent's mannerisms and bearing.[33]

The significance of the primary group in suggesting a life organi-
zation is also shown by the continuity of vocations in families (see
Chapter XIV), for occupational choices are influenced by both
family circumstances and suggestions. Furthermore, parents may
look to their children to realize their own thwarted ambitions.[34]

*of Applied Sociology,* 1924-1925, vol. ix, pp. 366-372; Chapin, F. S., "Socialized
Leadership," *Journal of Social Forces,* November, 1924, vol. iii, pp. 57-60; Bow-
man, LeRoy E., "An Approach to the Study of Leadership," *Journal of Applied
Sociology,* 1926-1927, vol. xi, pp. 315-321; Burr, Walter, *Community Leadership,*
Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1929.

[33] Kantor, J. R., "How Do We Acquire Our Basic Reactions," *Psychological
Review,* 1921, vol. xxviii, p. 355. Cf. Nimkoff, Meyer F., "Parent-Child Intimacy,"
*Social Forces,* 1928-1929, vol. vii, pp. 244-249.

[34] Young, Kimball, "The Parent-Child Relationship: Projection of Ambition,"
*The Family,* May, 1927, vol. viii, pp. 67-73; Sayles, M. B., *The Problem Child at
Home,* The Commonwealth Fund, Division on Publications, New York, 1928,
pp. 41-52.

The exhortations to "make good" and to aspire to a larger horizon, to do something worth while in the world, are often a great spur to the young.[35] But if the vocation or rôle so urged does not fit the abilities of the children, if there are severe rivalries among siblings for an exclusive rôle, or if there has already been a fixation of attitudes which are incompatible with the parental wish, then tensions, emotional disturbances, and maladjustments are likely to follow. In these days when the young so largely derive their outlook on life from social contacts outside the home, family traditions and ambitions decrease correspondingly in importance, whereas in simpler societies, parental ambitions are more likely to give their desired direction to careers.

The suggestion of a behavior-pattern may be given casually, as in the hint that a person would be successful in a given vocation or that some mannerism is becoming or unbecoming; that "people like" this or that demeanor. An example of the significance of suggestion in supplying a pattern type is offered by hypnosis in which, after the subject is asleep, he assumes the prescribed character. In so doing, he forgets his own age, sex, social position, nationality, clothing; only the idea of the proposed type remains. Everything which is inconsistent with it is eliminated and the mien —haughtiness, humility, speech mannerisms, posture, or even the philosophy of life—is made to harmonize with the suggested rôle.[36]

Some such process as this, although less instant, takes place in the usual acquisition of a vocation, or a conception of one's rôle or the organization of attitudes. The aphorism that "one may as well have the fame as the name" epitomizes this tendency for an individual to respond to the expectations of others. "Great actors," says E. H. Sothern, "are conceived by and born of the parts they are permitted to play."[37] Autobiographical records indicate that the direction of effort, and thus the life organization, may turn on a single suggestion. Literature is an important agency for implanting these suggestions, but personal contact is the more universal means of conveying hints and giving direction to a career. At present the vocational guidance movement represents an effort to help the youth to visualize different careers, if not to suggest a choice for

[35] Hall, G. S., *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1923, pp. 79 ff.

[36] See Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 113-117.

[37] Sothern, E. H., From an unpublished public address.

him. However, the occupation is only one of many items which must be harmonized with the individual's conception of his rôle. Just as every factory worker or soldier fills a place in the organization of which he is a part, so every person is, in a sociological sense, the part he plays among associates. To be in a group is to have status, even though it may be less esteemed or less secure than that to which one aspires.

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

(See bibliography at close of Chapter XXXVI.)

# The Individual's Conception of His Rôle

Experience in a personal-social environment is a source not only of behavior-patterns but also of self-appraisals; and if this experience is abnormal, it gives rise to undesirable personal traits. Furthermore, because of this dependence of personality on the social situation, the personality may be modified when the environment changes.[1]

## SELF-APPRAISALS

The individual's conception of his own rôle, in conjunction with the attitudes of his associates toward him, determines his social position. Self-appraisal, like self-consciousness in the first instance, results from contact with, and judgment by, other individuals; and it may arise even from the imagined or imputed opinions of others. The self-feeling thus aroused in response to actual or inferred judgments has been labeled the "looking-glass self." This consists of three phases: a perception or inference as to how one appears to others, information or a surmise as to their judgment of that appearance, and some kind of self-feeling in response to this reported or inferred judgment.

A person has an idea of his own merits and peculiarities only in terms of this mirrored self, which expands in the presence of other people of smaller attainments and contracts under reverse conditions. The occasions for such comparisons are indefinitely numerous, and pertain to any activity, possession, or attribute which is either a positive or a negative value in the group. Therefore the looking-glass self varies with each group to which the person belongs, and with the degree of *rapport* and the points of rivalry. Because externalities—clothing, place of abode, property, and display—are so readily perceptible, they involve perpetual problems for the hypersensitive people who cannot "imagine" themselves living on X or Y streets or wearing such and such clothing—"It doesn't look like

[1] See the introductory paragraph to chap. xxxv.

me," they say. While the individual's estimate of himself is affected by the attitudes of his associates, their estimate of him, in turn, is colored by his own opinion of himself and his consequent bearing, in keeping with the familiar saying that self-esteem equals success plus pretensions. Self-feeling and the conception of one's rôle are thus directly affected by the *rapport* and amity, or, conversely, by rivalries, jealousies, and animosities, obtaining especially within the primary group.

The comparative evaluation of a person by himself and others has been subjected to attempted measurements. Some studies, such as those of Hollingworth and Kinder,[2] show that individuals tend to overestimate themselves in regard to desirable traits and to underestimate themselves in regard to undesirable traits. Other studies find no such tendency; and still others conclude that inferior people overrate, and the superior underrate, themselves. In general, the tests show that in our own culture there is a tendency toward self-overestimation; in the Chinese culture, on the other hand, there is an opposite tendency, according to one study.[3]

Success in gaining a favorable status engenders a self-assurance which may extend to other situations and become a more or less permanent personality-pattern. Maladjustment exists when the individual's conception of himself disagrees radically with others' appraisals of him, or when his behavior-patterns and attitudes are out of harmony with those of his group. Many of the practical problems of group life, it has been said, arise from the struggle of individuals to realize their conception of their position among their associates.[4] Failure may lead either to withdrawal and humility, or to intensified self-assertion in order to preserve or improve the status and compensate for the feeling of inferiority. The theory of Alfred Adler, the psychoanalyst, that a weak organ leads to a feeling of inferiority and thus to compensatory behavior, has been elaborated to include all characteristics which might cause such self-feeling.

The occasions producing inferiority feelings are the usual negative values, familiar items being poverty, a disesteemed culture back-

[2] Kinder, J. S., "Through Our Own Looking-Glass," *School and Society*, 1925, vol. xxii, pp. 533-536.

[3] Shen, E., "The Validity of Self-Estimate," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1925, vol. xvi, pp. 104-108.

[4] Burgess, E. W., "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Persons," *The Family*, 1926, vol. vii, p. 8.

ground, physical defects, poor attainments, or whatever may lead to unfavorable comparison. The over-assertiveness or belligerency of some small-statured persons has been ascribed to their desire to offset a sense of inferiority. The effort to overcome a weakness (stuttering, lameness, poor health) has led many people to excel in the line of their former deficiency or in some other pursuit which offered a ready means of compensatory achievement. However, such known cases do not warrant the conclusion that all the achievements of persons with handicaps are ascribable to the efforts engendered by the realization of the weakness or the inferiority feeling so entailed; for many people have some discernible defect, and everyone is surpassed in some respects by his associates. Therefore, it follows also that some sense of inferiority is a universal experience among normal persons.

The conceptions of the self become organized about a *career* and a *philosophy of life*. The philosophy of life is the reflective premise from which one proceeds in planning a line of conduct; it is the basis for the decision as to what things are most worth while and what one's relation to these values shall be. From the values supplied or urged by his group, the individual constructs a plan and a goal, on the basis of which he accepts or rejects competing values. Some persons, and also some culture groups, may be unmoved by a desire for prestige and display, by vanity or hedonistic pursuits, riches, physical prowess, or the acclaim of the crowd; while others bend their energy in these directions. Some have a sense of obligation, a "mission" to which they owe loyalty; others regard self-gratification as the end of existence. Some elements entering into the philosophy of life are copied from the models supplied by society—they are the subjective (personal) aspect of culture; other elements are a recombination of existing ideas. Although a philosophy of life is supplied by every homogeneous social group, the people within it make more or less independent combinations of the available elements and thus arrive at a correspondingly distinctive orientation and career; or they may repudiate the values of their group and develop negativistic and egocentric behavior-patterns.

### EFFECT OF UNSATISFACTORY GROUP RELATIONS

The influence of personal relations upon behavior-patterns and attitude-balance may be illustrated by observing the consequences of (1) disturbed relations within a group, and (2) the attempt to live

simultaneously in two social worlds—as occurs in the case of the so-called "marginal" individuals.

(1) BEHAVIOR SYMPTOMATIC OF DISTURBED SOCIAL RELATIONS.— Various unwholesome traits which will be illustrated in subsequent paragraphs result from unsatisfactory personal relations. The processes are, in the main, similar to those already described; but the antagonisms, tensions, lack of *rapport*, etc., which develop under definable circumstances, tend to produce abnormal personality traits.[5] Some tensions in the family group arise from the attitudes of the parents and the resulting difficulties of making satisfactory adjustments with the children; others arise from unsatisfactory adjustments among siblings, and still others are incidental to the difficulties of harmonizing the personal relations with the limitations and demands imposed by our modern social organization. Each of these will be noted very briefly.

Because parents supply the earliest stimuli and the models which produce much of the conditioning of the young, and because they also constitute the dominant members of the group to whom adjustments must be made, they exercise great influence in the development of either wholesome or unwholesome traits in their child. Inasmuch as the method of conditioning has already been described, only the process of adjustment under unsatisfactory parent-child relationships requires further comment. Such relationships may arise from various conditions: the emotional difficulties of the elders, their incompatibilities, jealousies, quarreling, the excessive domination of one parent by the other or of the child by one or both parents, etc. Parents may be over-solicitous, easily troubled or annoyed, over-exacting or too lenient, over-demonstrative, excitable, or coarse and brutal. They may have too little or too much leisure, or they may be afflicted with egotism, fears, remorse or a sense of guilt. Indeed, any parental characteristic which gives a sense of over-dependence or insecurity, or which produces recurrent emotional tensions and disturbances, tends to be reflected in various types of behavior in the child, and may therefore be said to be symptomatic of the social situation. This is described as follows by one writer: "It is believed that the child seeks in the parental relationship, love, security, recognition and approval. When the parents,

[5] Tilson, M. A., *Problems of Pre-School Children,* Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1929, no. 356; Sayles, M. B., *op. cit.,* pp. 65-84; Wile, Ira S., "Problem Parents and Problem Children," in *Our Neurotic Age,* edited by Samuel D. Schmalhausen, Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1932, pp. 775-795.

because of their own emotional problems, are not able to satisfy the child, [it] expresses [its] need in symptomatic behavior. . . . The child [at times] does not project his dissatisfaction upon his environment but keeps within himself his irritation and conflict with a response of introjective behavior."[6] At other times his tensions are expressed in overt conduct.[7]

This symptomatic behavior may also result from unwholesome relations between siblings. The oldest child in the family sometimes suffers behavior disturbances when the second child is born, if the parents' attitudes toward the first-born change and attention is unwisely diverted from him without enlisting his participation in making a place for the newcomer. To such disturbed personal relations may be traced many behavior problems, including jealousies, teasing, tormenting, and the avoidance of the younger sibling by the older.[8] But such maladjustment is due to the factors involved in the social relations and is in no sense inherent in the order of birth or the size of the family, as such. Difficulties may also develop in the behavior of the younger children toward the older. While some studies show a greater incidence of behavior problems among the older siblings, there is so much overlapping that no conclusions can be drawn other than that the outcome depends on any one of the many variable factors concerned in the adjustments involved in the group. A broken and disturbed family organization—the death or desertion of one of the parents, foster-family relations, the presence of grandparents whose whims interfere unduly with childish activities—frequently supplies occasions for the development of personality problems in children.

Lastly, tensions may arise because of the difficulties in harmonizing the primary personal relations with the changes produced by modern conditions, as already described (Chapter XXVII). The

[6] Watson, Maud, *Factors in the Emotional Lives of Parents Which Affect the Behavior of Children,* unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, New York University, 1930, p. 955.

[7] Nimkoff, M. F., "Parent-Child Conflict," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1929-1930, vol. xiv, pp. 135-150; Taft, Jessie, "The Effect of an Unsatisfactory Mother and Daughter Relationship upon the Development of Personality," *The Family,* March, 1926, vol. vi, pp. 10-17; Van Waters, Miriam, "Antagonisms in Parent-Child Relationships," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1926, vol. xxi, pp. 276-277; Reckless, W. C., "Suggestions for the Sociological Study of Problem Children," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 1928-1929, vol. ii, pp. 156-171.

[8] Barker, Robert H., "The Effect of an Unsatisfactory Relationship of Brother to Brother on the Development of Personality," *Social Forces,* 1930-1931, vol. ix, pp. 85-91.

transfer of various activities from the home to the factory and store, the loss of the teacher-function by the parents, the deterioration of family cooperation, the shifting of social contacts to wider circles, the growth of mandatory education, and the changing attitudes toward child labor have modified the parent-child relations, decreased the dependence of adults on the family, and prolonged the economic dependence of the young. The failure of parents to adjust their attitudes to harmonize with these structural changes is an additional source of tension in many family groups.

Other tension situations are associated with the adjustments demanded by school discipline and the various rules of society outside of the home. But even these problems affect the young in part by the way the parents react to these situations and to the child's successes or failures in measuring up to the demands imposed upon it. On the other hand, the child who grows up either with too exclusive or too little conditioning and direction by a primary group, likewise develops traits peculiar to its social situation. An example is that of the child who resides mostly in hotels[9] and becomes whimsical; or the one who moves frequently among strangers and becomes unduly dependent upon the protection and companionship of its parents. Other personality problems arise when the youth must make adjustments in a strange environment, unsupported by the immediate presence of the shielding primary group.[10]

The traits symptomatic of unwholesome social relations are usually spoken of as behavior problems. (It must be remembered that there are many other sources of behavior problems than those enumerated.) These problems may be classified as either personality problems (those traits which are supposed to be remediable, if at all, by scientific methods) or conduct problems (those which, in a given culture, are considered to call for punishment as a method of control).[11] Examples of personality problems are nervousness, over-activity, excitability, over-suggestibility, changeable moods, emo-

[9] Hayner, Norman S., "Hotel Homes," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1927-1928, vol. xii, pp. 124-131.

[10] Pritchett, H. L., "The Adjustment of College Students' Family Problems," *Social Forces,* 1931-1932, vol. x, pp. 84-89; Pressey, L. C., "Some Serious Family Maladjustments Among College Students," *Social Forces,* 1931-1932, vol. x, pp. 236-242; Angell, R. C., *The Campus, A Study of Contemporary Undergraduate Life in the American University,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929; Zorbaugh, H., "Personality and Social Adjustment," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* December, 1927, vol. i, pp. 179-183.

[11] Ackerson, Luton, *op. cit.,* pp. 41-42, 86, 90.

tional instability, secretiveness, excessive day-dreaming, listlessness, lack of initiative and ambition, over-sensitiveness, immature or childish manners or judgment, crying spells or fears, prolonged infantile dependence or babyishness and helplessness in self-care, complaints of ailments, speech difficulties, and depressed, discouraged, worried, and unhappy attitudes and bearing. In the opinion of Wile, these personality problems resulting from "a juvenile inability to solve the problems growing out of a sense of insecurity or lack of affection" may include epileptiform attacks, neurotic manifestations, and delinquencies.[12] Conduct problems include such traits as disobedience, incorrigibility, stubbornness, refusal to eat certain foods or to eat in the presence of a certain person, jealousies, contrariness, defiant attitudes, negativism, temper displays or tantrums, irritability, swearing, obscenity and vile language, impatience, fighting, quarreling, violence or threats, egocentrism, selfishness, self-indulgence, etc. The origin of such behavior-patterns in social experience is emphasized by the fact that they may often be corrected, especially in childhood, if the social situation is remedied. However, if left uncorrected, they become a more or less permanent part of the personality-pattern, and may carry over from one generation to another through the factors producing social continuity.

Instead of considering these behavior problem traits with reference to the kind of treatment required, we may view them as indices of the type of actual or possible adjustments with the personal and cultural environment. In the latter case we derive a classification of personality types such as the following:[13]

(1) Unadjustable, because of a low level of ability: psychopathic, feebleminded, constitutionally inferior.

(2) Unadjusted, in consequence of overt conflict against society: extreme radical and bohemian types, psychopaths, outlaws and professional criminals, and the more aggravated conduct problems cited in the foregoing lists on this and the preceding pages.

(3) Adjusted, characterized by thorough conformity and accommodation: conventional (philistine) and constructive idealist (creative person), practical- or healthy-minded.

(4) Maladjusted: cynic, skeptic, hyperegocentric, paranoic, radical, rigoristic reactionary, over-submissive (extreme inferiority feelings), hypersensitive, introjective, perverted, and most of the

[12] Wile, Ira, *op. cit.*, p. 390.
[13] Adapted from Harper, E. B., "Personality Types: A Note on Sociological Classification," *Social Science*, 1925-1926, vol. i, pp. 26-29.

other traits listed as personality and conduct problems in the fore-going paragraphs.

A distinction may now be made between *personality-pattern* and *social type*. The first, which has been the point of most of our discussion in the present and previous chapters, refers to the adjustments of persons to their associates; namely, whether the reactions are aggressive, timid, introverted, confiding, skeptic, sensitive, indifferent, egocentric, altruistic, submissive, cruel, gentle, dominating, etc. This category cuts across both the personality and conduct problems. The social type refers to the organization of attitudes with respect to conventional values, that is, the philosophy of life. Examples of social types are: the liberal and practical-minded, cynical, religious and idealistic, bohemian, radical, reactionary, philistine, etc. In addition to these ways of viewing a person, he may also be studied from the standpoint of the extent and variety of his participation in social groups,[14] and from the standpoint of his character—the stability of his attitude organization.

(2) MARGINAL INDIVIDUALS.—A person who attempts to live in two groups which have contradictory standards, or who because of race or class prejudice is kept at a distance or snubbed by the group with which he wishes to identify himself, has been called "marginal." While everyone is more or less external to some group, the designation "marginal" applies only to those instances in which an individual is partly in each of two groups which are prejudiced against each other. The "allrightnick" has been described as a person who seeks to withdraw from one culture group and to identify himself with another in which he is not fully at ease and in which he meets with prejudice. By choice he is partly out of one group and, because of the prejudice against him, he is only partly in the other. The individual of mixed racial parentage is often in such a marginal position; for while he has acquired the culture of both groups he may not be fully in either.[15] Because of this he experi-

[14] For suggested methods in the study of the person, see Burgess, E. W., "The Study of the Delinquent as a Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1922-1923, vol. xxviii, pp. 657-680; Krout, M. H., "A Suggested Approach to the Study of the Boy," *Welfare Magazine*, Illinois Department of Public Welfare, June, 1926, vol. xvii, pp. 3-10; Chapin, F. S., "Leadership and Group Activity," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1923-1924, vol. viii, no. 3, pp. 141-145.

[15] See Park, R. E., "Personality and Culture Conflict," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1930, vol. xxv, pp. 95-110; Reuter, E. B., "The Hybrid as a Sociological Type," *ibid.*, 1924, vol. xix, pp. 59-68; "The Personality of Mixed Bloods," *ibid.*, 1927, vol. xxii, pp. 52-59.

ences within himself the clash of two systems of ideas, and in the effort to harmonize them he often achieves mental superiority.[16] But because of the difficult personal relations between him and the competing groups and cultures, he is also likely to develop unique personality traits; for he is subject to the instabilities resulting from the alternation between different sets of attitudes and loyalties, and is prone to be excessively sensitive, moody, and introverted. However, it must be noted that these traits result not from the mere contiguity of two cultures, but from an attempt to live simultaneously in two social worlds or the failure to gain acceptance by the dominant, and therefore the preferred, group.

Similar subjective conflicts may also present themselves as contradictions between careers and philosophies of life, or between the moral standards of two groups with which a person is identified. This is illustrated by the alternation of choices between a religious and a "worldly" career, as described by William James in his study, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. The "sick-souled" struggle to decide between contradictory paths is indicative of the incompatibility of the competing behavior-ways; and the devotion, or, conversely, the abandon, with which the path finally chosen is pursued, discloses the emotional tension which was involved in the dilemma.

### STABILITY OF PERSONALITY

Personality-patterns and social types may change providing (1) social relations, and, in general, the situational complexes are modified; and (2) individual development, deterioration, or decline occurs.

(1) SITUATIONAL CHANGES may modify either the personality-pattern or the social type, if they disturb an attitude, the manner of social participation, or the mirrored self. Such personality mutations rest on the principle already set forth that one's behavior-pattern is closely connected with his personal and functional relations to a group.[17] His action is no more a projection of his own nature than a requirement of, or an adjustment to, the social system to which he belongs and in which he participates; and therefore, when a new alignment takes place in this system of relations, his behavior-pattern likewise tends to be modified. Competition and

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[16] Cf. Park, R. E., "Mentality of Racial Hybrids," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1930-1931, vol. xxxvi, pp. 534-552.

[17] For a suggested plan of study, see Burgess, E. W., "The Study of the Delin-

conflict are persistent and frequently recurring occasions for changes in personal and ranking relations and hence in the organization of attitudes. This is implied in the popular saying that a man, once thoroughly whipped, is never the same thereafter. In fact, any event which changes the functional and personal rôle and the mirrored self may result in such a mutation.

Among the factors which produce such changes are a sudden rise or fall in fortune, moving from one community to another (with the resulting changed standards, appraisals, and participation), contact with new behavior models supplied by strangers or by indirect communication, and reorganization of the group and the personal relations obtaining therein. Furthermore, a person may change his own conception of himself, or his associates may make new demands upon him. For example, the student who senses these attitudes in response to his rising or falling level of performance may change considerably. The unruly youth who is made monitor or given some other trust frequently measures up to the implied expectations. The mutations connected with changes in expectation, such as those involved in initiation into the adult group, have already been considered. The transition from one occupation to another usually also involves changes in social contacts and outlook on life; and even more abrupt mutations in the person's rôle are seen in the transition from youthful irresponsibility to the obligations implied in a position of trust, such as in teaching or in other work which imposes exacting tasks and is guarded by codes and standards.

The significance of situational changes is increased by the fact that indirect changes may follow when any disturbance occurs in the existing balance of attitudes. Thomas and Znaniecki assert that when one item or attitude in a personality make-up is modified, it results in a complete reorganization, for, as is true of every complex system of phenomena, the elements comprised in a personality are inter-related. However, the effect which external changes have upon a person varies with the stability of his character, the tenacity with which he holds to his life organization, and his conception of himself or his rôle. Consequently some people become disorganized or even demoralized in a situation which leaves others undisturbed. For example, loss of wealth or a bereavement may change the whole demeanor of one person, but not of another. One youth may

quent As a Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1922-1923, vol. xxviii, pp. 657-680.

reform and another become delinquent under apparently similar overt circumstances.

The personality-pattern and social type may not change concurrently, for either may vary without involving the other. This means, for instance, that the aggressive, dominating behavior-pattern of a law-abiding citizen tends to remain, even if he becomes a criminal; the passive type tends to retain this trait when he changes from conservative to radical, saint to sinner, philistine to bohemian, epicure to ascetic, etc. In like manner, every other behavior- or personality-pattern tends to be retained when conversions occur from one philosophy of life and social type to another.[18]

(2) INDIVIDUAL CHANGES AND PERSONALITY MUTATION.—Changes in physical condition, such as growth and decline, the loss or recovery of health, or the impairment of functions or organs of the body, are associated with personality changes, partly because of conventional requirements (see Chapter XXXIV), and partly because, first, other persons change their expectations of, and demands upon, the individual concerned, and, second, the conduct which is feasible or possible fluctuates with ability.

As to the second item, it is well known that changes, such as maiming, temporary or chronic illness, disturbances in the endocrine system, etc., may have decisive effects upon the individual's rôle in a group. Hyperthyroidism, for example, produces changes in the reaction to social situations—a calm, well-controlled individual may become irritable, emotionally unstable, and apprehensive—and, in time, these disturbances may subside when the physical disabilities are remedied. The disposition to cry or the irritability incidental to malnutrition among children is often corrected when they are properly nourished.

However, many of the personality-pattern changes which follow illness, injuries, or mutilation are due solely to changed personal relations arising from the physical condition: for the latter elicits unusual responses from the person's associates or causes anxiety and worry to the subject himself. In the case of a child, the unique social situation attending illness is especially likely to entail changes in personality-patterns. Prior to his illness, he has acquired an un-

[18] Shaw, Clifford, *The Jack Roller*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930, pp. 193-194. Cf. Reed, Ellery F., "Does the Individual Tend to Be Consistently a Progressive or Conservative?" *Social Forces*, 1927-1928, vol. vi, pp. 49-52; Young, E. F., and Young, Pauline V., "Mutation of Personality," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1924-1925, vol. ix, pp. 442-449.

questioned place and a rôle in the family group, conforming, cooperating, and deferring to rules and to the demands of his elders with regard to food, play, work, self-restraint, etc. Illness suddenly alters the whole working relation so that he becomes the center of unusual and gratifying attention; his every wish is satisfied, other persons yield and defer to him, anxiety is expressed, discipline is suspended, and the entire household revolves about him. Nothing is asked of him in return, and he is not held accountable for his irritability and display of temper. Because he is naturally reluctant to give up these advantages, he may feign illness in order to retain his favored position; and behavior problems, which are protests against the return of normal relations, often develop. Even adults may make illness an occasion for waiving responsibility by capitalizing on actual or feigned ailments as a means of avoiding onerous tasks and escaping censure for failure or neglect of duty. Because recovery requires a resumption of responsibilities, reasons may easily be found for the persistence of the symptoms of illness. But here, too, the attendant consequences differ greatly. Following illness, one person becomes bitter, resentful, or irritable; another, after the same affliction, develops patience, sympathy, and consideration for others, the difference being due to unlike previous attitudes. In fact, only a few of the personality changes following sickness are due to the illness *per se*; the majority are the result of the social situation and personal tensions.

In all events, the fortunes and misfortunes which befall an individual become a part of his personality, either directly, as a limiting and participating factor, or indirectly, through the medium of the personal relations thereby engendered. In brief, an individual's traits acquire significance from the standpoint both of personality and of social organization. The group is also concerned in maintaining standards of personal efficiency and ethical conduct, and this will now be considered in Part Nine.

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# THE NEEDS AND METHODS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

# CHAPTER XXXVII

## Personal Disorganization and Demoralization

The personality problems which are of the greatest concern to society are personal disorganization and demoralization. By personal disorganization we mean the absence or the disruption of a consistent life organization or of balance between attitudes: a vacillation between contradictory values or lines of action. It therefore includes some types of personality problems already discussed. Personal disorganization is distinct from demoralization, which implies the rejection or disregard of standards, such as legal and moral rules and the development of antisocial behavior in members of a group. That personal disorganization and demoralization are distinct is further seen from the fact that in the latter there may be a persistent and unwavering violation of the mores. Criminals, hobos, and social "parasites" may be well integrated in their habits and their pursuit of an antisocial career; or they may be unstable and hesitant. While neither personal disorganization nor demoralization is synonymous with social disorganization, both are closely connected with it as cause and effect, as we shall see from our analysis of the development of antisocial attitudes and of the situational factors involved in such variant conduct.

### ATTITUDES AND DEMORALIZATION

Because the general question of the development of action-patterns is already familiar, the present discussion pertains only to those attitudes which involve questions of conduct: 1. the way standards become defined and implanted, and 2. individual differences affecting demoralization.

(1) How the Meaning of Conduct Becomes Defined.—The significance which any value has for a person varies according to the construction others place upon it and the experiences, if any, which he himself has previously had with it. This is as true of acts as of other values. In infancy the natural impulses are "morally indeterminate, not tendencies to do good things or bad things, but

to strive for life and self-expression under the conditions which are offered by the environment."[1] Only gradually do impulses or motives and overt acts acquire social significance. The child is born into a group which already has expectations with reference to its conduct; and as soon as it starts to pull, pry, meddle, and prowl, its associates begin to define the situation by speech, gestures, and force, inhibiting its activities and urging it to quietude, courtesy, respect for the rights of others, etc.

When another person shows approval or disapproval of acts, they acquire meaning for the child, at least in reference to this person, and they thereby become questions of conduct. They are then social, not merely individual, values. If in addition, as is usually true, the acts are ascribed to a quality of the individual, he is characterized as good or bad, and his conception of himself is eventually affected accordingly. For example, the child may cross the street in spontaneous play; but when this act is forbidden it acquires new meaning, for it now signifies the ill will, or, conversely, the approbation, of another person. In the same way, satisfying hunger or responding to any other impulse acquires social significance when the act in question is seen to be an occasion for reprimand or commendation. The assignment of meaning to an act or any other value may be said to *define*, or to be *a definition of*, the situation.

As long as such a definition is lacking, the meaning of an act rests on personal experience and discernment, and is morally neutral or indeterminate for the individual; that is, it is neither good nor bad, but amoral or non-moral, in contrast to immoral.[2] An act becomes a question of morals after it has been defined as such; and an individual can be said to be immoral only after the situation has been defined for him in terms of moral values—he cannot fall without first having risen. Consequently, when the models supplied by parents or other associates are depraved and the child grows up into such behavior ways with no knowledge of their implications to the larger society, he will be non-moral until a definition of the situation has been supplied in terms of moral standards. The boy who plunders and destroys property may do this at first without knowledge of the moral implications, for his antisocial conduct is inde-

[1] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Process*, p. 154.
[2] Krout, M. H., "The Social Setting in Children's Lies," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1930-1931, vol. xv, pp. 437-450; *The Psychology of Children's Lies*, Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1932; Newmeyer, Martin H., "Conscience Behavior of Children," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1929-1930, vol. xiv, pp. 570-578.

terminate for him until a knowledge of the mores is supplied by some agency—the family, neighborhood, the school, or the police. Indeed, the social group, by drilling its members to observe certain regulations, may be said to produce their conscience,[3] as may be seen by the way conscience codes vary from one era or group to another.

Because of these same social factors, the most varied conduct may also grow out of the same native capacities. Misdeeds do not spring from a special quality or part of human nature; they are based on ordinary impulses which take a certain direction because of the peculiar combination of attitudes and circumstances. Crime is not an attribute which attaches exclusively to an individual any more than to the code which forbids the act in question; it is rather a relation which the law creates between the group and the law-breaker. A crime is an act forbidden by law; it is almost always immoral or contrary to the mores, and it is usually harmful to society under the conditions of the existing culture and circumstances, wherefore it is suppressed by legal measures. Misdemeanor and delinquency are terms which are applied to less serious offences against either the mores or the legal codes. Each people and age has its own definition of objectionable conduct, depending on the direction of its cultural evolution and the peculiar problems or conditions confronting it. Every new invention—the automobile, the movie, the establishment of banks, the use of checks as instruments of exchange, new types of weapons[4]—bring possibilities of new forms of crime and the necessity of regulation. As society becomes more complex, more rules are needed to safeguard individuals against the variant conduct of others.

However, the same definition of the situation does not produce uniform results in the conduct of all the members of a group. This is due to the unlike behavior-patterns and social types developed in consequence of the processes described in the foregoing chapters, and to such other facts as the conflict of interest, self-seeking by individuals, and personal deterioration. The meaning of a social rule may become inverted in the subject's attitudes, as occurs when a parental verbal reprimand is accompanied by an opposite (laudatory) facial gesture, so that in time the command "thou shalt not"

[3] Ross, E. A., *Social Control*, p. 28.
[4] Thomas, W. I., *The Unadjusted Girl*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1923; Brearley, H. C., "Firearms and Homicide," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1930-1931, vol. xv, pp. 456-462.

serves as an invitation to do the forbidden act. Furthermore, a nega-
tivistic attitude may be engendered by too strict surveillance. If,
for example, the child's every spontaneous expression is reproved,
the parental authority and the standards urged may become objects
of resentment; and these negativistic attitudes may, in turn, be
transferred to every kind of authority and rule of procedure. When
such attitudes exist, the mere presence of rules serves as a stimulus
to defy them, rationalization supplying justification by blaming the
rules or the persons responsible for their enforcement.

(2) INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES AND VARIANT CONDUCT.—The ex-
tent to which an individual conforms to or violates the mores and
laws is not necessarily traceable to his physical, mental, and tem-
peramental equipment. No consistent correlation between illegal
acts and physical anomalies or peculiarities has yet been estab-
lished, although various writers have supposed one to exist. One of
the foremost of these, Lombroso, an Italian anthropologist, believed
that certain traits, which he regarded as variations from the normal
and which he called "stigmata"—such as long arms, protruding ears,
an asymmetrical cranium, flattened nose, etc.—represented innately
predetermined tendencies toward criminality. Even though the pos-
sessors of such traits had not committed an illegal act, they were
nevertheless, in his opinion, "born criminals" and would commit
crime whenever a suitable situation presented itself. Goring,[5] who
made an investigation of English prisoners comparing them with
non-commissioned officers, students, and others with regard to
thirty-seven anthropometric traits, found that these supposed marks
of a hereditary criminal type are in part the marks of physical
degeneracy and in part merely the usual traits of the normal popu-
lation, and 'thus not indicative of either a greater or less likelihood
of criminality than the average. However, some classification of
types of crime according to individual traits is possible. For ex-
ample, persons of large or small stature, great or slight strength
tend, on the average, to commit different forms of misdeeds. But
this slight specialization is evidently due to differences in the man-
ner of meeting social situations, and not to differences in uncon-
ditioned impulses and temperament.

Similar conclusions apply also to mental differences, for there is
no uniform association between mental qualities and the violation of

[5] Goring, C. B., *The English Convict: A Statistical Study*, Darling and Son,
London, 1913, p. 200.

codes. Nevertheless, pseudo-scientific writers on this subject have espoused such theories in an effort to apply in a new form the abandoned anthropological theories just noted. For example, Goddard called feeble-minded individuals "potential criminals," as if this were not also true of those who are "normal" and "superior." He also asserted that a diagnosis of feeble-mindedness fully explains any delinquency of which the individual may have been guilty, and, further, that the extent of misconduct is in direct proportion to the incidence of feeble-mindedness. The fallacies of these speculations are as patent as those underlying the Lombrosian theory.

These conclusions follow from the data of mental test scores and from the nature of the causation involved. The results of the comparison of these scores indicate that delinquents and criminals comprise all grades of intelligence—feeble-minded, supernorms, and average—and that non-delinquents are likewise spread throughout the whole range of abilities. The percentage of feeble-mindedness found in different studies of delinquent persons varies greatly. In 1913 Goddard reviewed various psychometric reports on juvenile delinquent groups, one of which classified 89 per cent as feeble-minded, while another thus classified only 28 per cent. There is still a wide range of disagreement as to the reputed amount of feeble-mindedness among delinquents, the percentage being as low as one or two in some studies and as high as 65 in others.[6] In the period 1910-1914, the study which took the median position as regards the percentage of delinquents alleged to be feeble-minded, reported 50 per cent as belonging to this category, but in the period 1925-1929 the percentage reported by this study had dropped to 20.

Such a downward trend may be ascribed to any one of several factors: first, a decreasing ratio of feeble-minded persons; second, an increased tendency for people of median and high intelligence to commit delinquencies; or, third, an improvement in general intelligence incidental to better schools and compulsory attendance. There is no evidence to support the first proposition. The second is equally unsubstantiated; but if it were granted to be true it would invalidate the theory that feeble-mindedness is a separate cause for anti-social behavior. Although the third proposition is valid, delinquencies do not necessarily decrease as formal schooling increases. This is readily seen to be true from the fact that some culture groups

[6] Sutherland, E. H., "Mental Deficiency and Crime," in *Social Attitudes,* edited by Kimball Young, pp. 357-374.

who have little schooling have scarcely any delinquencies, while others with more extensive schooling have high rates.

That intelligence, as measured by school progress and intelligence quotients, is not a reliable measure of the tendency toward delinquency also follows from comparisons of the mental test scores of criminal and of law-abiding citizens and of conduct-problem cases among children. The results of the army mental tests proved conclusively that the intelligence of convicts is as high as that of the general population, as represented by the military recruits sampled in 1917. Moreover, various studies show that feeble-mindedness is no more prevalent among convicts than among non-convicts.[7] Paynter and Blanchard[8] find that among a Los Angeles and a Philadelphia sample of school children with an I.Q. above 100 there are as many personality difficulties as among those with lower scores; and that the higher-score group has more conduct problems (stealing, lying, disobedience, truancy, etc.) than the lower. Freeman and his associates come to similar conclusions regarding the foster children covered in their study.[9] On the other hand, Terman[10] finds that the gifted children surpass the control group in socially acceptable traits.

According to Ackerson,[11] the level of mental test scores is unequally related to conduct at different ages and I.Q. levels. He finds that between the ages of 5 and 12.9 years behavior problems increased with the I.Q. up to 119, beyond which there was some decrease. Among children of both sexes with I.Q.'s ranging from 80 to 159, behavior problems increased markedly up to about 10 or 12 years, after which there was a marked decrease followed by a slight increase at about 17 years; the number of behavior problems per child increases with the level of the test scores up to about 120 I.Q. Other observers think that the highest rate of delinquency is found not among the definitely deficient, but among the dull

[7] Root, W. T., *A Psychological and Educational Survey of 1916 Prisoners in Western Pennsylvania,* Board of Trustees of the Western Penitentiary, Pittsburgh, 1927; Murchison, Carl, *Criminal Intelligence,* Clark University Press, Worcester, 1926.

[8] Paynter, R. H., and Blanchard, Phyllis, *A Study of Educational Achievement of Problem Children,* Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1929, pp. 33-38, and Tables XV and XVI.

[9] Freeman, Frank L., *et al., op. cit.,* pp. 204-206.

[10] Terman, L. M., *Genetic Studies of Genius,* vol. i, pp. 519 ff.

[11] Ackerson, Luton, *Children's Behavior Problems,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, vol. i, pp. 251 ff.

individuals; while still others rank the superior next to the feeble-minded in regard to conduct problems. Again, when a comparison is made between normal and feeble-minded delinquents in institutions, the latter "behave about as well" as the former. Lastly, the ranking in intelligence does not exercise a decisive influence in determining the success of parole or the repetition of delinquent acts (recidivism); nor does it prevent the pursuit of a parasitic career, as is shown by the fact that in four groups of hobos tested in different cities, the following minority percentages were reported as feeble-minded: 28.7, 20, 18, and 7.5.[12]

Such findings indicate that the attempts to base explanations of misconduct on intelligence levels (as measured by present methods) is futile; for although abilities affect the proficiency with which conduct of a given kind is pursued, other factors are involved in determining the way in which this equipment is employed. We can observe very unlike conduct by individuals of similar intelligence and similar conduct (as to social standards) by those of unlike intelligence. For example, the "brighter" of two brothers may become delinquent, while the other remains law-abiding; and the reverse is also true. A boy may devote first-rate abilities to leading a vicious gang, just as an adult may apply more than average capacities to a career of swindling, confidence games, forgery, or counterfeiting.

However, it does not follow that the same level of socialization is obtainable irrespective of mental qualities, for abilities do set limits to performance. A young child or an adult with a low grade of mentality cannot have a great conception of duties and the significance of standards. But in view of the cited research data, we must conclude that there are causal factors which vary for different individuals and which cannot be ascribed to intelligence *per se*. The unlike acumen or intelligence with which an individual grasps a situation is but one of various elements which determine how far he obeys the codes, for previous experience and attitudes enter into the manner of responding to a social situation. Intelligence affects the quality or efficiency of an act but does not (within the limits indicated) exercise exclusive influence over the moral quality of behavior; for this depends primarily on the personality-patterns and types formed in associated living. Although intelligence is

[12] Anderson, Nels, *The Hobo,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1923, p. 71.

involved, and contained, in this process through which personality-patterns and social types are formed, it is not itself determinative. Therefore, in our discussion we shall consider intelligence to be included in our use of the terms attitude, personality-patterns, and social types. Because persons differ in these respects they may respond differently to situations which seem identical to the onlooker, or they may respond in the same way to situations which are apparently dissimilar. The explanation lies in the fact that there are variations in the "inner," as well as in the "outer" or situational, factors.

### VARIATIONS IN SITUATIONAL FACTORS

(1) VARIABLE AND CONSTANT FACTORS.—While in delinquency, as in other types of behavior, it is unjustifiable to suppose that individual qualities and circumstances are separate forces, either of these factors may vary so far from the usual as to require special consideration in accounting for the failure to maintain the customary moral standards. From the point of view herein assumed, the entire configuration of circumstances, culture, social relations, and attitudes is involved in the functioning individual; and since each of these elements cannot be traced through its entire previous development to the given moment, we may ask which factor has varied and how the increase or decrease of delinquency in a certain area is affected thereby, rather than inquire concerning the fact of delinquency in the abstract.[13]

In some cases the defective stock may be the variant factor, but in the much larger number of cases there is good reason to think that social conditions are more especially to blame.[14] That is, the factor which shows the most variation, the others being apparently constant and typical, may be considered to be the cause of the deviation from the usual or normal. For instance, the introduction of a new mode of behavior—to wit a "bad example"—into a neighborhood may lead youths who were formerly law-abiding to engage in delinquencies. The bad example may be said to be the cause of the ensuing change in behavior, although had the attitudes been different, the same bad example would have had other results.

[13] Znaniecki, F., "Social Research in Criminology," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1927-1928, vol. xii, pp. 306-322; "Suggestions for Criminal Research," *ibid.*, pp. 411-413; Bogardus, E. S., "Exploring for the Causes of Crime," *Journal of Social Forces*, 1924-1925, vol. iii, pp. 464-466.

[14] Cooley, C. H., *Human Nature and the Social Order*, p. 409.

If the introduction of gangs into the situation leads to an increase of delinquency, this may, in the absence of other variable factors, be considered the cause; and if it is asked why the gang has grown or adopted a certain behavior-pattern, the relevant variable factors must, in turn, be investigated. So, also, when, under the want incidental to unemployment, a formerly honest and industrious person steals, his act may be said to be due to the new factor which interrupts his usual course of conduct. However, it should once again be emphasized that these circumstances do not operate independently of the life organization, for in another culture group or another social type the same unemployment and want would not have similar consequences.

This approach to the study of misconduct is especially useful because it is impossible at one stroke to "explain" all the reasons for the existence of the complex elements in a personality or an environment, or to determine why the individual makes a particular integration of the factors in the situation. The formula that the variable factor in an otherwise constant situation is the "cause," is only a device for reducing an analysis to manageable proportions, for, strictly speaking, all of the elements present are equally the cause of the event.

(2) TYPICAL FACTORS.—Among the variable situational factors frequently associated with delinquency are poverty, lack of training, maladjustment in school, bad companions, irregularity of employment, police corruption, inadequate system of laws, family disintegration and dismemberment by death, contrasts of wealth (contiguity of poverty and affluence), gangs, culture clashes, population displacement, etc. William A. Bonger[15] declares that economic and industrial conditions play a preponderant or even decisive part in producing crime. Breckenridge and Abbott[16] find that "in round numbers, nine-tenths of the delinquent girls and three-fourths of the delinquent boys come from homes of the poor." Among 584 delinquent boys who were charges of a juvenile court, the percentage from homes of very poor, poor, medium, and "well-to-do" families was, respectively, 38.2, 37.9, 21.2, and 1.7.[17] On the other

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[15] Bonger, William A., *Criminality and Economic Conditions,* Little, Brown and Company, Boston. 1916.

[16] Breckenridge, S. P. and Abbott, Edith, *The Delinquent Child and the Home,* Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1912, p. 74.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 72.

hand, Burt finds that of two hundred cases of delinquents studied, 58 per cent come from homes of the poor or very poor, while 42 per cent come from comfortable homes.[18]

Such discrepancies imply that although the degree of poverty may differ greatly in one group as compared to another, it does not operate independently of other factors, especially of the attitudes and the social relations. Poverty affects social status adversely; when acute, it lessens the incentives to maintain a good standing; and it entails bad housing and the neglect of the home because of the employment of the mothers in factories, limits opportunities, produces a high rate of mobility, and compels residence in areas of transition—all of which have an adverse effect upon the training of the young. Burt considers these associated elements to be more important than poverty itself; for he finds that only in the case of three per cent of the male delinquents and less than one per cent of the female, could poverty have been called the chief contributing factor. Therefore, while poverty can lead to delinquency only as the circumstances operate upon the attitudes, the latter tend to be modified by such factors as those here enumerated.

A similar complex of circumstances is contained in the terms "good" or "bad" family, which, in addition, usually reflect the community situation. In general, it may be said that a good family does not produce a bad individual,[19] although aberrant types may occasionally appear even there. Healy's study of 1000 repeated offenders shows that in no less than 50 per cent normal parental relations were lacking, and that in many of the other cases parental supervision was slight or completely absent.[20] Of the 2000 young delinquents studied by Burt, only 7.6 per cent came from homes which might be characterized as "good" from the standpoint of discipline and parental relationships. Nearly 60 per cent were from broken homes, and the coefficient of association between delinquency

[18] Burt, Cyril, *The Young Delinquent,* pp. 66-67, 118. Cf. Caldwell, M. G., "The Economic Status of Families of Delinquent Boys in Wisconsin," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1931-1932, vol. xxxvii, pp. 231-239; "Home Conditions of Institutional Delinquent Boys in Wisconsin," *Social Forces,* 1929-1930, vol. viii, pp. 390-397; Gillin, J. L., "Some Economic Factors in the Making of Criminals," *ibid.,* 1923-1924, vol. ii, pp. 689-691; Sullenger, T. E., "The Relation of Juvenile Delinquency to Outdoor Relief," *Sociology and Social Research,* 1930-1931, vol. xv, pp. 255-262.

[19] Thomas, W. I., *The Unadjusted Girl.* p. 151.

[20] Healy, William, *Honesty,* The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1915, p. 32.

and defective discipline was 0.55.[21] However, these conditions produce results only in conjunction with the attitudes.

When in addition, the homes reflect community disorganization, a high delinquency rate is found in both broken and unbroken families. In other words, community disorganization counts more heavily than family disorganization without community deterioration. This is corroborated by Shaw and McKay's study of delinquency areas in Chicago and other cities;[22] for these writers find that in the sections where delinquency is high, there is little, if any, difference in the rates of delinquency in severed families and in those families where both parents are present. If the attitudes are suitable and if the isolation from wrong models is maintained, a very good family life may exist in the midst of not only bad economic conditions but also community decay. However, because such isolation from neighborhood influences cannot usually be maintained, it follows, as Thomas observes, that a good family life usually cannot exist without good community influences.

(3) SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND PERSONALITY PATHOLOGIES.—From the foregoing statements it appears that periods of rapid change, especially of the kind described as social disorganization, are likely to be marked by a rapid rise in delinquency, crime, drunkenness, suicide, and other abnormal behavior in the sections most acutely affected by the breakdown and clash of standards. That personal behavior is affected by changes in culture and personal relations has already been pointed out, and this fact can now be considered summarily with reference to both personal disorganization and demoralization.

(a) *Personal disorganization*—the disruption of the balance of attitudes—depends not merely on the individual's stability of character but also on the group's culture and organization. Therefore, although wavering between alternates is more or less inevitable for

[21] Burt, Cyril, *The Young Delinquent,* p. 92. Cf. Lumpkin, Katharine D., "Factors in the Commitment of Correctional School Girls in Wisconsin," *American Journal of Sociology,* September, 1931, vol. xxxvii, pp. 222-230; Shideler, E. H., "Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy in the United States," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology,* 1918, vol. viii, pp. 709 ff.

[22] Shaw, Clifford R., and McKay, H. D., "Are Broken Homes a Causative Factor in Juvenile Delinquency?" *Social Forces,* 1931-1932, vol. x, pp. 514-524; Shaw, C. R., "Correlation of the Rate of Juvenile Delinquency with Certain Indices of Community Organization," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1927, vol. xxii, pp. 174-179; White, R. Clyde, "The Relation of Felonies to Environmental Factors in Indianapolis," *Social Forces,* 1931-1932, vol. x, pp. 498-509.

every thinking person who has any appreciation of the many com-
peting values involved in every significant situation, periods of
sudden social change are especially likely to be marked by an imbal-
ance of attitudes. When traditional values are abruptly destroyed,
the individual's incentives may likewise be disturbed and his former
zest for life is often superseded by apathy. "When our *mana* [the
sacred values or beliefs] was destroyed," said one old Maori, "the
whole world became dark." Self-discipline, work habits, perspective
in choices, and even the desire to live or to rear children—all of
which are connected with the values given in a moral order—may
be undermined. Among preliterate groups whose entire culture is
thus disrupted, apathy is said to color every act; and within our
own culture also, mental conflicts increase with the confusion of
traditions and standards. This is due to the increasing number and
complexity of values, the strain resulting from the mechanization
of many processes, and especially to the greater freedom of choice,
with the attendant anxiety over the consequences of decisions which
were formerly prescribed in unquestioned traditions.

(b) *Personal demoralization*—the repudiation of standards—is
likewise increased by the deterioration of social institutions and
rapid structural changes. The disruption of the established methods
of gaining status, satisfying hedonistic interests, providing against
emergencies, and getting along with one's associates disturbs the
regularity of habits; and the loss of respect for the traditional
values, authority, and beliefs leads to a slackening of inhibitions.

Examples may be drawn from almost any preliterate group which
is in contact with strange cultures, and also from modern mobile
societies. The younger generation of various primitives is said to be
deteriorating. It is reported of one group that even when food is
scarce, many of the young men who are capable of becoming useful
workers would rather starve than work. There is little doubt, accord-
ing to one observer, that one cause of such increasing indolence in
these decaying societies is the general tendency to drunkenness and
the changed situation which removed the demand for hardiness
among the young men.[23] Other examples cited in earlier chapters
indicate a similar degeneracy in consequence of social dis-
organization.

The rate of demoralization is high among migrants, ungrouped
persons, and culture hybrids. The effect of migration is seen by a

[23] Dundas, Charles, "History of Kitui," p. 490.

comparison of the criminality among interstate migrants as compared with that of the native residents of the same states. For example, natives of Nebraska and Missouri who migrate to Iowa are committed to the Iowa state prison four times as frequently, in proportion to their population, as are persons who are born in Iowa and remain there.[24] The rate of indictable offenses is nearly twice as high for citizens of the United States who migrate to Canada as for the native Canadian population; the criminality rate for Canadians residing in the United States is 50 per cent higher than that of the native white population.[25] Furthermore, a high delinquency rate is found among both juvenile and adult migrants to cities.[26] Youthful urban migrants are more often demoralized than are their siblings who remain in their native community. Within the city, likewise, the greatest delinquency is found in the sections of highest mobility.[27] The disorganization or demoralization of immigrants and especially of their children, if they are located in an urban area of first settlement, is in direct proportion to the disparity of the cultures, the rapidity with which the habituated culture is rejected, and the instability of character.

This confusion of standards is also illustrated by the fact that children who grow up in an area of conflicting folkways and mores are more likely to be demoralized than are the adults who have developed stable characters before immigration,[28] for the young often do not fully acquire the parental standards and are not completely adjusted in the native group. According to one investigator, the highest delinquency rate is found among the children who have one native-born and one foreign-born parent.[29] In addition to the

[24] Sutherland, E. H., "Is There Undue Crime among Immigrants?", *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work,* 54th Annual Session, 1927, pp. 576-577. Cf. Carpenter, Niles, and Haenszel, W. M., "Migratoriness and Criminality in Buffalo," *Social Forces,* 1930-1931, vol. ix, pp. 254-255; Duncan, O. D., "An Analysis of the Population of Texas Penitentiary from 1906 to 1924," *American Journal of Sociology,* March, 1931, vol. xxxvi, pp. 770-781.

[25] Sutherland, E. H., "Is There Undue Crime among Immigrants?", p. 577.

[26] See standard works on criminology and on rural sociology.

[27] Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *The City,* p. 59; Sullenger, T. Earl, "A Study in Intra-Urban Mobility," *Sociology and Social Research,* September-October, 1932, vol. xvii, pp. 16-24.

[28] Wirth, Louis, "Cultural Conflict and Misconduct," *Social Forces,* 1930-1931, vol. ix, pp. 484-492. Cf. Allport, F. H., "Cultural Conflict versus the Individual Factors in Delinquency," *Social Forces,* 1930-1931, vol. ix, pp. 493-499.

[29] Laughlin, H. H., *Analysis of America's Melting Pot,* Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Nativity. November 21, 1922, Serial 7-C, p. 790.

failure to acquire a consistent body of standards, the young often repudiate parental authority and develop personality traits symptomatic of the tension between themselves and their elders.[30]

This personal equivalent of social disorganization is epitomized by the variations in the delinquency rates in rural areas versus cities and in different urban zones. According to Burgess's study of Chicago, 443 out of each 1000 children in the slum section have a court record, while in the area six or seven miles from the Loop, where institutional and family organization is normal, home ownership is high, and the community is stable and homogeneous, delinquency, as measured by court records, diminishes to zero.[31] Studies of various other cities show a similar localization of delinquency, gangs, truancy, adult criminality, and institutional deterioration.[32] Although such segregation of misdemeanor and crime is most marked in large cities, similar tendencies are also observable in smaller population centers. For instance, in one city of 12,000 population, one ward was found to have a delinquency rate three times as high as the other wards.[33] Even rural areas may have slums.[34] Therefore it must be concluded that ganging and other forms of delinquency are symptoms of institutional deterioration and arise chiefly in the interstitial areas where the normal social organization has broken down.[35] Wherever the normative institutions—the church, improvement associations, Boy and Girl Scouts, and other organizations which encourage an observance of standards of conduct—are absent, aberrant behavior prevails; and in such sections delinquent behavior-ways become established and are transmitted to new individuals and new groups, as are any other cultural and conduct patterns.

The accuracy of this conclusion is indicated by the fact that the

[30] Sutherland, E. H., "Public Opinion as a Cause of Crime," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1924-1925, vol. ix, p. 52.

[31] Park, R. E., "Sociology," pp. 46-47.

[32] Shaw, Clifford R., and McKay, H. D., *Social Factors in Delinquency, Report on the Causes of Crime*, II. *National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1931, pp. 383, 393.

[33] Burgess, E. W., "Juvenile Delinquency in a Small City," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1916, vol. vi, pp. 727-728. Cf. Moore, Elon H., "Public Dance Halls in a Small City," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1929-1930, vol. xiv, pp. 256-263.

[34] Gibbons, Charles E., "A Rural Slum Community," *American Child*, vol. iii, February, 1922, pp. 343-353.

[35] Thrasher, Frederic, *op. cit.*, p. 39; "The Gang as a Symptom of Community Disorganization," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1926, vol. xi, pp. 3-20.

high delinquency rate persists in these interstitial districts, irrespective of the racial and nationality composition of the resident population. For example, an intensive study of delinquency areas in Chicago discloses the fact that the nationalities in these sections of the city changed almost completely between 1900 and 1920, while the delinquency rates remained relatively stationary. When the German and Irish immigrants were concentrated near the center of the city they had a high rate of delinquency, just as the newer arrivals—Italians, Slavs, and Negroes—now have. As the older immigrant group moved out of the high-rate areas, delinquency among their children decreased and they have largely disappeared from the juvenile court.

In addition to the conflicts of cultures and the localization of demoralizing factors in disorganized areas, the general social changes noted in Chapters XXVI-XXVIII affect conventional norms adversely. This is also true of the development of secondary relations, the increase of individuation, and the primary groups' loss of control over social contacts, recreation, use of leisure time, and inculcation of attitudes. The indifference of the public to the demoralizing effect of commercialized amusements is therefore both a product of, and a cause for, further loss of standards. Movies are evidently responsible for some delinquent behavior, for, according to the testimony of those concerned: "They [the movies] make almost anything seem all right. Things that look bad on the outside don't seem to be bad at all in the movies." "Movies make you careless about life, that is, they make you do things and it doesn't seem so bad to do them when they are in the movies." "Movies make me restless, sick, and disgusted."[36] Similar indictments have been made against newspaper scandal- and crime-mongering.[37] The spirit of the age is summed up in the degenerate view that one may do anything he likes if he can "get by."

Moral health depends on association with, or membership in, a culturally regulated society which has institutionally sanctioned standards derived from primary group sources and which is able

[36] Mitchell, Alice Miller, *Children and the Movies,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929, pp. 133 ff.

[37] Suther'and, E. H., "Public Opinion as a Cause of Crime," pp. 51-56; Harris, Frank, "The Presentation of Crime in the Newspaper," *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* 1930, vol. xxv, pp. 163-166; Spector, Frank, "The Influence of Journalism on Crime," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology,* May, 1924, vol. xv, pp. 155-158.

to maintain a continuity of traditions. Formerly one's fortunes were more intimately bound up with the family or local neighborhood; but under conditions of modern mobility and individuation, it is readily possible for one to absent himself from the primary group whose homogeneity and uniformity of standards formerly gave stability and predictability to his behavior. He may even escape to a community where all standards are lacking and go from one milieu to another, so that each group in which he participates is without knowledge of his contradictory previous or present rôles. Because of this anonymity and casualization of relations, it is possible for him to lead a double existence, or even to schematize his life so as to repudiate responsibility toward every group. One may trust in the power of human nature to reconstruct personality types and attain new standards suited to the new conditions, but it would be a foolish optimism to doubt that under these conditions large numbers will become disorganized or even demoralized. The traditional means by which groups have attempted to cope with variant conduct and by which one individual or class may try to control another will be reviewed briefly in the remaining chapters.

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# CHAPTER XXXVIII

## Social Sanctions

In order that the group may function successfully and maintain cooperative efficiency, it must preserve a measure of regularity and predictability of behavior, and it must direct the self-seeking activities of its members so that the rights of all will be preserved. The very existence of social standards implies conformity, but obedience is never automatic and complete. Accordingly, the group attempts to suppress those acts which are at variance with the prevailing norms and to encourage those which facilitate internal harmony and collective welfare. The chief means by which this is accomplished are the attitude- and personality-forming factors. But in addition to supplying and inculcating standards, the group, either through its officials or through the common support of the mores, actively encourages some forms of conduct and discourages or suppresses others.

### THE BASES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

This regulation of the few in the interest of the many constitutes social control. This term is also applied to the manipulation of one person (the social object) by another (the social subject) for either the latter's or the former's benefit. Whenever a person elicits a chosen act or course of conduct by directing his efforts on the will or motives of another, social control may be said to exist. To be sure, most conduct is purposive and much of it is chosen with reference to other persons; but such self-adaptive behavior is excluded from the definition of social control unless it is performed with the intention of eliciting a designed reaction.

The manner in which the activities of each member of a society indirectly limit and stimulate those of others—that is, the way the social structure circumscribes and requires certain lines of conduct—has already been made clear, particularly in Part Eight. Therefore our present discussion of social control may be limited largely to the regulative efforts which are designed to induce con-

formity to standards—the rules, commandments, laws, the thou shalt's and thou shalt not's, and the collective decisions and policies obtaining within a group.

In a culturally homogeneous society, consensus is the law and formal decrees are relatively unnecessary. Custom and precedent, rather than considerations of abstract fairness, determine the administration of justice. In preliterate societies and even in mediæval European countries, common law, in contrast to statute law, covered most situations. An official might declare what the custom or law was, but he could not enact a law; he merely stated what had always been the practice. The authority of the usages was assumed to be sufficient reason for their existence. On the other hand, in societies where impersonal relations prevail, decreed laws become increasingly necessary. Common-law practices continue to persist, but in diminishing proportions.

The larger the number of strangers and the more heterogeneous the culture, the less likelihood there is that conformity will be spontaneous, and the greater, therefore, is the need and inclination for the group to resort to legal decrees and their supporting sanctions. In fact, as we shall see, the development of secondary relations produced profound changes in the methods of social control. However, under either type of law, it is necessary that the majority conform to the established codes spontaneously—by habit and second nature—for otherwise the law could not be enforced. In addition to those who obey the codes through habit, others do so because they realize the need for orderliness and regularity. To the more stabilized persons, the very existence of codes is *per se* a reason for their observance; to the rest, the "reasonable expectations" of their associates, the influence of public opinion, and the fear of censure and punishment supply the impulsions to conformity. When unanimity of opinion and the "reasonable expectations" fail to support a law, it cannot, in the long run, be enforced.

A general distinction may be made between *agencies, channels,* and *means* or *instruments* of control. Every group is an agency of control in the sense just indicated; for the individual's position, as well as his other personal-social relations, exercises persistent and powerful pressure upon him. But, in addition, there are various agencies and associations, as well as' professions, which have as their direct function the task of defining and inculcating standards, wherefore they may be called normative agencies. Each stage in

culture evolution has its distinctive methods and organizations which perform this task. Our present agencies include the church and its allied organizations, social workers, reformers, character-forming clubs, legislative bodies, and the élite, or leaders and thinkers who specialize in these problems. Lastly, every class, group, or individual who possesses prestige is a "radiant point" of control. The greater this ascendency, says Ross, "the more possible is it for social control to affect the course of social movements."[1]

The *channels* of control are the folkways, mores, laws, rules of etiquette, policies, and traditions, for these give direction to habits and supply ready tests of conformity and consensus. The *means* of control are the devices whereby conformity to the mores and standards is enforced, or whereby one person seeks to regulate or determine the acts of another. From the standpoint of the *level* of the behavior or the degree of sublimation, the means of control fall into two main types: first, compulsion by physical force, and, second, "the human symbol method,"[2] or the appeal to attitudes through the use of language and other symbolic gestures. Examples of the latter means of control are persuasion, threats, flattery, ridicule, applying epithets, derision, gossip, and their opposites (offering benefits, praise, flattery, etc.). From the standpoint of the positive or negative relations expressed by the subject toward the objects, the items just enumerated are classifiable as either rewards or punishment.

Because rewards, and punishments in particular, are devices for expressing approval or disapproval of the violation of standards, they are known as the *sanction of the code*, or simply as sanctions. While punishments threaten the violator of the law, rewards express approval of his obedience; and both are thus expressions of the authority and the force by which the codes are supported. We shall therefore use the term sanction as the equivalent of rewards and punishments, as illustrated in the foregoing paragraph, and especially as the means of control that belong only to the authority of a group or to a person in a commanding official position. In the discussion of these sanctions in the present chapter, most attention is given to the origin and effects of punishment. In the ensuing chapters we shall consider other important instruments of control,

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[1] Ross, E. A., *Social Control*, p. 85.

[2] Lumley, F. E., *Means of Social Control*, The Century Company, New York, 1925, p. 14.

namely, the manipulative techniques—for example, passive resistance, slogans, advertising, propaganda, nagging, pouting, persuasion, and importuning—and the indirect manipulation of behavior by regulating contacts and directing the circumstances to which individuals are exposed.

### THE ORIGIN OF PUNISHMENT

Rewards and punishments are the final compulsion back of the law—the consequences by which an authority or a group undertakes to enforce its mandates. Every civil law expresses a rule by making an act or its omission a crime, the rule being enforceable under threat of punishment. While the state reserves for itself the right to impose extreme penalties, such as capital punishment or banishment, it shares with other associations the imposition of corporal punishment, fines, and various disabilities—deprivation of full liberties; revocation of membership in the association; discomfiture, especially by ridicule and disgrace; removal from office, ostracism, excommunication, and social and economic boycott.

(1) THEORIES CONCERNING THE MOTIVES INVOLVED.—Punishment is pain or loss inflicted with the end of either indemnifying the injured person or imposing suffering upon the offender as a means to some other end. Two general types of theories as to the origin of punishment have been advanced, one of which explains it by reference to the motives involved; and the other, by reference to the social situation in which it arises. The two thus supplement each other. The first of these two types of theory usually postulates one or several of four different motives underlying punishment: (a) retaliation (retribution), (b) expiation, (c) deterrence, and (d) reformation.

(a) The *lex talionis* or retaliation theory holds that punishment is an outgrowth of resentment against a person who violates the mores or laws. This point of view is based on the observation that resentment is apparently a universal psychological fact, and that the punishment actually inflicted is in many cases less severe than that prescribed by the law, the milder penalty being due to the lack of resentment. That the visceral condition resulting from anger is worked off by an action such as "striking back" has already been stated; but the things that arouse and relieve this emotional state vary greatly with culture and circumstances. The moral sentiments and standards, once these have been developed, define the

occasions and methods of showing resentment. Accordingly the fact that certain acts are punished, thereby defining the situation, may be said to be the reason why resentment is felt against them or the perpetrator.

Although resentment is only partly controlled by institutions, it does nevertheless find expression in many cultural forms, as is illustrated by the wide variations that exist among different groups in regard to the penalties imposed for a specific offense. The infliction of corporal punishment on children by parents and of legal penalties on violators of customs and laws, varies greatly among different people. S. R. Steinmetz[3] lists thirty-two primitive peoples among whom parents do not resort to corporal punishment. Conversely, in other primitive groups, as also in present-day western civilization, corporal punishment is a matter of common occurrence.[4] Furthermore, many aborigines practice ceremonial whipping, which is analogous to initiatory hazing.[5] Penalties legally inflicted for a given offense vary equally widely from one culture to another, thus indicating that the *lex talionis* is in reality institutionalized.

(b) Somewhat similar conclusions apply also to punishment as expiation, deterrence, or reformation. The expiatory element implies that inasmuch as a wrong has been done and the laws or the mores have been violated, the guilt may be removed by a conventionally prescribed quantity of suffering. While retaliation tends to call for a stronger blow than the one received—to demand an eye for a tooth, a life for an eye—expiation implies that a predetermined and equated amount of suffering shall be imposed; for the offended mores require an equivalence between the guilt and the penalty suffered. Aristotle considered punishment to be a "moral medicine"; Mead regarded it as the group's effort to maintain its solidarity, for suffering the penalty removes or expiates the offense and thus legally, but not sociologically, restores the offender to his place in the group.[6] In some cultures punishment is believed to rid the community of pollution and therefore to be a safeguard against calamities which are likely to befall the entire group because of the

[3] Steinmetz, S. R., "Das Verhältnis zwischen Eltern und Kindern bei den Naturvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft,* 1898, vol. i, pp. 607-631.

[4] Cf. Miller, Nathan, *op. cit.,* p. 172; Todd, Arthur J., *op. cit.,* pp. 190 ff.; Wiss'er, Clarke, *The American Indian,* p. 188; Stefansson, V., *My Life With the Eskimos,* The Macmi'lan Company, New York, 1913, p. 395.

[5] Wissler, Clarke, *The American Indian,* p. 189.

[6] Mead, George H., "The Psychology of Punitive Justice," pp. 577-602.

misdeeds of its members.[7] The individual who suffers the penalty, whether or not he be guiltier than the rest, becomes the "scape goat" in the Old Testament meaning of the term. The idea of expiation is thus a culture product, and varies not only from one civilization to another but also from one jurisdictional area to another in the same culture, as is indicated by the notoriously unequal penalties imposed for the same offense in the different states of America.

(c) The deterrence of prospective offenders and the protection of society has been the most frequently avowed motive of punishment in recent times. Habitual or professional criminals are in fact "inner enemies," against whom society unites for defense. That such a motive has long been present is suggested by the fact that among various peoples punishment assumes a severity which surpasses that of mere retributive justice. Under the same belief (that knowledge of the sanctions would deter others from committing the forbidden act) offenders were, until recently, punished in public. Today legislators and jurists generally assume punishment to be a deterrent and thus to have a beneficial effect from the standpoint of the group. No doubt it deters many who are already inclined to maintain social standards and who require merely a statement of the rules to induce conformity, but its deterrent effect upon other social types is not so evident.

(d) Reformation of the offender is a relatively recent justification of punishment, and therefore cannot be said to have been the reason for its use in the past. Beneath the desire to deter and reform an offender is the assumption that he is a moral being, for otherwise he could neither incur guilt nor offer any need of reformation. However, to the extent that the idea of reform is uppermost, the punitive element recedes, so that the restorative value of punishment differs with the type of penal procedure. But at best, retributive justice fails to improve the moral nature which underlies conduct, as will be seen in greater detail below.

(2) THE SOCIAL SITUATION THEORY of the origin of punishment is an addition, rather than an alternate, to the above-named principles, for it attempts to discover how the group varies its procedure under different social relations. Faris[8] suggests that punishment, in

[7] Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* vol. i, pp. 62 ff.

[8] Faris, Ellsworth, "Origin of Punishment," *International Journal of Ethics,* October, 1914, vol. xxv, pp. 54-67.

contrast to private revenge, became institutionalized when culture clashes began or when the group structure became diversified by the growth of population or by the incorporation of strangers (slaves or conquered people) into the group. In consequence of this complication of social relations there arose a public which was nonpartisan with reference to a quarrel between two persons. Although the primary groups to which the disputants belonged would take part in the quarrel, the inclusive group (the public) would be equally interested in both parties and would therefore desire to secure justice and prevent disorder. In brief, three distinct sets of relations are involved: (1) the immediate primary group to which the offender belongs, (2) a similar group which he has offended, and (3) a neutral (inclusive) group which has the interests of both lesser groups at heart.

These social relations find an analogy in present-day legal procedure in: the offender and his counsel; the group attacked by the offender, represented by the prosecution; and the judge and the jury. So also, true cases of punishment appear among some primitive groups when a child offends against persons outside his own group. For example, in Borneo, where a child is seldom disciplined by its parents, an offence against people outside its family is punished by a magistrate.[9] Accordingly, formal punishment may be regarded as the expression of clashing groups, with a "buffer-group"—the "public"—to lessen the shock and assume the rôle of judge and executor.

This explanation of the theory of punishment is supported by the fact that in secondary social relations control is usually more formalized and puts greater reliance on punishment than is the case in primary groups. In a homogeneous group, such as a preliterate clan or a village community, conduct is regulated more effectively by spontaneous means and by the use of derision, taunting, etc. Other things being equal, sensitivity to such controls varies with the degree of consensus and of *rapport* with, or practical dependence upon, the disapproving persons. The greater the *rapport*, the less likelihood there is that severe punishment will be inflicted. Instead, the desire for favorable status and the good opinion of associates supplies a basis for control by means of exhortation, satire, rebuke, and the like.[10] Threatened disgrace is an incitement to con-

[9] Miller, Nathan, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[10] Pound, Roscoe, "Public Opinion and Social Control," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, vol. lvii, 1930, pp. 607-623; Waltersdof, M. E.,

formity because suitable attitudes have already been developed. According to the Talmud, "He who puts his fellow man to shame in public commits a sin as grievous as murder." Among many primitive people, as, for instance, some American Indians, control was exercised by disapproval and ridicule rather than by corporal punishment.[11] For example, when a Crow Indian had committed a wrong, one of his "joking relatives" might disgrace him by twitting him in public. The jeers a Bakongo African meets if he fails to keep his yard clean are a great spur to live up to public expectations. It is reported that various primitive peoples can be chaffed into doing things they would not do even to escape blows. Some groups punish even the more severe offenses by ridicule.[12] Among various peoples, a thief was taken "around town" and laughed at—this was the only form of punishment.[13] According to the study made by T. E. Jones,[14] group censure and ridicule are effective means of control among the mountain folk of Japan. Japanese children are taught that the greatest evil in the world is to be laughed at; and instead of being punished out of their misbehavior, they are usually laughed out of it. The fear of ridicule has been utilized among these people as an important sociological adjunct to the maintenance of ethical standards. In ancient times, when a Samurai gave his note to return a borrowed sum, the only guarantee affixed was his permission to be laughed at in public in case of failure.[15] Thrasher finds that ridicule is a major instrument of control in the gang.[16] Concerning the Slavic mir, it is reported that if an individual is stubborn, the members of his family and his close friends weep, embrace, implore—beg him not to disgrace them and his community by showing the neighbors that they cannot agree. Students of the mir have found that boys six or eight years of age speak and act like grown men; they repeat the standard definitions of "our community," "our people."[17] These methods of control within soli-

"Public Opinion as a Means of Social Control," *Social Science*, 1926-1927, vol. ii, pp. 45-49.

[11] Wissler, Clarke, *The American Indian*, p. 189.

[12] Hambly, W. D., and Hose, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[13] Weeks, John, "Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1909, vol. xxxix, p. 447.

[14] Jones, T. E., *op. cit.*

[15] Gulick, Sidney, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[16] Thrasher, Frederic, "The Gang as a Symptom of Community Disorganization."

[17] Thomas, W. I., "The Persistence of Primary Group Norms," p. 172.

dary groups meet all of Ross's specifications of desirability: namely, economy, simplicity, spontaneity, and prevalence; but they are suitable only to groups which have a high degree of consensus, and they thus do not suffice for secondary, heterogeneous groups where laws and their sanctions must be the chief methods of control.

That secondary relations require legal compulsion is clear from the following facts: First, the expression of disapproval by strangers is neither a deterrent nor a penalty unless it is reinforced by financial, physical, or legal power. Second, the sense of obligation belongs first to close associates; it does not instantly or necessarily extend to outsiders. Third, the effects of one's acts (as in selling adulterated or contaminated foods, useless patent medicines, etc.) may not be perceived because of the distance or delay involved. Fourth, the lack of moral restraints and sentiments, and the unequal strength of the groups concerned lead to exploitation in ways seldom found in normal primary relations.

Although rewards are used less frequently than punishments, they arise in somewhat similar situations, serve similar purposes, and are based on parallel theories: namely, that meritorious conduct deserves recognition, not necessarily as a means to some other end but as an end in itself; that the merits are increased by making public acknowledgment; and that this expression of appreciation impresses the desired standards upon others.[18]

### THE LIMITATIONS OF THE SANCTIONS

Although rewards and punishments are often the only instruments of control at hand, they have serious limitations, especially in the impersonal relations where they are most likely to be invoked. This is indicated by the fact that offenses continue to recur in spite of the threatened penalties; for it is a commonplace that under the present conditions of confused social relations (and of the consequently lax enforcement of law) crimes recur in spite of the punishments which are meted out. Statistics fail to show that even the capital penalty deters other prospective offenders. In the seventeenth century more than two hundred offenses were punishable by death, but crimes did not abate noticeably; while during the reign of Henry VIII, 70,000 Englishmen were executed, and

[18] Ewing, A. C., *The Morality of Punishment,* Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Company, London, 1929, p. 126.

one French judge during this period declared he had burned 800 people in sixteen years.[19] There is now a tendency to abolish capital punishment, or to reduce the number of offenses to which it applies. Twelve American states abolished it prior to 1918; now there is only one offense punishable by death in twelve states and two in eight states; only two states have six capital offenses, and it is permissive instead of compulsory in a few others.[20] However, no data are available which would indicate whether, or how much, this tendency toward leniency has contributed directly to the increase of crime. Likewise, banishment and imprisonment, even though employed on a large scale, have not demonstrably served as great deterrents to criminality. Banishment was one of the favorite methods of disposing of criminals during the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, America and Australia being the "dumping grounds" for English convicts; and France still maintains penal settlements in the Andaman Islands and in South America. Imprisonment, although resorted to only slightly in primitive and ancient times, had become the chief method of punishing criminals by the beginning of the nineteenth century.[21]

Aside from the physical discomfort, imprisonment inflicts a stigma, providing public opinion so considers it; and it is therefore meaningless to some preliterates by whom it is not listed as a form of disgrace.[22] In Euro-American cultures it is likely to destroy the incentives to conformity, for it lowers the person's social status or reputation among law-abiding citizens, isolates him from normal social relations, and brands him as a member of a criminal class whose rôle in consequence he tends to assume. Association with other criminals is likely to undermine his moral standards, and solitary imprisonment entails personality deterioration and destroys his power of adaptability to normal social life. Because of these facts, there is difficulty in giving him a fresh start in the effort—even if genuine—to lead a law-abiding life. Indeed, the penal methods are more likely to make than to reform criminals, if one may judge by the amount of imprisonment and recidivism. In 1910 there

[19] Wines, F. H., *Punishment and Reformation,* Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1895, p. 103.

[20] Sutherland, E. H., *Criminology,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1924, pp. 367-368.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 330.

[22] Muntz, Earl E., *Race Contacts,* p. 304.

was one penal commitment for every 200 persons in the United States, and in 1923, one for every 395.[23] In 1910 the Federal Census reported that 34,979 persons had been committed to the same penal institution two or more times in that one year. Of these, 25,182 had been committed twice; 5960, three times; 2085, four times; 892, five times; and 860, six times or more. The actual number of recidivists is probably many times greater—fifty-five per cent of the Massachusetts prison population in 1922 were repeaters.[24]

By way of summary, the following shortcomings of punishment as a form of control may be noted:

First, it does not change the situation to which misconduct is a response; for it attempts to accomplish its ends by the affirmation of a wish, with the expectation that the corresponding states of mind or at least conformity, will be induced. Such attempts to exercise social control by commanding the desired conduct is known as ordering and forbidding, and is based on the belief that a given result may be induced by an arbitrary act of will which decrees the disappearance of the undesirable, or the appearance of the desirable, phenomena.[25] This is probably one of the oldest and most persistent means of attempting social control. Every large and formally organized group promulgates positive rules and taboos declaring what is, and is not, wanted; and the taboos may or may not be accompanied by reasons for the prohibitions.[26] Although an element of magic still survives in our ordering and forbidding, this nevertheless serves the essential purpose of defining the situation. But its tragic ineffectiveness is indicated by the vast quantity of crime and demoralized behavior, as briefly suggested by the statistics cited above and by the data reported in earlier chapters.

Second, punishment is inadequate as a means of reforming attitudes. This is true even when, as in some periods of European history, the penalties for crimes were made as gruesome as possible.[27] Widespread publicity given to punishment may make the wrong-

[23] Gillin, John L., et al., Social Problems, The Century Company, New York, 1928, p. 419.

[24] Gillin, John L., Criminology and Penology, The Century Company, New York, 1926, pp. 40-41.

[25] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., op. cit., vol. i, p. 3.

[26] Sumner, W. G., Folkways, p. 31.

[27] Cairns, Huntington, "The Sadistic Side of Law," in Our Neurotic Age, edited by Samuel D. Schmalhausen; Barnes, A Story of Punishment: A Record of Man's Inhumanity to Man, Stratford Co., Boston, 1930, pp. 470-488.

doing all the more alluring, or, by its very power of suggestion, even prompt the misdeeds. By degrading the offender's status and developing negativistic personality traits in him, punishment may create the very problems which it proposes to remedy. Even some primitives have learned that if personal status—whether of the child or the adult—is lowered by punishment, more harm than good may result. For example, the Winnebago says: "If you have a child, do not strike it. If you hit a child you will merely put more naughtiness into it."[28] Luther spoke from experience when in mature life he said: "It is a miserable thing, when on account of severe punishments children learn to dislike their parents, or pupils their teachers. Many a clumsy [disciplinarian] completely ruins children of good disposition and excellent ability."[29] Rousseau recounts that his misbehavior increased as a result of frequent beatings, because he actually came to enjoy the beatings. Sometimes an offender assumes a sporting attitude toward discipline; he may even get pleasure out of the punishment because it bestows distinction.

Third, cruel or humiliating punishment blunts the sense of social responsibility for the offender's guilt, and thus delays remedial measures or the adoption of more constructive efforts whereby the cause of the wrongdoing may be corrected. According to Dewey, "meting out justice" irrespective of its reformative effects or of recognition of the collective responsibility for misconduct is as bad as sentimentalizing over the offender.[30] In reality, punishment is an admission of the inability to meet the situation in a more helpful way.

Fourth, punishment may arouse resentment because of the sense of injustice, especially when greater wrongs go unpunished and when society ignores its own responsibility.

Such facts indicate that fear is neither the one cause for the formation of civil rules (as Hobbes thought), nor a sufficient means of control over conduct. Neither do people, as Bentham, Mill, and others believed, comport themselves exclusively by seeking pleasure and avoiding pain, for conduct belongs to a social situation and the attitudes developed therein.

[28] Radin, Paul, *Primitive Man as Philosopher*, pp. 80-81.

[29] Jacobs, H. E., *The Life of Martin Luther*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1906, p. 10. For a discussion of current ideas concerning discipline, see Sayles, Mary B., *op. cit.*, pp. 118-132.

[30] Dewey, John, *Human Nature and Conduct*, p. 17.

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# CHAPTER XXXIX

## Social Guidance

The most efficient methods of control are those which develop suitable attitudes and regulate the conditions which people collectively create and which in turn so largely condition their behavior. "In order to change the conduct or the will of another," says Dewey, "we have to alter objective conditions which enter into his habits."[1] These principles will be discussed under three divisions, first, directing personal relations; second, forming and manipulating attitudes (Chapter XXXIX); and, third, controlling circumstances through social policies and reforms (Chapter XL).

### DIRECTING PERSONAL RELATIONS

The principle that behavior is a phase of the social system in which the individual is contained supplies a most significant means of social control, namely, the regulation of (1) contacts, and (2) the person's place in a social group.

(1) REGULATING ACCESS TO BEHAVIOR MODELS.—Contacts supply a definition of the situation and models, and suggest behavior-patterns and a personal rôle. In so far as these contacts are subject to direction, control may be exercised over conduct.[2] A change in the type of associates or of membership in groups may therefore be followed by either an improvement or a deterioration of deportment. Social workers apply this law of behavior when they place the client in a group where he receives encouragement, is surrounded by suitable examples, and aided in raising his self-respect. For instance, families in which there are behavior-problem children are frequently moved to a good environment; or the problem child is placed in a suitable foster home where social relations are improved and appropriate models are prevalent.

Among other therapeutic methods of this type is the segregation

[1] Dewey, John, *Human Nature and Conduct*, p. 19.
[2] Blanchard, Phyllis, and Paynter, R. H., "Changing the Chi'd's Behavior by Ind'rect Methods," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1924-1925, vol. ix, pp. 338-350; "Changing the Child's Behavior by Direct Methods," *ibid.*, pp. 425-435.

of behavior-problem children according to ability so that each can compete more successfully with others and thereby improve his emotional balance. By this means truancies and delinquencies have been corrected. When social maladjustments are remedied, even school progress and intelligence test scores may be greatly improved if there are no structural handicaps, two or three school grades sometimes being completed by the retarded child in a single year. Healy and Bronner find that of 339 children placed in foster homes by private agencies, 85 per cent of the misdemeanants ceased their delinquency, and 90 per cent of the personality-problem cases improved their unfortunate ways so as to become acceptable members of an ordinary family group.[3]

Personality changes resulting from such replacements are further connected with the fact that the subject is taken out of a social situation where he has acquired one type of rôle and status and is enabled to participate in other social systems, thereby changing his conduct, in keeping with the principles set forth in Part Eight. The old rôle may or may not be transferred to the new environment, depending on the fixation of attitudes and the chance repetitions of factors similar to those in the old milieu. If the values and behavior-patterns in the new setting are distinctive and yet adapted to the subject's attitudes, the behavior-problems may be removed; but if negativisitic attitudes have already been formed toward elements in the new environment, the attempted control will fail.[4] Moreover, success varies, as a rule, with the age of the cases at the time of placement, the duration of the behavior problem, the variety of delinquencies (polydelinquency), and the type or degree of defects, if any. Thus while there are limitations to the success of these methods for regulating personality development, skilled case work has dispelled the belief that delinquency is an attribute of the person apart from the situation in which his attitudes are developed and his social rôle is acquired.

(2) REGULATING A PERSON'S POSITION IN A SOCIAL GROUP.—Raising or lowering an individual's status, supplying him with a responsible rôle in a group, furnishing suitable occupations, etc., have proved valuable remedial measures, as is apparent in the widespread attempt to attract everybody to some public rôle or "activity," and

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[3] Healy, William, and Bronner, Augusta, et al., Reconstructing Behavior in Youth, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1929, pp. 244-245.

[4] Cf. Thomas, W. I., and Thomas, Dorothy S., The Child in America, pp. 517 ff.

to standardize as many of these activities as possible. These attempts to secure "joiners" and to induce people to engage in "activities" are usually carried on for purposes other than the control of behavior, as may be seen from the zeal shown in forming associations ("societies" and "clubs").[5] But the same methods—forming groups in which, under our existing differentiated social organization, persons of all ages and circumstances can participate—are used by social welfare directors and normative agencies.

Assigning one to a responsible place and an esteemed rôle in a group and, in various ways, improving his status, are especially effective means of eliciting desirable conduct. Supplying occupational reeducation, restoring efficiency, and guaranteeing security are likewise sometimes sufficient to correct personality problems. Destitute families who lack morale and the ambition to work and save have been known to improve in these respects when social workers enabled them to secure respectable living quarters and furniture. However, the results described can follow only if suitable attitudes are already built up, for in other cases the same measures may result in parasitism and increased dependency. While conduct cases often reform themselves spontaneously, as it seems, this may, in fact, be due to changes in the attitudes of observers or in the circumstances whereby positive responses are elicited. Delinquents are sometimes restored to a normal course of life when provided with some useful and creditable occupation which appeals to their interest. Such techniques of control are vastly superior to ordering and forbidding; but success presupposes that the person in question has the requisite ability and is responsive to the expectations of the group which demands the prescribed deportment.[6]

### FORMING AND MANIPULATING ATTITUDES

(1) FORMING ATTITUDES.—In comparison to the subtle and pervasive patterns supplied by the environment, exhortation, advice and instruction are often feeble means of control; but if the attitudes can be regulated, the environment may be made over and adjusted to the attitudes. Furthermore, the practical difficulties in controlling circumstances are often prohibitive. The development of suitable attitudes is, therefore, an essential element in every wise social policy, as well as in the control of one individual by another.

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[5] See chap. iii.
[6] Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 1540.

Education is a general term for the process of developing attitudes through the selection of appropriate personal and intellectual examples. In every complex culture group, the young are catechized and supplied with definitions of the situation which convey the cumulated wisdom of the past with respect to fortitude, frugality, industry, self-reliance, loyalty, unselfishness, cooperativeness, forbearance, or whatever the culture contains by way of the articulate regulation of social relations and personality standards. These are embodied in such cultural forms as legends, proverbs, aphorisms, mottoes, and maxims. In simpler societies likewise, the inculcation of culture and the development of desirable attitudes is accomplished by instruction and discipline, the rigor of which often exceeds that found in our own civilization.[7] Even among the primitive Ainus, for example, folk tales discourage idleness and greediness and encourage diligence and reverence. The Amerinds inculcated such traits as unselfishness, self-control, straightforwardness, sympathy, hospitality, and generosity through vivid models and instruction.

However, periods of rapid social change and growing complexity of culture are reflected in the means of control. As groups representing different cultures come into contact, there is usually an awakening interest in, and an effort to impress, the traditional standards; for the contrast brings an awareness of the customs which had hitherto been assumed unquestioningly. Again, when culture grows more complex, the control devices which were formerly effective may fall into disuse. This has been shown to be true of proverbs which, according to a recent intensive investigation, are becoming less prevalent in contemporary American culture.[8] The early models provided by parents and the neighborhood are now supplemented by mediated communication, special interest groups, and secondary contacts. When these primary group structures are shorn of their ancient functions, elaborate methods of inculcation are necessary if collective efficiency and standards are to be maintained. Accordingly, numerous educative and normative agencies and techniques have come into vogue as substitutes for the training which was once adequately supplied by the home.

At the present time the school is the agency through which the

[7] Miller, Nathan, "Primitive Education," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1928-1929, vol. ii, pp. 37-46.

[8] Albig, J. W., "Proverbs and Social Control," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1930-1931, vol. xv, pp. 527-535.

preparation of the individual for participation in the complex secondary relations can probably be accomplished most successfully.[9] In this connection two distinct lines of development may be noted: first, the modification of the curriculum to meet the needs of daily life, and, second, the direct inculcation of personal and ethical standards. The weakening of the family and the local community as agencies of social control has been followed by the assumption of many new functions by the school—instruction in manual, artistic, and technical subjects; the supervision of health, and even parental education along various lines, especially those dealing with child welfare. A parallel development is the school's supervision of behavior problems which formerly lay within the province of the family, the church, or the court, so that in many communities the school may now be correctly designated as a "behavior institution" concerned with the child's adjustment both there and in the home. Even the drilling in precepts and the practice of self-evaluation formerly exercised by the church may be assumed by the school.

Unfortunately, precepts are not readily taught in abstract terms apart from the examples of associates and the consistent pressure of the community generally. In fact, the normative agencies usually supply only a small part of the models and incitement to which children are exposed; for through unregulated contacts in play groups, commercialized amusement, and places of work, models are supplied which are often inferior and contradictory to those supplied by the family and school.[10]

(2) MANIPULATION OF ATTITUDES.—The attitudes developed by these formal and informal methods supply the basis of control for both collective and private purposes, providing the appropriate stimuli or values are presented. Only when suitable attitudes exist does a group respond to appeals for the preservation of standards, correction of graft, respect for others' property rights, etc. Among most groups possessing a well-developed, homogeneous, and stable culture, predictable responses will be made to a given value. For in-

[9] Smith, W. R., "Social Education in School through Group Activities," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1918, vol. xiii, pp. 81-95; Payne, E. George, "Education and Social Control," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1927-1928, vol. i, pp. 137-145; Peters, Charles C., "Sociological Bases of Education for Culture," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1922, vol. xvii, pp. 129-141.

[10] Clow, F. R., "Non-School Educational Agencies," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1928-1929, vol. ii, pp. 593-598.

stance among some preliterates, an individual is able to protect the fruit-trees in the forest against molestation by putting his mark on them; and it is said of one tribe that a hedge might be mended with cotton thread and no one would break through.[11]

If the appropriate attitudes have been developed, importunity, the nuisance technique (wearing down resistance by the repetition of demands), pouting, etc., move the social object to compliance. So, also, the salesman, the advertiser, the political demagogue, and the legislative bloc have developed specialized methods of manipulation which, because of the spread of indirect communication and the expansion of the social structure, readily assume great practical importance. The enlargement of interest groups, also, has made possible the extensive use of "control by clamor"—the noisy, importunate insistence upon political favors; and to meet this, statesmen often devise projects which will seem to the clamorous petitioners to meet their demands without really doing so.[12]

Advertising and salesmanship attempt first of all to capture and hold the attention by categorical assertions and appeals to some habitual want or interest. An inspection of advertisements discloses variations in emphasis on a few themes, such as vanity, cupidity, hedonistic indulgence, the desire to excel others or to be attractive to them, and the guarantee of security for oneself or dependents. Propaganda may be defined as the advocacy of ideas in which the social object does not already believe, in contrast to advertising, which appeals to ideas already accepted. In actual practice, propaganda consists, for the most part, of attempts to gain credence for affirmations which are wholly or partly untrue.[13]

Although its principle is ancient, propaganda has become especially important since the growth of mediated communication; for now people no longer rely so largely upon seasoned traditions but on "news" secured second hand from an impersonal but partisan medium. These methods reached their climax during the World War, when they were used as a means of arousing belligerency and hatred for the opponent, and of maintaining war morale in a world

[11] Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, p. 318.

[12] Sumner, W. G., *The Challenge of Facts and Other Essays*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1913, p. 186.

[13] "Propaganda," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th edition, vol. xviii, p. 581. Cf. Hancock, Gordon B., "The Commercial Advertisement and Social Pathology," *Social Forces*, 1925-1926, vol. iv, pp. 812-819; Motvani, K. L., "Propaganda in Mahatma Gandhi's Movement," *ibid.*, 1929-1930, vol. viii, pp. 574-581.

that was losing confidence in the make-believe required for a war psychosis. In recent years, the use of history textbooks as a means of spreading propaganda for partisan and imperialistic purposes has assumed large proportions.[14] Business firms frequently employ a "public relations council"—a specialist in propaganda, who helps to prevent restrictive legislation, avoid criticism, maintain prices, etc.[15] Such widespread efforts to manipulate opinion constitute a financial burden, a perversion of intellectual candor, and a menace to political sanity. The exploiters attempt by catchwords to produce crowd-excitement and control for their own advantage, and therefore education in order to resist advertising and other propagandic devices is becoming more essential than instruction in the means of their promotion.

The utilization of modern methods of communication for the purposes of control illustrates the general principle that social pressure may be exerted by one person or group upon another by manipulating, and interfering with, the social structure. The chief means of such non-violent controls are non-participation and passive resistance. Non-participation serves as a method of control when two parties are dependent upon each other, in consequence of which a threat to end positive relations supplies a means of exerting pressure. The type of non-participation depends upon the character of the social relations. Familiar examples are the boycott and strike. The boycott consists of a withholding of patronage; and the strike, of the failure to cooperate, so that pressure is exerted upon other persons within the same social unit, whether this be industrial, political, or cultural.

Refusal to share in prescribed institutional or political duties may have features resembling either the boycott or the labor strike. Such non-participation is coercive even if it does not rest on any sanctions of the codes. At the time of a visit by the Prince of Wales to India, Gandhi advised his compatriots: "Do not cooperate with the British in doing honor to the Prince. He is our guest. Protect him with your lives. But let none go to see the parades and ceremonies in his honor."[16] When the British government began an

[14] Pierce, Bessie, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States,* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926.

[15] Bernays, Edward L., *Crystallizing Public Opinion,* Boni and Liveright, New York, 1923.

[16] Van Tyne, C. H., *India in Ferment,* D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1923, p. 126.

inquiry concerning the "attitude" of the Egyptians, non-participation on a wide scale was instituted. Workers went on strike, students left schools, Egyptian lawyers discontinued their practice, and public officials and ministers resigned their positions.[17] Chinese students initiated a similar movement in protest against the cession of Kiaochow to Japan in 1919. Non-participation and the refusal to pay taxes were used against the distasteful Australian Act of 1903 which expanded the private school system of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches at the expense of the general taxpayer. During the middle of the nineteenth century, when opposition to the Mexican War and the continuance of slavery was at its height in the United States, such protests were frequently employed. In 1844 Emerson spoke of the "solitary nullifiers" who embarrassed the government by refusing jury and army service; and chief among the advocates of non-participation was Thoreau, who, by way of protest against the policies of the government, refused to pay his poll tax, saying, "I declare war with the state after my own fashion." Other examples of interference with official and legal acts are found in the refusal of workers to make or handle war materials for military campaigns of which they disapprove, and in the suspensions of labor in Russia, Austria, and Italy as a protest against the use of military power.[18]

The personal boycott likewise coerces or punishes by terminating positive relations. Both hemispheres supply limitless instances of this ancient and sharp-edged instrument. For example, under the former rigorous Indian caste system even close relatives did not dare to speak to the ostracised person or help him in his direst need, lest they too become outcastes; and even the objects he touched were held to be polluted. Animals, likewise, were punished by excommunication. Among the Baya, a child who steals from another family is isolated from the entire village.[19] In our everyday life there are varying degrees in lowering the social temperature. "Coolness," formality of intercourse, averted looks, "cutting dead," "sending to coventry," and "scabbing," form a progressive series of such personal boycotts. Sims relates that in Aton, the Hoosier village he studied, people would not visit anyone who was the

[17] Case, C. M., *Non-Violent Coercion*, The Century Company, New York, 1923, p. 329.

[18] Tannenbaum, Frank, *The Labor Movement*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1921, p. 78.

[19] Miller, Nathan, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

object of gossip lest they also be "talked about."[20] Because of a single serious mistake a person may find himself suddenly and most effectively ostracised, the silence of the boycott only rendering it all the more effective.

Passive resistance operates through the sentiments rather than through an interruption of positive relations. It implies that a free agent submits to injuries without striking back except by refusing to yield the point at stake, and by so doing he appeals to the sympathies of both opponent and onlookers. It is, in the words of Cooley, "an attack upon the higher self" of the assailant,[21] and may serve to arouse the pity, if not the admiration, of the opponent, and in some cases completely mollifies him.

The injuries imposed may even be invited as a means of moral appeal. For example, oppressed labor strikers in western countries often endure clubbing and imprisonment, thereby enlisting the sentiments of the public. The suffering may also be self-imposed, as in the hunger-strike. This is an ancient practice, especially among the Hindus and Celts; and it survived in modern India to such an extent that the British attempted to suppress it. In Ireland its "reoccurrence in the recent decade takes on the character of a repeated episode in a long epic tradition."[22] The "fast for constraint," as practiced in Irish antiquity, was known to have been used as early as the fifth century; it was utilized particularly in dealing with debtors and was regulated by definite codes. If the creditor died because of fasting, the debtor was constrained to pay a death fine as well as his original indebtedness; but if he offered a pledge and gave security, and the creditor did not break his fast, the latter forfeited his legal claims. Evil men—even kings or nobles—were "fasted upon" by saints until they acknowledged their sins; and men of position "fasted on" saints to induce them to guarantee military victory.

In recent years hunger strikes on a large scale have been instituted by suffragettes and other agitators and by Irish political prisoners. In 1920, one hundred Irish political prisoners pledged themselves to fast until they were given the treatment received by prisoners of war. In such wishful passivity the essential elements of success are

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[20] Sims, N. S., *A Hoosier Village*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1912, p. 54.

[21] Cooley, C. H., *Human Nature and the Social Order*, p. 278.

[22] *Nation*, October 27, 1920, vol. cxi, p. 468.

progressive suffering, which may lead to collapse and ultimate death if the purpose is not achieved; a sympathetic body of supporters to give publicity to the hunger strikers; and a larger public with sufficient interest in the cause to be aroused by pity. Where these factors have been present, no occidental government has been able to withstand the moral pressure thus generated.[23]

Non-resistance—the lack of effort to withstand the aggression of an opponent—rests upon the assumption that the attitudes of the potential antagonist are such that "rational methods" are the only proper, and also the most effective, means for meeting the situation.[24] The substance of the Christian admonition to turn the other cheek is found in other cultures, and is prevalent now as in ancient times in oriental civilization. Buddha advised: Say no harsh word to thy neighbor. He will reply to thee in the same tone.[25] The wise man, according to Lao Tse, "is a pattern to the world. . . . It is because he is thus free from striving that therefore no man can strive with him."[26] On this principle many religious groups, such as the Quakers of Pennsylvania who neither took the offensive nor had military arms or soldiers, went unmolested in the midst of the Indian wars.[27] Similar facts are recorded concerning a Tyrolese village of non-resistants who refused to fight an army of invaders; and the would-be conquerors withdrew, saying that they could not fight a people who had no army.[28] The effectiveness of these control measures, in the terms of social tendencies, suggests the law that a friendly response to a hostile tendency which expected a hostile response produces a friendly tendency.[29]

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[23] Shaw, Bernard, "Logic of the Hunger Strike," *Living Age,* 1920, vol. cccvii, p. 30.

[24] Case, C. M., *op. cit.,* p. 216.

[25] Carus, Paul, *The Gospel of Buddha According to Old Records,* Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1905, pp. 87, 115.

[26] Legge, James, *The Sacred Books of China,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1879, vol. iii, pp. 220-229.

[27] Hancock, Thomas, *The Principles of Peace Exemplified,* William Phillips, London, 1826, pp. 158 ff.

[28] Ballou, Adin, *Christian Non-Resistance in All its Important Bearings Illustrated and Defended,* Universal Press, Philadelphia, 1846, p. 161.

[29] Znaniecki, F., *Social Psychology,* p. 154.

*Case, C. M., *Non-Violent Coercion,* The Century Company, New York, 1923.

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CHAPTER XL

## Control and Social Reform: A Summary Application

Every phase of the sociological field which we have now traversed indicates the reciprocal relation between the individual and society; for the person and the group are correlatives, the character of each affecting the other. The means whereby the individual realizes his desires are supplied by society, and the type of social organization depends on the character of its component individuals and of their interrelations. From this it follows that the personal relations and the conventional and functional positions occupied by persons put restraints and obligations upon them and help to form their attitudes, which are also derived from the culture and are consciously inculcated.

The problem of social guidance, therefore, has two phases. On the one hand, attention must be given to the persons comprising a social structure, for in every kind of activity it is usually harmful to tolerate laxity. On the other hand, attention must be given to the social organization itself and, in general, to the environment which conditions the conduct of the individual. Indeed, any reform or corrective measure which gives its attention exclusively to either the individual or the situation will necessarily be but partly successful; for in order to produce efficient persons the social conditions must be suitable, and in order to improve society, the individuals must be socialized.

The shortcomings of the individualistic explanation of behavior —that what one does is merely a projection of his own unique nature—and the inadequacy of control efforts which are based on this fallacy—the ordering and forbidding techniques—have already been discussed. In homogeneous, solidary groups the inadequacy of such viewpoints is obscured by the fact that the social system works successfully because the course of conduct is mapped out by traditional rules and well-defined social relations. Under our present complex social conditions, more productive results follow from inculcation and the regulation of circumstances through the in-

auguration of reforms and wise societal policies. This has long been recognized by reformers, as is indicated by the innumerable panaceas which have been urged by them as a means of bettering conditions and improving conduct. For the most part, these reforms propose to remedy either material circumstances or social relations, as is illustrated by social insurance, necessitated by the industrialization of society; housing legislation; city planning movements; improvements in medical care; public health protection; special care for the handicapped—the blind, invalids, the tubercular, the insane, feeble-minded, etc.; workingmen's compensation; producers' and consumers' cooperative leagues; the extension of the right of the franchise; child labor laws, etc.

The more complex the economic and social relations, the more varied must be the efforts to regulate conduct in the competitive process and to mitigate its pressure upon those who suffer most from it. An industrial and mechanized society, with its complicated problems of technological unemployment, economic cycles, and international financial disturbances, has a greater need for such social control than does a handicraft, local, and home-economy society. Furthermore, a complex and heterogeneous culture creates needs for the control of the underprivileged racial and cultural elements in its population. Lastly, general enlightenment sharpens the sense of social justice and brings a realization of the effect of adverse conditions. Therefore, while sporadic efforts to alleviate vicious conditions have been made throughout all recorded history, systematic reform movements are most characteristic of modern times.[1] This deliberate shaping of the line of social change (sometimes called social telesis) could make little headway until men reflected upon their actual and imagined state of well-being and had sufficient command over their own group to act upon abstract principles.

However, individuals do not respond uniformly to improved circumstances and opportunities; for the way these are utilized depends on the attitudes, and these, in turn, differ with culture and experience. People do not spontaneously develop tendencies which enable them to profit fully or in a uniform way by favorable conditions, even if this is the intention underlying the advocacy of these conditions; and therefore it is not sufficient merely to promote reforms, enact wise social policies, or supply favorable and remove

[1] Giddings, F. H., "Social Work and Societal Engineering," *Journal of Social Forces*, November, 1924, vol. iii, p. 11.

unfavorable conditions. Suitable attitudes must also be developed, for without them even the highest abilities and the most favorable environment would lack full utilization.

This reciprocal relation between the individual and the social system has been stressed throughout our entire discussion, but a few additional illustrations will be offered for the sake of clarity. The practical reformer, for example, is prone to assume that an improvement in housing conditions will result in good family life, that wealth will produce desirable social types, that high wages will lessen intemperance and promote thrift, that the erection of libraries will foster the pursuit of learning, that playgrounds will prevent delinquencies, that eugenics will lead to a better society, etc. The flaw in such single-track panaceas is obvious when it is recalled that family decay is found among persons who live in comfortable surroundings, and that an ideal family life is often present in spite of the most adverse economic and housing conditions; for the quality of social relations depends on culturally derived attitudes, no less than on the conditions which produce tensions between members of primary groups.

Only in the presence of suitable tendencies on the part of the persons themselves will a specific improvement in the physical surroundings produce an advance in morals, or a decline therein entail demoralization. That general wealth or a high wage would produce happiness and desirable personality types or reform anti-social conduct is equally untenable as an unqualified statement. The improvement of the material conditions of the majority of the population is eminently desirable from every standpoint, for it would not only raise the general well-being but would give an outlet to existing attitudes which are stifled under depressing poverty (see Chapter XXXIII). But such reform would not by itself produce attitudes whereby people would be enabled to take full advantage of the improved facilities for developing their capacities in socially constructive ways. This is clear from the fact that, according to historic records, degeneration has been frequent among the economically favored classes. Similarly, abundant school equipment and a plethora of books will not produce wisdom unless suitable tendencies are present. Playgrounds may be used for delinquent purposes, rather than wholesome recreation, if they fit into an anti-social system of activities already in existence.

Programs which propose to elevate society by improving the

quality of the stock on the supposition that the level of social at-
tainments is a measure of innate capacities, do not guarantee cor-
respondingly desirable personality types or social relations. This is
clear from the fact that the inheritance of a good physique does
not bring with it desirable human relations (Chapter XX) and
that personality- and conduct-problems are not correlated with the
level of intelligence except in special cases (Chapter XXXVII). The
manner in which abilities are used depends on the culture and the
existing attitudes, as we have noted repeatedly. Furthermore, eugenic
policies cannot improve the absolute quality of the population since
there is no method known to science whereby this could be done.
All that is possible is to raise the average level by eliminating the
poorest strains or preventing this portion of the population from
bearing children. However, even if this were done, society as an
organization, with its personal relations, scale of values, humane-
ness, cooperativeness, and culture, would not thereby be generally
improved. Such facts depend on the way capacities are used; and
this use, in turn, is determined by the tendencies created collectively,
not by such improvements in the level of capacities as could be
effected by eugenic marriages. Indeed, the better capacities might
be used in antisocial ways, for a pasteurized, sanitized society is not
necessarily humane, disciplined, or socialized. It is readily possible
for an advance in the grade of capacities to be accompanied by
moral decay, just as improvement in the material arts has already
entailed confusion in social relations.

In other words, social progress which considers circumstances
only is but half progress. Because circumstances and attitudes,
whether of cultural or individual origin, are always interconnected,
efforts at social reform should, when possible, be designed to im-
prove simultaneously both the conditions and the attitudes. But
if, for reasons of practical obstacles, such as lack of resources, both
factors cannot be improved at the same time, it is better to give
attention to the development of the desired attitudes; for these
may find expression by modifying conditions, whereas the reverse
is not so likely to be true. Attitudes may lead to the improvement
of an adverse environment or to the degradation of what would
otherwise be a good environment. As a matter of fact, therefore,
the larger amount of effort which, at least until recently, has been
spent on developing attitudes and training individuals is theoretically
justified. The present-day tendency to emphasize the other factor

is now desirable because the social conditions are becoming so complex that an individual acting alone is relatively helpless. Increasing numbers are unable to rise by self-help, and many are being pulled down by circumstances over which they can exercise no control.

In all events, social progress must necessarily be slow and difficult of attainment. This is true, among other reasons, because culture and personal attitudes usually offer considerable resistance to innovations, owing to inertia, vested interests, mechanical obstacles, and the power of traditions; and also because of the inadequacy of the common-sense methods usually applied to societal problems and the magical belief concerning the nature of social causation. The unwarranted assumption of common-sense opinions that, because a person lives in a social world he thereby knows social reality, is no more true than the belief of primitive peoples, that they know the physical world because they live in it and derive subsistence therefrom. Furthermore, the complexity of social life produces uncertainty as to the methods which promise the desired results.

In fact, attempts to improve conditions may cause more injury than good because of the interdependent nature of the social structure, in consequence of which a change in one part is followed by changes—and often by disturbances—in other parts. The tremendous shifts in the social organization in recent times have upset working relations between people, permitting exploitation and producing maladjustments without supplying adequate social controls to meet the new situations. Social growth is, for the most part, tentative, and the trial and error efforts often produce unanticipated results which would not be chosen if foreseen. Accordingly, a systematic knowledge of society is necessary before adequate measures of progress can be adopted.

But even when trained knowledge and skill in social guidance are available, opinions as to the objectives most worth striving for usually differ so greatly as to curtail efficient and united action. Because progress is always measured with reference to the advancement of some objective of a group, the goal sought by one community, class, or nation may be opposed by another. Progress is only a local, temporary, and specialized type of social change. There is no generally traceable upward course of advancement, but, rather, changes in certain restricted fields of endeavor—in science, tech-

nology, legislation, and social relations. Even if a certain upward trend is discernible in some part of society, the reaction in other parts may offset much of the gain. Therefore candor demands that one be wary of schemes for instant or unlimited improvement; for such panaceas suggest the proneness of youth to illusion and the incapacity of the aged to learn from common-sense experience. Nevertheless, the idea of progress is useful in so far as it becomes a means of binding together those who are working for a common objective in their effort to correct some acute social injustice or other problem.

In all forms, whatever works acceptably in a given setting grows. The course traversed in social development is recognized in retrospect, although it was not necessarily so mapped out in advance. Most social movements illustrate this halting method of adjustment in the business of living. Nevertheless, attempts at social self-guidance have proved possible; and the attitude that various social policies are feasible is itself subject to encouragement. However, the social organization, as it exists at any one time, limits and selects the new elements that may be added either by invention or culture borrowing, the direction and the amount of reform being therefore limited by the growth that has already taken place. Within the social organization, each part is affected by all the others, and each is shaped and lives by integration with all the rest.

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